THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

ALBERT BERNHARDT FAUST

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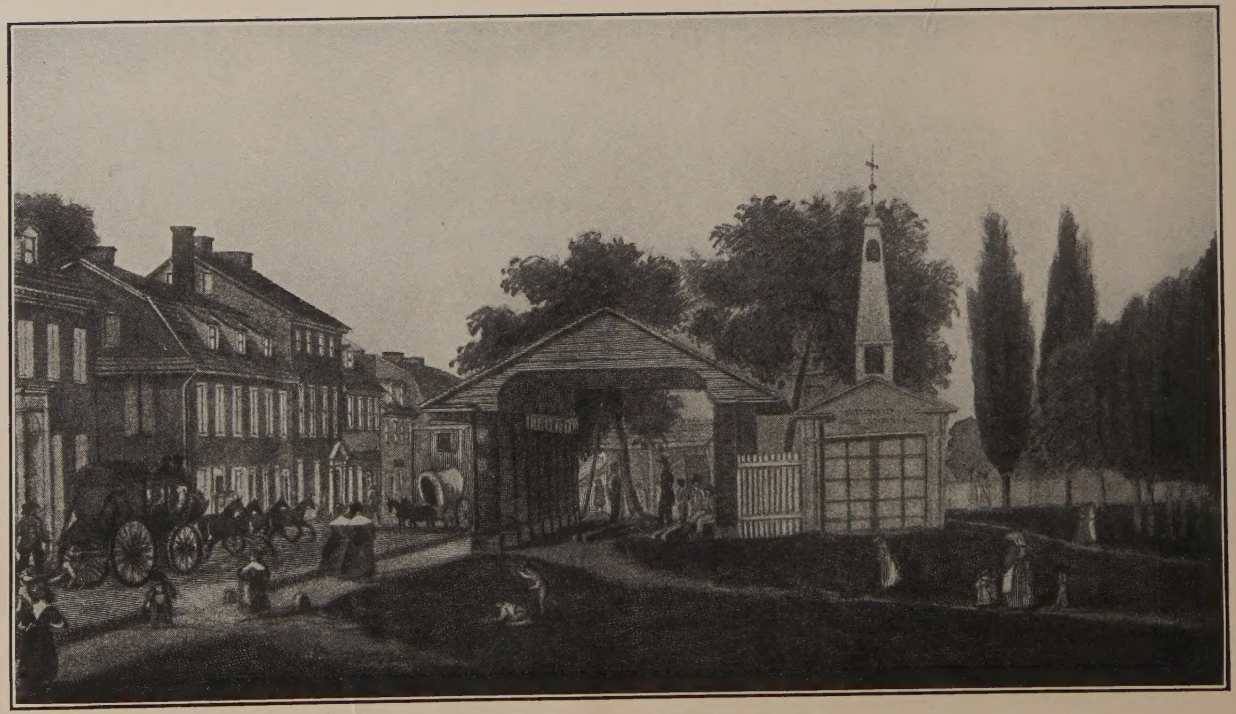

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THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS POLITICAL, MORAL, SOCIAL, AND EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCE

BY

ALBERT BERNHARDT FAUST

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

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INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

At the suggestion of Dr. Walther Wever, German Consul-General at Chicago, Mrs. Catherine Seipp of that city offered in March, 1904, cash prizes for the three best monographs upon the subject indicated by the title of this book. Competing works were submitted under assumed names on or before March 22, 1907, to the Germanic Department of the University of Chicago. The prize judges were Professors Hanno Deiler of Tulane, Frederick J. Turner of Wisconsin, and Karl Detlev Jessen of Bryn Mawr.

In this contest Professor Faust was awarded the first prize of $3000.

STARR WILLARD CUTTING.
The University of Chicago.

In July, 1911, the Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin awarded to the work by Professor A. B. Faust, entitled The German Element in the United States (Boston, 1909), the Loubat Prize. By the will of the donor this distinction has been conferred every five years, alternately upon a work of investigation in American history and American archæology published during the preceding interval.

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PREFACE

During the available hours of more than the last ten years, the writer had been studying and collecting materials on the German element in the United States, entertaining a vague hope of some day embodying the results of his labors in some useful form. The prominence of the Germans as a formative element of the American people, their continuous participation in the labors of peace and the burdens of war, suggested the need of a record of the essential facts in their history, from the earliest period of their settlements in this country to the present time. Such an historical survey has never existed in the English language, nor has one been attempted in German since the publications of Löher (*Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika*, 1847) and Eickhoff (*In der neuen Heimath*, 1884). The question whether the time had come for the preparation of such a work, scholars commonly decided in the negative, in view of the large amount of investigation still necessary, before a complete history of the Germans in this country can be written. This attitude of cautious reserve, however, will not encourage research as much as can be hoped from an exposition of the rich stores of information already at hand. A mere hoarding of materials, without an intelligent use of them, destroys opportunity, and leaves a responsibility undischarged.

In the past few years an increasing interest in the formative elements of the population of the United States has become manifest. The subject has been admitted into lec-

ture courses at our universities, and has been given space in the pages of our popular magazines. Moreover the subject of foreign immigration, involving the question of restriction or discrimination, has become one of the great problems of the present day. The serious consideration, therefore, of any one of the leading foreign immigrations to this country assumes a present and practical value.

The call for a comprehensive essay on the German element in the United States, by the founders of the Conrad Seipp Memorial Prizes, furnished an opportunity and incentive for the elaboration and completion of the writer's work. The prescribed title, reproduced verbatim on the foregoing title-page, presented a twofold problem; first, an outline of the history of the Germans in the United States, and secondly, a discussion of their political, moral, social, and educational influence. The first part, contained in Volume I, tells the story of the German settlers in the thirteen colonies before the Revolutionary War, continues the narrative through the nineteenth century, and calls attention to their leading traits, their activities in peace and war, their coöperation in the building of the nation. Their record is a noble one, and should animate their descendants with the will to keep sacred such names as Weiser, Post, Herkimer, Ludwig, Treutlen, Helm, Bowman, Münch, Follen, Sutro, Sutter, Röbling, and a host of others, while Mühlenberg, Steuben, Kalb, Lieber, and Schurz should convey to them the inspiration of lasting achievement.

The second part, the discussion of German influences, contained in Volume II, seemed possible only after an historical basis had been laid, such as has been attempted in Volume I. The method followed was that of summing up instances in order to establish principles. For example,

in the chapter on industrial development, illustrations are furnished, proving that in all branches requiring technical training, German influence has been predominant; under the head of politics, German independent voting receives illustration; in the department of agriculture, the principle is maintained, that the German farmer not only applied his native skill and industry, but whenever necessary adapted himself to new conditions, using and inventing agricultural machinery, or becoming a rice-grower in the South, a big farmer in the West.

The obstructions in the path of a final solution of the questions proposed in the second part are even more serious than in the historical outline. The economic history of the United States has not been written, though steps are now being taken toward an ultimate accomplishment of that gigantic task. The volumes on manufactures in the Census Reports occasionally furnish a few meagre details, but the history of none of our great American industries has been made available. Each chapter, therefore, has furnished an entirely new field for investigation, and difficulties of a different kind. The plan of questioning experts, or representatives of a particular industry, has frequently been resorted to by the writer, as, e. g., in the departments of viticulture, lithography, and the manufacture of agricultural machinery. The writer has thus frequently gained information not accessible in books. Because of these peculiar difficulties, the second part of the work is necessarily more tentative than the first, possessing the faults of pioneer work, yet for that very reason the more fascinating to the writer, and, it is believed, the more suggestive to the reader.

Because of the necessity of restricting within moderate bounds the mass of materials belonging to this subject, a

consideration of the Dutch element has been excluded from these pages, except in the statistical estimate of the number of persons of German blood in the United States, contained in the first chapter of the second Volume. The Dutch are Germans of purer blood than the people inhabiting some of the eastern provinces of the German Empire, and their history in the United States is frequently inseparable from that of the other German stocks. Nevertheless they frequently formed separate colonies, as in New York State, and their history is important enough to warrant a separate treatment.

Because of their racial distinctness, persons of Jewish blood, born in Germany, have not been regularly considered in this work. An exception has been made where they contributed toward bringing over from Germany various elements of cultural, educational, or technical value. When unmistakably derived from the German Fatherland, their work in the arts and sciences, in education, and technical industry, should be considered a part of the present investigation as clearly as the writings of the poet Heine are to be included in the history of German literature. The number of Jewish immigrants coming from Germany has commonly been overestimated. During the only period in which an accurate record has been kept, i. e., since 1898, it was found that the German Jews numbered only one and one half per cent of the total immigration from the German Empire (1898–1904). In the German Empire the Jews number only one per cent of the total population. During periods of social persecution in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries their percentage of immigration was probably higher, but undoubtedly the average was never above two per cent of the German immigration to the United States.

The attempt has been made to exclude matter which could not be established with certainty. When, for instance, the German ancestry of an important individual was in doubt, his name was omitted in this record. Overstatement has perhaps been more carefully avoided than undervaluation. In the choice of examples, particularly in the second Volume, the writer was forced to use those concerning which he had accurate information, and also to discriminate in favor of those that served best as illustrations. A large number of names were thus omitted, which might well have found a place, many no doubt more worthy than those employed. The materials collected should therefore be looked upon as illustrative, not exhaustive.

The writer gratefully acknowledges courtesies extended to him by Dr. jur. Walther Wever, Consul-General of the German Empire at Chicago (1900–1908), and by Professor Starr Willard Cutting of the University of Chicago, particularly in the matter of launching the book after the prize award had been made. Though the delay may have tried their patience, the writer's wish, to be allowed to subject the manuscript to a thorough revision before publication, was honored by them and the publishers. The writer desires to express his thanks to Professor Oscar Kuhns, author of "The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania," for the loan of valuable books; to George M. Dutcher, Professor of History in Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, who read in manuscript most of the chapters of the first Volume, and made a large number of important corrections and suggestions; to Professor B. J. Vos, of the University of Indiana, and to Professor Lane Cooper, of Cornell University, who carefully read the first draft of many of the early chapters.

A special debt is due to Walter F. Willcox, Professor

of Political Economy and Statistics, Cornell University, for his continued interest in the work during its progress, and for his criticism and direction in the chapter attempting an estimate of the number of persons of German blood in the population of the United States (Volume II, Chapter I). Acknowledgment is hereby made of aid received from the Carnegie Institution of Washington, in the collection of data for several chapters in this book. The coöperation of many other helpers is gratefully remembered; in most cases it is acknowledged on the particular page where their valued assistance was made use of; some others who have aided in the laborious mechanical tasks of book-making, have preferred to remain unnamed. Communications are solicited from readers who have corrections to suggest or information to impart.

A. B. F.

Cornell University,
Ithaca, N. Y., April 20, 1909.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE NEW EDITION

The present new edition of the German Element in the United States is a complete revision of the three foregoing issues of the book. The original edition was published by Houghton Mifflin Company, in two volumes, Boston, 1909. In 1911 an inexpensive popular edition was prepared by the same publishers for the Current Literature Publishing Company (New York) from the original plates, but omitting the illustrations and colored maps. In the following year appeared the German edition, with revisions, additions and certain adaptations for German readers, also in two volumes, entitled: Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten; Band I: *In seiner Bedeutung für die amerikanische Kultur;* Band II: *In seiner geschichtlichen Entwickelung.* Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner in Leipzig, 1912.

Both the American and German editions met a most gratifying reception at home and in Germany, where in 1911 the Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin honored the original edition with the award of the Loubat Prize. Twenty years after the preparation of the first draft, the book has now received the promise of a new life on the initiative of the Steuben Society of America, who desire to make the historical materials contained therein once more accessible to their members, students of American history and general readers.

In carrying out the project of a new edition, the author has made a large number of revisions in the original

plates, and in order still further to bring the new edition up to date, he has added an APPENDIX, the purpose of which is to record, chapter after chapter, the results of more recent investigations or to suggest new lines of research. Most of this material is of a date previous to 1917, the year which closes abruptly a definite period in the history of the Germans in the United States. The succeeding ten years of war and reconstruction are too near to admit of treatment that would now seem unbiased, and therefore no attempt has been made in this direction, but the collection of material for the benefit of the future historian is very much to be recommended.

The present new edition combines both volumes of the original American edition in one book, unabridged and including all the original illustrations and maps. A Special INDEX has been provided for the new material, which with the GENERAL INDEX (II, pp. 565–605), chapter headings and tables of contents will serve as pathfinders in the mass of material.

My thanks are due to the faithful coöperation of the Book Committee of the Steuben Society in launching this new edition.

ALBERT BERNHARDT FAUST

ITHACA, N.Y.
August 1, 1927

FOREWORD

BY THE

PUBLISHERS OF THE NEW EDITION

Our citizens of German origin as a racial group have frequently been criticized for what seemed a lack of interest in public affairs. While the same criticism perhaps holds in regard to all elements in this country whose native language is not English, still the fault is recognized to exist by Americans of German descent as well, and as one that in the past has often been detrimental to their own and their country's best interests. The correction of this attitude of indifference constituted one of the reasons for the foundation of *The Steuben Society of America*,[1] and gave the Society a distinctly educational purpose. In fact the name of General Steuben was adopted by the Society because in his educational activity as the great drill-master of the American forces during the Revolution as much as in his life, character and career, he symbolized the virtues characteristic of the German race and exemplified the highest type of citizenship and public service.

A feature of the educational work of the Steuben Society is the study of American history and of the contributions made by the German element in the foundation and upbuilding of the American nation. Recognizing that justifiable race-pride is an attribute of genuine patriotism, the Steuben Society decided upon the revival of Profes-

1 A brief historical sketch of *The Steuben Society of America*, its aims and purposes, are given in the *Appendix* of this edition.

sor Faust's *The German Element in the United States*, which during the war period was no longer printed, but which, ever since its first publication in 1909 has been acknowledged in this country and abroad to be the authoritative work on the subject.

The National Council of *The Steuben Society of America* therefore appointed a special committee, named the "Faust Book Committee," who obtained the author's consent to the preparation of a new edition and who purchased the plates and copyright from the original publishers, and who now offer this comprehensive historical record in a convenient one volume form to the members of the Society and to the general reader.

National Council of
The Steuben Society of America

Headquarters:
405 Lexington Ave., New York City.

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PART I

AN HISTORICAL OUTLINE

THE GERMAN IMMIGRATIONS TO THE UNITED STATES; THEIR ARRIVAL, LOCATION, PROGRESS OF THEIR SETTLEMENTS; THEIR PART IN THE WARS OF THE UNITED STATES, AND IN THE WINNING OF THE WEST

THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

THE EARLIEST GERMANS IN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COLONIES

Introductory — Cosmographers: Behaim, Mercator, Waldseemüller, etc. — First German in America: Tyrker in Leif Ericson's expedition to Wineland (eleventh century) — Germans in earliest settlements, Port Royal (1562), Jamestown (1607) — Peter Minuit, purchaser and governor of Manhattan Island (1626); founder of New Sweden (1638) — Jacob Leisler, governor of New York, defender of the people's cause, his martyrdom (1691), and services to the colonies — Explorers, etc.: Lederer Hiens, Peter Fabian.

In the great struggle for the possession of the North American continent, it has been well said, the Latin nations sent officers without an army, the English, both officers and an army, the Germans, an army without officers. The Latin nations, with distinguished leaders such as Cortez, Pizarro, De Soto, Champlain, Marquette, and La Salle, whether in quest of gold or of the fountain of youth, engaged in great voyages of discovery or grand schemes of empire. The English, with a clearer view of the future, knew that an empire could not be established otherwise than by colonization. Selecting the zone best adapted to the needs of the Teutonic stock, they invited other

branches of the same racial group to coöperate in the building of an empire. The Germans, not united in one nation at home, poured streams of people into the English territory. Without organization, compelled by the need of subsistence, or conditions intolerable at home, they appeared on the threshold of a new country, as in the days of Marius and Sulla, desiring land, not conquest. Their ancient kinsmen had beaten against the barriers of the Roman Empire until they had shattered them, and then rejuvenated all of Italy, Spain, and Gaul. Similarly in modern times a migration by the same stock took place to the land of promise called America, the very name conveying to the Teutonic mind a peculiar fascination, a romantic charm, later enhanced by the halo of freedom. This *Völkerwanderung* was not accompanied by the glory of war or the glamour of fame, but went on in quiet, incessantly and irresistibly, for more than two centuries, until to-day more than a quarter of the population of the United States is of German blood.

The great waves of German immigration making their way to the American colonies did not appear until the eighteenth century. Advance movements had heralded the way, the first permanent settlement by Germans having been made at Germantown, Pennsylvania, during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Long before this there appeared sporadic cases of German settlers, explorers, adventurers, and prominent individuals, serving under national flags, — any but German, — some of them at the very beginnings of the colonization of the United States. Their history will be the subject of the present chapter.

A conspicuous example of prominent service under a foreign king is that of Martin Behaim. He served the king

of Portugal, but was a native of Nuremberg, born in 1459, of an old patrician family of that city. Fiction has been active about his great name, using misinterpretations of Portuguese documents, or even spurious records, to maintain that Behaim saw Pernambuco and the coast of Brazil almost a decade before the first voyage of Columbus, and that he gave to Magellan information needed to urge him on to his voyage around South America. But even when deprived of this distinction, Behaim remains one of the most eminent men of his age, in the first rank among cosmographers and navigators of his time. He was a friend of Columbus, whom he probably met in Lisbon between 1480 and 1484. He was likewise acquainted with Magellan. During the period named he was in the employ of the king of Portugal, and, being appointed on a commission for the improvement of navigation, he became one of the inventors of the astrolabe. In the capacity of cosmographer, he accompanied the expedition of Diogo Cão, in 1484, to the west coast of Africa. After a voyage of discovery lasting nineteen months, he settled on the island of Fayal, one of the Azores, where he married the daughter of the stadtholder of the Flemish colony established there. In 1491–92 he visited Nuremberg, his native city, for the settlement of an estate. While there he fashioned a globe representing the earth as it was known to the foremost savants of that day. On leaving he presented this globe to his native city, and it is still preserved there as the most interesting relic of the cosmographic art antecedent to the discovery of America. The globe does not prove that Behaim was acquainted with the coast of Brazil, and his influence, therefore, upon the voyages of Columbus and Magellan could have been only such as to strengthen them in their theories and ambitions, not to direct them. Before

returning to Fayal, Behaim was twice captured by pirates at sea, but his release was effected through friends and his distinguished reputation. He resided at Fayal until 1506, when he was again in Lisbon, where he died the same year.

The Germans were not prominent as a seafaring people at the period of the discovery of America. The glory of the Hanseatic League had departed. Their location in the heart of Europe, with but a narrow strip of seacoast at the north, put them at a disadvantage in comparison with the English, French, Dutch, Spaniards, and Portuguese. But while they were not conspicuous as leaders in the great voyages of discovery, their scholarly instincts put them in the front rank as cosmographers and cartographers. The instance of Behaim, constructor of the Nuremberg globe and one of the inventors of the astrolabe, has just been given. Even greater is the name of Mercator (1512–94), the inventor of the Mercator system of projection, which, taking account of the curvature of the earth's surface, is an indispensable aid in nautical map-drawing. Mercator was born in Flanders (Rupelmonde, Belgium), and was of German descent, his name before Latinization being Gerhard Kremer. On commission of Charles V, he manufactured a terrestrial and a celestial globe, which are said to have been superior to any made before that time. His principal work was his atlas (first edition, Duisburg, 1594), printed from copper plates prepared by his own hand. A number of other German names appear prominently among cartographers, earlier than Mercator, such as Schöner (globes, 1515 and 1520), Reisch (map, 1513), and the Low German Ruysch (Ptolemy of 1508, with newly discovered lands indicated). The "Globus Mundi" was published at Strassburg in 1509,

MARTIN BEHAIM

showing an early use of the name "America" in the accompanying text.[1]

More important still is the fact that a German cosmographer was the first to suggest in a printed book that the name "America" be used to designate the New World. It was Martin Waldseemüller,[2] born at Freiburg about 1480. In 1507 he published his "Cosmographiae Introductio," in which an account is furnished of all the voyages of Vespucius, and the suggestion of the name "America" appears, in the following words: —

> But now that these parts have been more widely explored and another fourth part has been discovered by Americus Vesputius (as will appear in what follows), I do not see why any one may justly forbid it to be named after Americus, its discoverer, a man of sagacious mind, Amerige, that is the land of Americus, or America, since both Europe and Asia derived their names from women.[3]

The credit, therefore, of first advocating in print the use of the name "America," and also of diffusing widely, by means of charts and globes, the knowledge of the newly discovered countries, belongs to German cosmographers.

The first German to land in the New World arrived be-

[1] Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. ii, pp. 171, 172.

[2] The name is spelt also Waltzemüller, and Walzemüller. A map accompanying this book has recently been discovered by Professor Fischer in Wollegg Castle, Würtemberg. It had long been looked for, and its existence sometimes disputed. Cf. *American Historical Review*, vol. x, pp. 150–154: "The oldest map with the name America of the year 1507, and the Carta Marina of the year 1516 by M. Waldseemüller (Ilacomilus)." Edited by Joseph Fischer and Fr. R. von Wieser. London, 1903. Cf. also E. G. Bourne, "The Naming of America," *Am. Hist. Rev.* vol. x, pp. 49, 50.

[3] A copy of the first edition, of 1507, of Waldseemüller's *Cosmographiae Introductio* is contained in the library of Cornell University (A. D. White collection).

fore the discovery of Columbus. He was a member of Leif Ericson's expedition to Wineland. It is no longer a matter of doubt that the Icelanders were the first Europeans to sight the North Atlantic coast, and attempt a colony somewhere between Labrador and New England. The proof is furnished by Norse sagas, by traditions and documents of various kinds, that taken together make as good evidence as we have of many accepted historical events, such, for instance, as the early settlement of Jamestown. The location of the settlement by the seafarers of Iceland will probably remain forever unknown, beyond the limits already mentioned; the time, also a matter of doubt, has been reckoned as in the eleventh century.[1] The German in Leif's expedition was named Tyrker, and seems to have been a faithful king's man of the type so frequently found in German epic poetry. His discovery of the grape is characteristic, and forebodes coming events. The Norse saga gives the following account:[2] —

It was discovered one evening that one of their company was missing, and this proved to be Tyrker, the German. Leif was sorely troubled by this, for Tyrker had lived with Leif and his father for a long time, and had been very devoted to Leif, when he was a child. Leif severely reprimanded his companions, and prepared to go in search for him, taking twelve men with him. They had proceeded but a short distance from the house, when they were met by Tyrker, whom they received most cordially. Leif observed at once that his foster-father was in lively spirits. . . . Leif addressed him, and asked: "Wherefore art thou so belated, foster-father mine, and astray from the others?" In the beginning Tyrker spoke for some time in German, rolling his eyes and grinning, and they could not understand him; but after

[1] A. M. Reeves, *The Finding of Wineland the Good*, p. 98. London: 1890. Cf. also J. Fischer, *The Discoveries of the Norsemen in America*, translated by B. H. Soulsby, St. Louis: 1903, pp. 1–19.

[2] Reeves, pp. 66–67.

a time he addressed them in the Northern tongue: "I did not go much farther (than you), and yet I have something of novelty to relate. I have found vines and grapes." "Is this indeed true, foster-father?" said Leif. "Of a certainty it is true," quoth he, "for I was born where there is no lack of either grapes or vines." They slept the night through, and on the morrow Leif said to his shipmates: "We will now divide our labors, and each day will either gather grapes or cut vines and fell trees, so as to obtain a cargo of these for my ship." . . . A cargo sufficient for the ship was cut, and when the spring came, they made their ship ready, and sailed away; and from its products Leif gave the land a name, and called it Wineland.

The Germans, though not present in large numbers, were nevertheless well-nigh ubiquitous during the period of new settlements.[1] At Port Royal, in South Carolina, which was settled in 1562 by a band of Huguenots under Jean Ribault, there seem to have been some Alsatian and Hessian Protestants[2] at the very beginning. The settlement was destroyed by the Spaniard Menendez in 1566.

There were several Germans among the first settlers at Jamestown in 1607, as may be seen by the lists of names, which Captain John Smith records, of the original settlers of the earliest English colony of America.[3] There are also numerous direct references to the "Dutch" settlers, whom we need not suppose to have been natives of Holland, particularly since one is referred to as a Switzar

[1] This is also true of Spanish America. See the publications of the Alldeutscher Verband, in the series "Kampf um das Deutschtum," e. g., Wintzer, *Die Deutschen im tropischen Amerika;* Unold, *Das Deutschtum in Chile;* Sellin, *Brasilien, und die La Plata-Staaten.*

[2] *Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande,* Statistische Uebersicht v. F. H. Henoch, hrg. v. Allgemeinen deutschen Schulverein, p. 113. Berlin, 1904.

[3] *The True Travels,* vol. i, pp. 153, 172, 173, Reprint, Richmond, Va., 1819 (of the London edition, 1629). See also *The General History of Virginia,* vol. ii, pp. 45–56, for German names such as Unger, Keffer, etc.; for the Switzar, William Volday, *The True Travels,* vol. i, p. 231.

(Swiss). The references to this element among the settlers are not of an enviable sort, the writer frequently stigmatizing them with the epithet "damned" Dutch. On reviewing their history as told by the vainglorious captain, it appears that the epithet, though frankly sincere, is rather a comment on the Dutchman's independence and love of liberty than an evidence of any serious defect of character. The "Dutchmen" were artisans, carpenters mainly, whose services were valuable in the colony. At one time three "Dutchmen" and two Englishmen were employed to construct a house for King Powhatan. The purpose of the building of the house was apparently to get the king into the power of Captain Smith, and this treacherous plot seems to have been revealed to the king by the "Dutchmen." Themselves suffering under the tyranny of the idlers of the colony, they felt in sympathy with the red men, who were beyond any doubt treated cruelly by the settlers of Jamestown. The "Dutchmen" chose to remain with the Indians, preferring[1] their friendship to that of the "gentlemen" of Jamestown. All efforts to bring them back were unavailing. One of them was caught

[1] *True Travels*, vol. i, p. 208. "For the Dutchmen finding his (King Powhatan's) plentie, and knowing our want, and perceiving his preparations to surprise us, little thinking we could escape both him and famine; (to obtaine his favour) revealed to him so much as they knew of our estates and projects and how to prevent them. One of them being of so great a spirit, judgement and resolution, and a hireling that was certaine of his wages for his labour, and ever well used both he and his countrymen; that the President knew not whom better to trust; and not knowing any fitter for that employment had sent him as a spy to discover Powhatan's intent, then little doubting his honestie, nor could ever be certaine of his villany till neare halfe a yeare after." It must be remembered that as much treachery existed, from Captain Smith's point of view, among the English settlers as among the foreign. Between the feuds and desperate conditions prevailing at Jamestown on the one hand, and the kindly treatment of the appreciative savages on the other, the Dutchmen probably chose wisely, not feeling any national pride in the English settlement.

Capadociam/ Pamphiliam/ Lidiã/ Cilicíã/ Armenias maiorem & minorem. Colchiden/ Hircaniam Hiberiam/ Albaniam: & præterea multas quas ſingillatim enumerare longa mora eſſet. Ita dicta ab eius nominis regina.

Nunc vero & heę partes ſunt latius luſtratæ/ & alia quarta pars per Americũ Veſputium(vt in ſequentibus audietur) inuenta eſt: quã non video cur quis iure vetet ab Americo inuentore ſagacis ingenij viro Amerigen quaſi Americi terram/ ſiue Americam dicendam: cum & Europa & Aſia a mulieribus ſua ſortita ſint nomina. Eius ſitũ & gentis mores ex bis binis Americi nauigationibus quę ſequũtur liquide intelligi datur.

Ameſtico

quę oppoſitũ vel contra denotãt. Atq; in ſexto climate Antarcticũ verſus/ & pars extrema Affricæ nuper reperta & Zamziber/ laua minor/ & Seula inſulę/ & quarta orbis pars(quam quia Americus inuenit Amerigen/ quaſi Americi terrã/ ſiue Amecam nuncupare licet) ſitæ ſunt. De quibus Auſtralibus climatibus hæc Pomponij Mellę Geographi verba intelligenda ſunt/ vbi ait. Zone habitabiles paria agunt anni tempora/ verum non pariter. Antichthones alteram/ nos alteram incolimus. Illius ſi-

Ameſrige Põpo: Meię

FIRST APPEARANCE OF WORD "AMERICA"

From Waldseemüller's Introductio Cosmographiæ

later and "went by the heels." They were felt to be a serious menace to the colony of Jamestown, whether justly so or not, it is difficult to ascertain.

Clearly the situation at Jamestown was not of the best for laborers. They had to do all the work for the drones. Captain John Smith himself agrees in the following statement to the authorities at home: "When you send againe I entreat you rather send but thirty Carpenters, husbandmen, gardiners, fisher men, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees' roots, well provided, then a thousand of such as we have; for except wee be able both to lodge them and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries before they can be made good for anything."[1] The following throws light upon the treatment the "Dutch"-men received: "As for the hiring of the Poles and Dutchmen," says Captain Smith, "to make Pitch, Tar, Glasse, Milles and Sope ashes, when the country is replenished with people and necessaries, would have done well, but to send them and seventy more without victualls to work, was not so well advised nor considered of as it should have beene."[2] Again he comments on the character of the settlers as follows: "Adventurers that never did know what a day's work was, except the Dutchmen and Poles and some dozen other. For all the rest were poore Gentlemen, Tradesmen, Serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoyle a Commonwealth, than either to begin one or but help to maintaine one."[3]

There were Germans in the Dutch settlement of New Netherland, and among them, two who were second to none in moulding the destinies of the colony. The one was the first governor of New Netherland, Peter Minuit,

[1] *True Travels*, vol. i, p. 202.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 193. [3] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 241.

and the other the first governor of New York to represent the popular party, Jacob Leisler.

Little is known of Peter Minuit (Minnewit) before he appeared in America as director of the colony of New Netherland. All sources agree that he was born in Wesel on the Rhine, and was a Protestant. He arrived in New Amsterdam in May, 1626, with almost absolute power over the colony. Where his predecessors had been unsuccessful he built the foundation for the greatest metropolis on the American continent. It was he who bought from the Indians the Island of Manhattan (22,000 acres) for sixty Dutch guilders, or about twenty-four dollars in gold. Having obtained a secure title to the land, he next erected the first stone fort, at the Battery, and called it Fort Amsterdam. This kept the Indians in check and increased the number of settlers about the fort. The colonists soon became as busy and enterprising as their transatlantic kinsmen in the Low Countries. The Dutch West India Company supplied cattle and horses and land for the asking, while the crops raised were sufficient for the support of the colonists. Their most profitable occupation was the fur trade with the Indians. The Dutch at New Amsterdam became the rivals and superiors of the Pilgrim Fathers as fur traders. Their exportation of furs, that in 1624 had reached the sum of 25,000 guilders, in 1628, when the colony numbered 270 souls, rose to 56,000, and in 1631 to 130,000 guilders. The population steadily increased in the intervening years. Several ships arrived annually with settlers who were brought over by the company at twelve and one half cents per day for passage and board and on their arrival received as much land as they could cultivate. As early as 1631 the shipbuilders of New Amsterdam, under Minuit's administration, built the *New*

Netherland, estimated differently at six to eight hundred tons burden, and armed with thirty guns, one of the largest ships afloat[1] at that time, and an object of envy for the mother country.[2]

Minuit cultivated amicable relations with the New England colonies, but insisted upon his territorial rights. In 1629 the Dutch West India Company established the patroon system, which was destined to have an unfavorable effect on the development of the colony. Patroons were originally members of the West India Company, who assumed semi-feudal rights over large tracts, nominally bestowed on them on condition that they would plant a colony of fifty persons on the land within four years. They became manor lords carrying on colonization as a private affair. This unfortunate system aroused a great deal of opposition, and Minuit was made the scapegoat, though he had never favored the patroons beyond obeying the commands of the company. Minuit was recalled in August, 1631, and departed in 1632, leaving the colony in a most prosperous condition. After having tried in vain to get justice in Holland, he determined to offer his services to the king of Sweden.

Gustavus Adolphus is known as a mighty war lord and defender of the Protestant faith, but little is commonly heard of his far-reaching plans of colonial development. William Usselinx, a native of Antwerp, was the first to suggest to Gustavus Adolphus the enormous possibilities of colonial expansion. Not favored at home, the genius of Usselinx was given a sphere of activity under the ambitious ruler of Sweden. The Swedish South Company was

[1] Cf. Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, vol. i, p. 124.

[2] *The Royal George*, 1200 tons, was built for the East India Company at Blackwall (London) about 1640.

founded in 1626–27 for trade and colonization west of the Straits of Gibraltar, and extensive privileges were to be given the company for twelve years. The king himself signed for 400,000 Swedish talers. The German cities of Stralsund and Stettin desired to become members, so also the Duke of Pomerania, and much was hoped for from the rich city of Danzig. Livland, with its German population, wished to subscribe 150,000 talers, and Emden, eager to expand its commerce, was anxious to obtain a seat and voice among the directors of the company. But the death of Gustavus Adolphus wrecked these ambitious plans. The chancellor, Oxenstierna, kept Usselinx in charge until the latter seems to have given up hope. His place as leader of the company was then taken by Minuit, who arrived in Stockholm not earlier than 1636 and quickly gained the confidence of the great statesman. Minuit directed Swedish colonial ambitions toward an attainable goal by turning the attention of the chancellor to the country between Virginia and New Netherland, the land that, some years after, William Penn received as a grant from the English crown. It included the present states of Delaware and Pennsylvania, and parts of New Jersey and Maryland, territory that in the next century became the most fertile soil for the expansion of the Germanic race. Distinct advantages which Minuit possessed were, first, his exceptional experience and keen insight, and secondly, the prestige that Sweden had recently won on the battlefields of Europe.

Toward the end of the year 1637, with a warship and transport bearing fifty immigrants well provisioned, he left for the New World, arriving in Delaware Bay in April, 1638, and successfully kept the English in Virginia and the Dutch at New York from interfering with his schemes

GERARD MERCATOR

of colonization. By means of a bold front and wise direction he kept his stand securely, knowing minutely the weaknesses of his neighbors on either hand. He built Fort Christina in honor of the Swedish queen, about two miles from the confluence of the Minquaskill and the Delaware, very near the present city of Wilmington. No one understood the fur trade better than Minuit, and even in his first year he drew 30,000 guilders of trade away from New Netherland. Colonists swarmed to the banks of the Delaware, New Sweden claiming the territory on its banks. By 1640 the colony had received many new accessions, some from Holland. It is not unreasonable to suppose that a number of Germans were among the settlers of New Sweden, since the German cities of the Baltic had shown such an active interest in the beginnings of the Swedish West India Company. Minuit died at his post in 1641, and was buried at Fort Christina. No one dared attack the colony during his lifetime. Its independence was retained fourteen years longer,[1] until in 1655 it became part of New Netherland under the energetic governor, Stuyvesant.

About fifty years later, in the early history of New York, there lived another German leader of men, Jacob Leisler, the second German governor of New York and first representative of the popular party, for whose cause he suffered martyrdom. He was born in Frankfort-on-the-Main, and arrived in New York in 1660, as a soldier in the service of the Dutch West India Company. He acquired wealth through trade with the Indians, and by

[1] John Printz, Governor of New Sweden from 1642 to 1653, according to trustworthy authority was a German nobleman (Johann Printz von Buchau) and had been a commander under Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War. Seidensticker, *Bilder aus der deutsch-pennsylvanischen Geschichte*, p. 3 (*Geschichtsblätter*, vol. ii). New York: Steiger, 1886.

marriage became connected with the Dutch aristocracy of New York. Instead of becoming a manor lord and proprietor, then the great goal of provincial ambition, Leisler devoted himself to trade and business, to the full extent of his extraordinary energy. He soon became one of the wealthiest citizens of New York, his estate being valued at 15,000 guilders, and only six citizens being richer than himself. One of the three barks owned in New York in 1684 belonged to him, and in the year before he had been appointed a member of the Admiralty Court by Governor Dongan. He was capable of humanitarian ventures, as when, in 1689, he bought a piece of land, the present site of New Rochelle in Westchester County, for the Huguenots who had landed in New York. An evidence of wealth also was the ransom of five hundred pounds, paid when he was captured by the pirates of Tunis in 1678.[1]

But Leisler was as public-spirited as he was wealthy. He gave little attention to party strife and to the intrigues by which leading families gained influence with the governor, but whenever an occasion of moment arrived, Jacob Leisler was the man that impressed the people with his exceptional integrity, liberality, and firmness. When, in 1675, Governor Andros fined a number of burghers because of their opposition to "Popery," Leisler refused to pay, preferring imprisonment to the renunciation of his principles. At another time, when a poor Huguenot family landed in New York and were to be sold as redemptioners, he instantly paid down the sum demanded for their transportation, thus delivering the refugees from years of servitude.

Conditions in New York favored the development of

[1] Cf. Kapp, p. 39.

a popular party in opposition to aristocratic rule. King James II had combined the colonies of New England, New York, and New Jersey under the governorship of Andros, an action which displeased the Dutch greatly, for they felt a danger of being overshadowed by the neighboring Puritan colony. While Governor Andros was in New England, he left New York in charge of Francis Nicholson, as lieutenant-governor. On February 5, 1689, a Dutch sea-captain brought him the first news of the landing of William of Orange in England, but Nicholson threatened the messenger with severe punishment, if he allowed the news to spread. But a week later the merchant and ship-owner, Jacob Leisler, received the news independently and made it public. The propitious moment had not yet arrived, however, for a revolt of the people against their oppressors. They lacked a leader. The man who could help was not a demagogue and would not act unless forced by circumstances. That man was Jacob Leisler, whose German birth secured for him the sympathy of the Dutch population, and whose public life was noted for public spirit, energy, and liberality. He was recognized as a good soldier, and, though connected with the aristocracy by marriage, remained a man of the people, alive to their interests, nearer to them in habits and culture or the lack of it, and admired by them for his plain honesty that never stooped to selfish ends, a practice so common among the aristocrats. All too great was his love of duty, his disinterested assent to the wishes of others, and, as later events proved, too keen his sense of responsibility in his high position.

Nicholson's unpopularity and that of the ruling class grew from week to week and from day to day, and the slightest shock was sufficient to kindle the spark of revolt.

An accidental remark of Nicholson's, "I would rather see the city on fire than take the impudence of such fellows as you," addressed to an insubordinate lieutenant, gave rise to the alarming rumor that the governor was about to set the city on fire. The flame of revolution blazed up instantly, and spread without let or hindrance. The mob was united in the desire to capture the fort, the key to the city, with their oldest captain to march at their head. "To Leisler, to Leisler's house," was the cry, — but Leisler refused to assume the leadership. Lieutenant Stoll of the Leisler Company, with quick decision, led them on to the fort. Nicholson and Bayard, colonel of militia, offered no resistance, submitting to the inevitable.

On the next day Leisler, in a public address, declared, for himself and his party, the intention to hold the fort for King William, at the same time entreating the citizens to aid him in this purpose. The masses were yet undecided, they still feared the lieutenant-governor, when a false rumor spread that there were three ships in the bay with commands of the new king. Upon this, the entire militia company, about four hundred men with their officers, declared themselves for Leisler, the cause of the Protestant religion and the Prince of Orange, until they should receive commands from the latter, their king. All those that had wavered now joined Leisler. Nicholson fled from the country, and his counselors escaped or concealed themselves from the wrath of the people.

The city was now without a government. Thereupon by popular vote a committee of safety was elected, consisting of the most prominent burghers of the citizen's party, who, on June 8, 1689, appointed Leisler commander-in-chief of the fort and of the city, until the arrival of the new governor from England. When the news arrived

of the coronation of William and Mary, Leisler at once made preparations for a solemn ceremony of homage, and notified the provincial and municipal officials to take part. When these refused to join in rendering homage, the ceremony took place in New York and Albany without them. Leisler in consequence dismissed the magistrate of the city, and the committee organized new elections for the vacant places of burgomaster and aldermen. The aristocrats naturally did not secure an office, and in August, 1689, the committee of safety appointed Leisler supreme commander of the province. Leisler made a complete report to King William of all that had been done, assuring him of his loyalty, his zeal for the Protestant cause, and begging for speedy instructions. Even Leisler's enemies never doubted the sincerity of this petition, and could find fault only with its English. Lieutenant Stoll was sent to England with this petition, handed it to the king in person in November, 1689, but met with no success, for Nicholson, who had arrived earlier, had poisoned the king's ear in regard to the popular party in New York, declaring that its actions had arisen from hostility to the English Church rather than from zeal for the new dynasty. Thus the reward that Leisler merited at royal hands for the successful issue of the revolution, was lost.[1] Neighbors at home, on the other hand, recognized the loyal and honest efforts of the popular governor, and sent their best wishes for the progress of the revolution, but the dethroned aristocrats spared no efforts in provoking dissension and discord. The name of Leisler was dragged through the mire. He was branded as a tyrant, usurper, demagogue, even as a Papist and Jacobite, by the very

[1] Cf. *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of N. Y.*, vol. iii, pp. 608 f. (Brodhead).

persons who had proved their disloyalty to the new dynasty.

One illegal act, and one only, was committed by Leisler,[1] namely, that he did not publish a certain clause of the king's address that recommended retaining all old officials with the exception of Papists. Leisler can be justified, however, on the ground that he could not have carried the revolution through successfully if the aristocrats had remained in office. The new popular principle could not be represented by them.

An unfortunate move also was his attempt to force Albany to recognize his government. Bayard had fled thither and succeeded in winning to his side influential citizens such as the Schuylers, Bleeckers, Van Rensselaers, Cuylers, and others. Leisler was provoked by the order of Bayard, issued to the militia companies that had been under his command in New York, forbidding them to obey Leisler. The latter answered this order by sending an armed company under the command of his son-in-law, Jacob Milborne, to take possession of the fort at Albany and defend the cause of the Protestant king "against Indians and other hostile attacks." The soldiers were not admitted into the city, and as Milborne was too weak to risk a battle, he was compelled to withdraw. This false step gave the fugitive aristocrats a chance to file complaints at the English court against the government of Leisler, falsely accusing him of rebellion against the English dynasty.

Not long after these events, in the beginning of December, 1689, a royal messenger arrived in Boston with a letter addressed to Francis Nicholson, "or in his absence to such as for the time being take care for Preserving the

[1] F. Kapp, *Geschichte der Deutschen im Staate New York*, p. 44. New York: Steiger, 1867.

Peace and administering the Lawes in our said Province of New York in America."[1] The enemies of Leisler attempted to get possession of this letter, i. e., to become its recipients while in New York, and thereby obtain authority. Bayard and Philipse, representing a part of the old government, secretly went to New York for this purpose, but, the ruling party also hearing of the letter, the messenger was taken at once to the fort, where Leisler was in command. The letter empowered the man to whom it was directed to assume command as lieutenant-governor and appoint a council to assist him in the direction of affairs. Accordingly Leisler, on December 11, 1689, assumed the title of lieutenant-governor and named a council of nine persons representing the various trades of the province. This royal message put aside any remaining scruples as to the justice of Leisler's assumption of authority, and the political affairs of the colony soon assumed an orderly and peaceful aspect.

An effort was made to capture Leisler on the streets of New York, but, the attempt proving unsuccessful, the ringleaders, Bayard, Van Cortlandt, Nicolls, and others were themselves captured and thrown into prison for high treason against His Majesty's officers. Bayard and Nicolls were captured while attempting to escape, and the sentence of death was pronounced against them. They humbly sued for mercy and Leisler relented. In the course of events they caused Leisler's ruin. Had Leisler employed the thorough methods of the revolutionary dictator, he would have destroyed his enemies while they were in his power, and thereby forever ended their opportunities for doing harm. This act of grace on the part of Leisler, while it elevates him as a man, was undoubtedly a political mistake.

[1] *Documents rel. Colonial History*, vol. iii, p. 606.

Hardly had he become master over his enemies within, before the lieutenant-governor had to meet a more terrible foe without, the French and Indians, commanded by the brave and energetic Frontenac. At the beginning of January, 1690, the French governor had planned an attack on New York by way of the Mohawk Valley and Albany. The event which stands out in lurid colors is the massacre at Schenectady. The fort was surprised, burned, and plundered, and the occupants slain or taken prisoners. This terrible misfortune had no ill effect, however, on the political fortunes of Leisler, for when he now sent troops in the defense of Albany, the city willingly opened its gates and recognized Leisler's authority. He made the city secure against hostile attacks and sent a division of 140 men fifty miles beyond to guard against surprise. The enemies of the lieutenant-governor fled to New England.

Leisler proved himself equal to the emergency. He saw that coöperative action on the part of the colonies was essential to resist the formidable foe. Accordingly, in the beginning of April, 1690, he invited the governors of Massachusetts, Plymouth, East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia to a common council at New York.[1] New York, Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Jersey, and Maryland were represented in this plan of defense. The Carolinas were in their infancy, and Virginia was too remote. The meeting of this congress at New York on the first of May, 1690, was a memorable event in American history. It was the first congress of American colonies, the first of a series, that by process of evolution was to culminate in the Continental Congress.[2] The congress decided that Massachusetts should send 160 men, Connecticut 135, Plymouth 60, New York 400, and Maryland

[1] Cf. Kapp, p. 48. [2] Cf. Fiske, ii, 182–184.

100, in an expedition for the conquering of Canada, while Massachusetts was also to equip a fleet for the taking of Quebec. At the same time the Mohawk Indians promised an auxiliary force of 1800 warriors to attack the French. It was the first attempt at united action on the part of the colonies, without the aid of the mother country. The great plan, however, was not destined to succeed, largely owing to the jealousies and misunderstandings among the leaders. The expedition at sea met a similar fate. Though arriving at Quebec, the fleet delayed its attack, and was forced to retreat with great loss. Contrary winds and storms on the return made its destruction almost complete, though the New York contingent were fortunate enough to reach home with their ships.

Leisler had won the distinction of equipping the first warship that went out from New York, he had added three ships to the fleet, and contributed energetically in every department. He had instituted the pursuit of six French ships that had dared to approach New York Harbor, had had them brought to New York, condemned, and sold as prizes, a stroke which remained the only fortunate event in a chain of disasters. However, as a result of the expensive operations against Canada, all of the colonies had incurred debts, and great disappointment reigned, particularly when taxation had to be resorted to. Naturally, Leisler's enemies attempted to make a scapegoat of him, and the lieutenant-governor's position grew more and more difficult, his enemies increasing in numbers day by day.

The end of the year 1690 had come, and the home government, refusing to recognize Leisler's services to the crown and colony, appointed a new governor for New York, Colonel Henry Sloughter. The latter had set out

with several ships and a respectable number of troops, but, to make confusion worse confounded, a storm separating him from the rest of the ships, the second in command, Major Richard Ingoldsby, arrived in New York before the governor. Leisler's enemies were busy winning the favor of the new arrival, and the demand was made of Leisler to surrender the fort at once. This Leisler refused to do until confronted with the documents giving Ingoldsby authority. But the papers were on board the absent ship, and Ingoldsby, being discredited, felt his honor as an English officer insulted. He issued a proclamation, in which all those that should oppose him were declared rebels, and all good people were summoned to his assistance. Leisler, a few days after, February 3, 1691, protested in the name of the king and queen against all the acts of Ingoldsby, holding him accountable for all acts of violence and bloodshed that might ensue, declaring at the same time his readiness to give up the fort to the new governor, Colonel Sloughter, immediately upon his arrival. Each party seemed to be waiting for the other to risk a blow, but as time went on, it was apparent that Ingoldsby was receiving more adherents and Leisler as constantly losing friends. Ingoldsby next attacked, and took two blockhouses with their garrisons, located north of Wall Street. Leisler was now confined to the fort, and, as before, refused to give it up. Such was the condition of affairs until the arrival of Governor Sloughter, March 19, 1691. Both parties eagerly awaited the new governor as a deliverer from the unfortunate entanglement. But Sloughter was a man of no clear vision or strength of character, and even his friends could find little to say in his behalf. Upon his arrival he became the dupe of the aristocratic party, who boarded his ship to inform him of

the condition of affairs. There Sloughter appointed his council. Immediately upon arriving, at ten o'clock in the evening, he demanded the keys of the fort, but Leisler wished first an understanding as to the terms of surrender, and guarantees for his security, perhaps distrustful because the messenger whom the new governor had sent was Ingoldsby. Sloughter demanded immediate and unconditional surrender, placed Leisler's messenger under arrest, and on the 20th of March took possession of the fort. He took Bayard and Nicolls out of prison, while Leisler and eight friends of the council had to take their places in the same dungeon.

The condemnation of Leisler aroused general horror. Such severity none had expected. A sham trial was instituted, in which Sloughter appointed Leisler's personal enemies as his judges, viz.: Bayard, Nicolls, Philipse, and Van Cortlandt, together with four Englishmen who had just arrived. Leisler was charged with rebellion, confiscation of property, and the illegal levying of taxes. The other councilors were set free, but the enemies of Leisler were determined to be revenged upon him. Apparently Governor Sloughter hesitated to sign a death-warrant, a spark of justice glimmering within him. A tradition is handed down that the aristocrats steeped the governor in wine and procured his signature while His Excellency was intoxicated. Leisler, previously convicted of high treason, was accordingly condemned to suffer death, together with his son-in-law, Milborne. The accused had felt so sure of the justice of their cause that, like Egmont and Horn, they refused to defend themselves against the charge of treason. The sentence occasioned resentment and horror in all parts of the colony, and many of the followers of Leisler fled into neighboring provinces, fearing similar

charges against themselves. A popular uprising was imminent in New York City. Leisler's enemies, fearing that he might still be set free, now insisted upon the fruits of their victory, the immediate execution of their victims. The urgent entreaties of Leisler's friends for delay, just as in the case of Egmont, only hastened the execution. The scaffold was erected not far from the location of the present Tombs, on the corner of Pearl and Centre streets. The day, May 16, 1691, was wet and cold, and chilled the spectators to the bone. Leisler made an address to the people, in which he resigned himself to his fate with Christian humility. His dying request to his friends was that they should forget all injury done to himself and Milborne, and honor his wish, that their ashes might destroy all vestiges of discord and dissension. His son-in-law, Milborne, called out to his enemy, Livingstone, "You are guilty of my death and I shall accuse you before the eternal judgment seat"; and to the sheriff, who asked him if he would not bless the king and queen, he said, "Why, I die for them and for the Protestant religion, in which I was born and brought up."

The blunder of this execution became apparent in England after the son of Leisler brought the case into the English courts. The case being given over to the colonial ministry, the latter declared that the deceased had been executed justly, but begged for restitution to the family of their property and position, which was granted in 1692. With this Leisler's son was not satisfied; he desired not grace but justice, and after several years more of contention in behalf of his father's memory, the English Parliament reversed the attainder against Leisler and Milborne, justified Leisler's actions in every particular, and restored to his heirs the properties confiscated by the crown (1695).

In New York, the two parties, the popular and aristocratic, continued to exist, and after the governorship of Sloughter, of Ingoldsby, and of Fletcher had ended, the popular party once more gained the ascendancy under the Earl of Bellomont, who, when governor, allowed the remains of Leisler and Milborne to be taken from their burial-place under the gallows, to the cemetery of the Dutch Church (in the present Exchange Place).[1] This removal, in 1698, was an occasion of much solemnity, fifteen hundred persons taking part. Prominent contemporaries in other colonies regarded the execution of Leisler as eminently unjust, Increase Mather, for instance, declaring that Leisler was "barbarously murdered."

There are two reasons why the career of Leisler stands out conspicuously in American history: first and foremost, because he was the man who called together the first congress of American colonies; secondly, because he was the first representative of the popular party against the aristocratic element, of plebeian against patrician, or of Democrat against Tory. Had Leisler's dreams been realized, had he received due support from William III, hailed as their national hero by the Dutch of New Amsterdam, then Leisler would have gone down in history as the first great representative of popular government in New York.[2] His administration might have been signalized as a long stride advancing toward popular government in the colonies. In view of these facts, this man's personality, in spite of his crudeness and stubbornness bordering on fanaticism, is worthy of the highest respect, being conspicuous for qualities since then always highly valued in public life, and repeatedly honored by the popular vote, viz.: unquestioned honesty and integrity, unflinching firmness and

[1] Kapp, p. 56. [2] Cf. Fiske, vol. ii, p. 192.

energy. Experience as a soldier and uncommon success in the administration of affairs were likewise elements contributing to the confidence the people felt in him as a public man.

Some of Leisler's descendants were also prominent in American history. Hester, one of his daughters, married the Dutchman Rynders, while her sister, Mary, widow of Milborne, became the wife of the brilliant young Huguenot, Abraham Gouverneur. Mary's son, Nicholas Gouverneur, married Hester's daughter, Gertrude Rynders, and a son of this marriage, Isaac Gouverneur, was the grandfather of Gouverneur Morris, one of the ablest members of the convention that framed the constitution of the United States. "This eminent statesman was thus lineally descended from Jacob Leisler through two of his daughters."[1]

Dwelling with the Dutch settlers of New Amsterdam, there was undoubtedly quite a sprinkling of Germans. A good example is that of Dr. Hans Kierstede, who came from Magdeburg in 1638 with Director Kieft. He was the first practicing physician and surgeon in that colony. He married Sarah Roeloffse, daughter of Roeloff and Anneke Janse, the owner of the Annetje Jans farm on Manhattan Island.[2]

Among the German settlers of the seventeenth century Minuit and Leisler have represented the type of the soldier and statesman, while the "Dutch" in the Jamestown colony represented the humbler class of artisans or laborers. A third class of pioneers also had German representatives,

[1] Fiske, vol. ii, p. 187.

[2] Cf. Schoonmaker, *The History of Kingston, N. Y.*, p. 482. 1888. Also Ruth Putnam, "Annetje Jans Farm," in *Historic New York*, vol. i, p. 132, etc. Putnam, 1897.

namely, the explorers and discoverers. Of the latter there was John Lederer. He was sent on three different expeditions by Sir William Berkeley, governor of the colony of Virginia, to explore the land south and west of the James River during the years 1669–70. From his map as well as from his journal we gather that he passed through North Carolina and proceeded as far into South Carolina as the Santee River. There were no whites then living in South Carolina, and only two colonies existing in North Carolina, on the Albemarle Sound and Cape Fear River. Lederer wrote his journal in Latin. Sir William Talbot, governor of Maryland, who translated the journal into English, speaks highly of the author's literary attainments. He had at first been unfavorably biased by evil stories concerning Lederer, yet found him, as he says, "a modest, ingenious person and a pretty scholar," and Lederer vindicated himself "with so convincing reason and circumstance that removed all unfavorable impressions."

The fact is, that Lederer had not been well received by the person that sent him, the governor of Virginia, owing to prejudices created against him by the English companions that set out with him on his journey. They forsook him and turned back. In his journal Lederer declares that he had a private commission from the governor of Virginia to proceed, though the rest of the party should abandon him, and he therefore went on with one Susquehanna Indian, reaching the Santee River at $33\frac{1}{3}^\circ$ north latitude. His former companions returned to Virginia, and, not expecting that Lederer would ever come back, they excused themselves by false reports concerning him.

The three journeys which Lederer made, according to his journal, were first, from the head of the York River due west to the Appalachian Mountains; secondly, from

the Falls of the James River, west and southwest into the Carolinas; thirdly, from the Falls of the Rappahannock, west to the mountains. No doubt can attach to the fact of these early western explorations, and they unquestionably had a good effect. The tide of immigration, to be sure, did not begin to flow until 1680, but the direction had been indicated.

The first German in Texas was a Würtemberger by the name of Hiens (Heinz, Hans).[1] He was a member of the expedition of La Salle in 1687, that vainly sought for the delta of the Mississippi, with a fatal result for the leader. After the murder of La Salle, the party under the rule of Duhaut ranged aimlessly among the Indians for a while, and fell in with some deserters of La Salle's former expedition, now living among the savages. One of these conspired with Hiens, and they avenged the murder of La Salle by killing Duhaut and Liotot.[2] Hiens, perhaps fearing revenge, left the expedition, parting amicably.

Another explorer, the earliest of the three, was Peter Fabian, a Swiss German, member of the expedition sent out in 1663 by the English Carolina Company to explore the Carolinas. The report of the expedition was probably written by Fabian, the scientific man of the party, as the distances are recorded by the standard of the German mile. The report appeared in 1665 in London, signed by Anthony Long, William Hilton, and Peter Fabian. It was embodied in the earliest history of Carolina by John Lawson, London, 1709.[3] In the latter work mention is made of another Swiss German explorer, Francis Louis Mitschel

[1] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. vi, pp. 69–70. Cincinnati, 1869–87, 18 vols. The statement is there made on the authority of Louis Hennepin.

[2] Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. iv, p. 238.

[3] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. x (1878), p. 188.

(for Michel), described as sent by his home canton, Bern, to select a suitable tract for a Swiss settlement, and as having, during several years of exploration, discovered large areas among the mountain ranges lying toward the headwaters of the large rivers and bays of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, all uninhabited save by a few savages.[1]

The foregoing chapter attempted to show that, while the Germans living in an inland country were not seafarers or discoverers, their scholarly bent made them leading cosmographers during the period of American exploration. German settlers appeared even in the earliest colonies on American soil, such as Port Royal, Jamestown, and New Amsterdam. The purchaser and first governor of Manhattan Island, Peter Minuit, who was also the founder of New Sweden, and Jacob Leisler, martyr to the cause of popular government in New York, were Germans.[2] Lederer, Hiens, and Fabian were prominent as early explorers in the southern and southwestern zone of English colonization in the seventeenth century.

[1] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. x, p. 189. Quotation from Lawson (1709). For Michel see also below, Chapter VIII, p. 213.

[2] See *Appendix*.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST PERMANENT GERMAN SETTLEMENT AT GERMANTOWN, 1683

William Penn in Germany — The Pietists of Frankfort-on-the-Main — Francis Daniel Pastorius, his early life and arrival at Philadelphia — *The Concord*, the *Mayflower* of the Germans — Landing, October 6, 1683 — Founding of Germantown, Pennsylvania — Industries and Customs — Pastorius as patriarch and scholar — Protest against slavery — The Mystics, Kelpius and his followers.

The first German settlement, properly so-called because of its permanence and individuality, began near the close of the seventeenth century. It was a colony of religious refugees, mainly from the Palatinate, who settled at Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1683. The name of William Penn is intimately associated with its beginnings. William Penn, clinging to his faith in spite of imprisonment and persecution, was enthused with missionary zeal. He made two journeys into Holland and Germany, in 1671 and 1677, to spread Quaker doctrines on the continent of Europe. Only three denominations were recognized along the Rhine and in Germany, namely, the Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Reformed. All other forms of worship were outlawed, and their votaries placed in the same class with heretics and atheists. Such were the Mennonites, of whom considerable numbers existed in Western Germany and Switzerland, the Schwenkfelders and the Quakers. George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, had sent messengers of the new doctrine to the Netherlands and Germany as early as 1655,

and when William Penn made his journeys, a small Quaker community was still in existence at Kriegsheim (or Krisheim), near Worms, in the Palatinate. In Germany, the Quakers were most successful among the Mennonites, especially in the cities of Lübeck, Emden, Hamburg, Crefeld, and in the Palatinate, so also in the Schleswig-Holstein cities, Altona and Friedrichstadt, and in Danzig, then under Polish rule. All these sectarians suffered much from the rulers of the German principalities, each of whom had the right, by the treaty of Westphalia, to establish in his land whatever confession he pleased, and to exclude all others. Even the Pietists, who were but Protestants with a greater degree of inwardness in their religious life, were denounced by the orthodox churches as dangerous innovators. The Mystics, who in the latter part of the seventeenth century reappeared in various forms, were likened unto madmen.

The existence of these various sects, and, in particular, the Pietists in Germany, had prepared the ground for the sowing of such principles as those of Penn, for indeed a great degree of similarity existed between the doctrines of the Pietist and Quaker. A higher valuation of emotion and spirituality, as opposed to rationalism and dogma, characterized both of them; a life led in imitation of the Saviour, a communing with his spirit, a religion of the heart, supplanted the outward ritualism of an established church.

The second journey of William Penn, in 1677, was noteworthy in history, disproportionately to the number of conversions to the Society of Friends. Although Penn was received with open arms in the Pietistic circle at Frankfort-on-the-Main, was listened to with reverence and admiration by devoted hearers in the Rhine country, and

could count among his disciples some German women of very high social standing, still his greatest success, unknown to him, was of another kind. William Penn's journey was destined to begin an epoch of political and social, far more than religious movement, for it stirred those waves of immigration that threatened to depopulate southwestern Germany and overrun the new country that William Penn was about to open up for colonization on the banks of the Delaware. Those German sectarians who had most appreciated his simple yet eloquent sermons gave the first impetus to the new movement. The German and Dutch Mennonites in Crefeld and Kriegsheim had representatives in the first shipload that went to Penn's land.

The English government owed Admiral Penn, father of William Penn, the sum of sixteen thousand pounds sterling, for services and the advances he had made. Instead of payment of the debt, the son and heir accepted the grant of a large stretch of country north of Maryland, which was named Pennsylvania. This included the land that Peter Minuit had selected for New Sweden, wisely considering it best adapted to Germanic immigration. The royal charter was issued to Penn March 4, 1681, shortly after which there appeared in London a brief description of the new province: "Some account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America," wherein the favorable location, fertile soil, wealth in game and fish, as well as other circumstances advantageous to immigrants, were duly set forth. A translation of this book[1] appeared in the same year in Amsterdam.

[1] The title was *Eine Nachricht wegen der Landschaft Pennsylvania in Amerika, welche jüngstens unter dem groszen Siegel in England an William Penn. u. s. w. übergeben worden.* Nebenst beigefügtem ehemaligem Schreiben

The same persons who were intimate with Penn on his journey to Germany, in 1677, became acquainted with this book, and at once began a correspondence with his agent, Benjamin Furley. They formed a company and bought a large tract of land in Pennsylvania for the purpose of immigration. In 1682 a young lawyer, Francis Daniel Pastorius, returning from extensive travels, visited Frankfort-on-the-Main. There he became intimate with the noted Pietistic circle, including Dr. Spener, Dr. Schütz, the notary Fenda, Jacob Van de Walle, Maximilian Lersner, Eleonore von Merlau, and Maria Juliana Bauer. While with them he frequently heard mention of the name of William Penn, and also saw letters of Benjamin Furley and the printed account of Penn's province. They soon disclosed the secret of their purchase of fifteen thousand acres in that remote district, and the purpose of some of their number to migrate thither with their families. "This begat," says Pastorius, "a desire in my soul to continue in their society and with them to lead a quiet, godly, and honest life in a howling wilderness." [1] These were the beginnings of the Frankfort Company, that later extended its purchases to twenty-five thousand acres, a share of five thousand acres costing one hundred pounds. The members of the company were originally Dr. Schütz, Jacob Van de Walle, Kaspar Merian, Wilhelm Ueberfeldt, Daniel Behagel, all of Frankfort, besides Georg Strausz, Johann Laurentz, and Abraham Hasevoet. There were several changes of membership in course of time.[2] Though

des oberwähnten William Penn. In Amsterdam gedruckt bei Christoph Conraden, 1681. The same book was also printed in Frankfort as part of the larger work : *Diarium Europaeum.*

[1] Cf. *German American Annals*, vol. v, no. 5, p. 288 ; M. D. Learned, *The Life of Franz Daniel Pastorius, Founder of Germantown.*

[2] The names of Merian, Strausz, Laurentz, Ueberfeldt, and Hasevoet

all were very enthusiastic about the plan of immigration, none of the members ever came to America with the exception of Pastorius, who soon was appointed agent of the company in America.

The first actual immigrants were Mennonites from Crefeld, some of whom had become converts to Quakerism through the preaching of William Penn, while most of the others joined the Society of Friends in America. There were thirteen heads of families, the greater part interrelated by blood or marriage ties.[1] Pastorius, acting as the agent of the Frankfort Company, first visited Kriegsheim and looked after matters necessary for the long journey,[2] with the leaders, Peter Schumacher, Gerhard Hendricks, and others, after which he descended the Rhine to Crefeld. He took ship in advance of the others, and landed in Philadelphia on the 20th of August, 1683.

Six weeks later, Benjamin Furley had arranged at Rotterdam for the transportation of the first shipload of Germans. The *Mayflower* of the German immigrants to America was the good ship *Concord*, appropriately named,

dropped out, their shares being bought by Pastorius, Eleonore von Merlau (who had now become the wife of the theologian Petersen), Balthasar Jawert, and Johann Kembler of Lübeck, and Dr. Gerhard of Maastricht (syndic of Bremen), Johann Lebrün and Thomas Wylich of Wesel. A number of these were acquainted with William Penn.

[1] The names of the thirteen heads of families were as follows: Dirck, Abraham, and Hermann Op den Gräff, Lenert Arets, Tüners Kunders, Reinert Tisen, Wilhelm Strepers, Jan Lensen, Peter Keurlis, Jan Simens, Johann Bleikers, Abraham Tünes, and Jan Lücken.

The Crefelders had bought land of William Penn independently, to the extent of 18,000 acres: Jacob Telner 5000, Jan Strepers 5000, Dirck Sipman 5000, Govert Remke 1000, Jacob Isaac Van Bebber 1000, Lenert Arets 1000. Sipman and Remke did not emigrate; Arets in 1683, Telner, who had previously been in America, 1684, Van Bebber, 1687, Jan Strepers, 1691.

[2] The immigrants from Kriegsheim (Krisheim) arrived in Pennsylvania later; the first to arrive, in 1685, were Peter and Isaac Schumacher and Gerhard Hendricks.

being the bearer of a devoutly religious and peaceful company to the City of Brotherly Love, within the territory of the Holy Experiment. Captain Jeffreys commanded the *Concord*, a well-built and roomy vessel of the West Indian service. Five pounds, one-half fare for children under twelve, was the rate for which they were carried over. They left Gravesend July 24, 1683, and arrived in Philadelphia after a moderately long but safe journey, *on October 6, 1683*, the date celebrated by all Germans in America as the beginning of their history in the United States.

Pastorius, who had sailed six weeks before from Deal, England, was accompanied by a handful of immigrants, men and women of the serving class, some of whom later became property holders in Germantown.[1] On board ship Pastorius met one who immediately became his fast friend, the Welsh physician, Thomas Lloyd, scholar of Jesus College, Oxford.[2] With him he conversed in Latin, a characteristic accomplishment of the scholars of that day, Lloyd not being able to speak German, nor Pastorius to converse in English at that time.

In the City of Brotherly Love, William Penn received the German pioneer with loving kindness. Another close friend was Penn's secretary, Lehenmann. "The governor often summons me to dine with him" (Penn), wrote Pastorius subsequently. "As I was recently absent from home a week, he came himself to visit me and bade me dine with him twice every week, and declared to his coun-

[1] Their names were: James Schumacher, Georg Wertmüller, Isaac Dilbeck, his wife and two boys (Abraham and Jacob), Thomas Gasper, Conrad Bacher (alias Rutter), and an English maid, Frances Simpson. The ship was called *America*, Captain Wasey. Cf. Seidensticker, *Bilder aus der deutsch-pennsylvanischen Geschichte*, p. 38.

[2] Later, president of the Provincial Council; died in 1694.

sellors that he loved me and the High Germans very much and wished them to do so likewise." The city of Philadelphia had been laid out but two years before and consisted then of a few poorly built houses. "The rest," Pastorius remarked, "was woods and brushwood, in which I lost my way several times in an area no greater than that between the river bank and the house of my friend, William Hudson. A striking impression this made upon me, coming from London, Paris, Amsterdam, and Ghent."

After the *Concord* arrived, the first problem was to select a location for the German colonists. They had purchased the right of occupying in all forty-three thousand acres,[1] and asked for a site on a navigable river, as their contract demanded. But since Penn was not willing to carry out the latter condition,[2] they finally found available a tract about six miles above Philadelphia, which is at present in the twenty-second ward of the city and bears still the original name of Germantown.[3] Pastorius recorded in his "Grund und Lagerbuch" that "the hardships and trials of the early settlers were great, only equalled by their Christian endurance and indefatigable industry, so that Germantown in the early days could well be called 'Armentown,'[4] 'the city of the poor.'" Of his temporary dwelling Pastorius tells us it was thirty feet long and fifteen broad, and the windows, because of the lack of glass, were of paper soaked with oil; but over the house-door was writ-

[1] Including 25,000 acres purchased by the Frankfort Company, and 18,000 by the Crefelders.

[2] For a detailed account of Penn's position, cf. *German American Annals*, vol. v, no. 6, pp. 334–341.

[3] The date for the laying-out of the township was October 24, 1683.

[4] Germantown was probably pronounced Jarmantown, when Armentown, "the town of the poor," would rhyme with it.

ten a symbol of the good cheer within: "Parva domus sed amica bonis, procul este prophani." [1]

The first settlers were mostly weavers from Crefeld. Their industry soon led to the opening of a store in Philadelphia, for the sale of their wares. Many had also been accustomed to growing the vine, and when they saw the wild grape, they grew hopeful of establishing vineyards. The people of Germantown raised flax with great success, for Pastorius tells us that the prosperity of the young city was largely due to flax-spinning and weaving. There came many accessions from Crefeld, Mühlheim, and Kriegsheim, such colonists as Captain John Smith would have welcomed in Jamestown, mostly tradesmen, weavers, tailors, shoemakers, locksmiths, and carpenters, who along with their trades also applied themselves to cultivating the soil. As early as November, 1684, there was a sale at the Philadelphia store, over which Pastorius was overseer, in the interests of the Frankfort Company. Small were the beginnings, to be sure, the sales of the first year amounting to only ten dollars, for the times were hard, and the new immigrants were generally supplied with clothes enough to last them for several years. But soon the reputation of the well-woven goods of Germantown spread far and wide, and there was a large demand for them, coming from the outside, resulting in increased industrial activity.[2]

[1] Pastorius himself translates the motto into German: —

Klein ist mein Haus,
Doch Gute sieht es gern,
Wer gottlos ist, der bleibe fern.

"Whereat the Governor, Penn, when he visited it, enjoyed a hearty laugh and encouraged me to continue building."

[2] William Bradford, 1692, printed a poem by Richard Frame, "A Short Description of Pennsylvania," in which occur the lines: —

The German Town of which I spoke before,
Which is at least in length one mile and more,

Germantown has the honor of establishing the first paper mill in the colonies. Wilhelm Ruttinghausen (Rittenhouse) of Arnheim, Holland, with his two sons, Claus and Gerhard, settled on a brook running into the Wissahickon, and there built a paper mill in 1690. The art of making paper was a family possession, their ancestors having already distinguished themselves therein at home. The paper was of excellent quality and the business, later in Claus Ruttinghausen's charge, expanded to an extraordinary degree.

In a few years the number of inhabitants in Germantown had increased to such an extent that additions were made to the town. Krisheim (Kriegsheim) with 884 acres, Sommerhausen with 900, Crefeld with 1166 were added to the 2750 acres of Germantown. All these places were on the same road, Germantown being the southernmost, nearest to Philadelphia, while Crefeld was beyond Chestnut Hill, in the present Montgomery County. In Germantown, the road, sixty feet broad, ran through the middle of the straggling city and was bordered by peach trees. Each dwelling had a vegetable and flower garden of three acres attached to it. A cross-street, forty feet in width, cut the principal street at right angles and at the crossing there was an open market-place. The fields lay north and south of the city. In a remarkably short time the stillness of the primeval forest was broken by the droning noise of mill-wheels, the whirring of the weaver's shuttle, and the merry shouts of blue-eyed children. The forests were replaced by orchards, vineyards, and vegetable gardens dotted with flowers and beehives. Pastorius himself, like

> Where live High German people and Low Dutch,
> Whose trade in weaving Linnin cloth is much:
> There grows the flax. . . .
>
> Seidensticker, p. 50.

many a "Latin farmer" of the later periods, seeing the busy tradesmen and agriculturists about him, regretted the uselessness of book-learning, declaring mournfully, "never have metaphysics and Aristotelian logic made of a savage a Christian, far less earned a loaf of bread."

Germantown was incorporated as a town on August 12, 1689. The first burgomaster was Pastorius, and he served in the same capacity in 1692, 1696, and 1697. At other times he was generally city clerk, or scrivener, for which office his skillful and accurate pen well qualified him. Other burgomasters were Dirck Op den Graeff, Arnold Cassel, Reinert Tisen, Daniel Falckner. A public office was felt to be a burden in the idyllic days of Germantown, though the terms of office were not long. A Mennonite might, because of his religion, be excused from holding office, but otherwise a citizen was fined three pounds on refusal to accept an election.[1] Pastorius wrote in 1703 to William Penn, complaining of the difficulty of getting his people to serve as public officers, and expressing the hope that the arrival of new immigrants might relieve the situation. Fines and importations becoming necessary to secure office-holders, seems an embarrassment almost inconceivable to later generations of men, yet this historical fact emphasizes a trait often exhibited by the Germans in the United States.[2]

Just as Germantown in its early period was not troubled with office-seekers, so criminals were rare within its hallowed precincts. Sessions of court took place every six weeks, and frequently they were adjourned because there

[1] December 1, 1694, Paul Wulff was elected clerk, but declining without good cause, he was fined three pounds by the General Court. Cf. *German American Annals*, N. S., vol. vi, no. 1, p. 10.

[2] Cf. Part II, Chapter IV, "Political Influence of the German Element in the United States."

was nothing to do. Routine business, sales, purchases, contracts, etc., were but rarely interrupted by punishments, fines at the worst, for the neglect of fences, concerning which Germantown citizens were very particular (an example of speedy Americanization, since they had no fences at home), or for allowing cattle to stray, or for an occasional case of drunkenness. The records, by accident perhaps, tell us that beer was brewed in the early days of Germantown. Peter Keurlis, in May, 1695, was summoned before court, because he had, on an inn-keeper's license, kept a saloon. He was the same that had been granted the privilege of selling a quantity of beer brewed for a fair that had not been held.[1] It is interesting to note that the law-makers of Germantown restricted the sale of intoxicants, limiting the same purchaser during a half-day to a quarter of a pint of rum or a quart of beer. It must not be supposed, however, that Germantown was the scene of frequent intoxication. In half a dozen years hardly a single case of drunkenness was recorded, though every detail seems to have been put down, as for instance, when Müller was imprisoned for wishing to smoke one hundred pipes of tobacco in one day as the result of a wager, or when Caspar Karsten called the policeman a rogue.[2]

In the year 1693 Pastorius and Peter Schumacher were commissioned to procure stocks for the public punishment of offenders. Very little use seems to have been made of them. Again, in the minutes of 1697, we read that Arndt Klincken gave his old house for use as a prison. No more convincing proof, however, of the Arcadian conditions of this early German settlement could be cited than the min-

[1] This happened in November, 1695. Peter Keurlis was, in all probability, the first beer-brewer in the American colonies.

[2] See Seidensticker, chap. viii, "Aus der Gerichtsstube," *Bilder aus der deutsch-pennsylvanischen Geschichte*, pp. 59–62.

ute: "All crimes that have been committed previous to this date are to be forgiven, but whatever evil happens henceforward shall be punished." [1]

A court seal being found desirable, Pastorius was commissioned to prepare the design. He selected a clover leaf on the three leaves of which were sketched respectively a vine, a flax blossom, and a weaver's shuttle, with the motto: "Vinum, Linum et Textrinum." [2] Annual fairs were held in 1701 or before, and semi-annual fairs in 1702, 1704, and continuously thereafter in the spring and autumn.[3]

Pastorius had frequently desired to lay down the cares of public office, and when the Frankfort Company in time relieved him, the result was not altogether favorable to the company's interests. It was in January, 1700, when Daniel Falckner, Johann Kelpius, and Johann Jawert were appointed agents of the company with full power. Kelpius, hermit and mystic, was not concerned with the affairs of this world. Falckner was a mischiefmaker, and Jawert, the only happy choice among the three, was an honest man imposed upon.[4] In October, 1701, Falckner

[1] Minutes of the year 1697. See Seidensticker, *supra*, chap. vii, p. 55. "Alle Strafen, welche gefallen sein in vorige Zeit, sollen alle vergeben sein, aber was nun fortan vorfällt, soll exekutirt werden."

[2] Pastorius translates this, "Der Wein, der Lein und der Webeschrein," in order to denote, as he declared, that in Germantown the principal occupations were: viniculture, flax-growing, and textile industries. Another translation has been made by Seidensticker, to the effect that agriculture, manufactures, and the merry enjoyment of life were in Germantown and have been for two centuries thereafter, in the United States, the characteristic modes of activity of the German immigrants.

[3] Perhaps the county fair which has come down to us is a survival of the Pennsylvania German "Jahrmarkt."

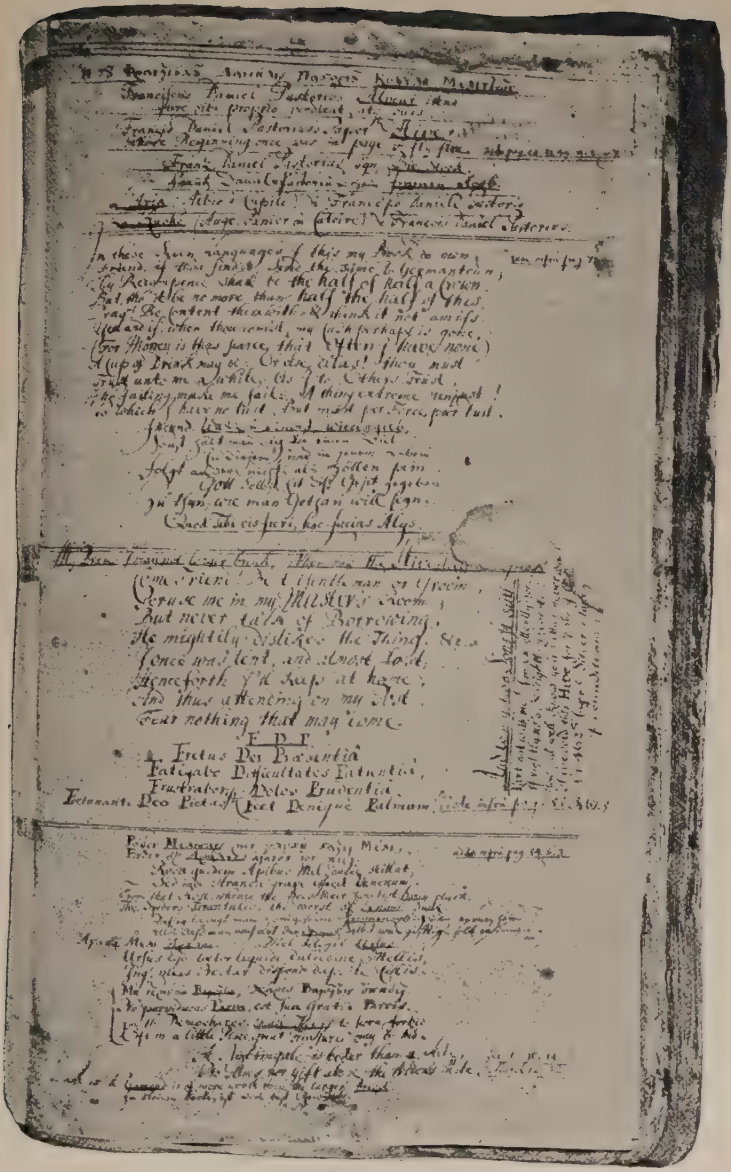
[4] Sachse, *German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*, gives a very sympathetic account of Daniel Falckner, who is generally, perhaps, not given entire justice. His service to Germantown was to stir it up out of its ruts, and to the Frankfort Company to insist on the measuring of the remaining 22,025

and Jawert, as agents, energetically pressed the claim for the land to which the Frankfort Company was entitled by the terms of the original purchase. This tract of twenty-two thousand and twenty-five acres, when assigned, was located in the northwestern part of Montgomery County, New Hanover Township, on the Manatawny River, which flows into the Schuylkill at Pottstown. It became known as Falckner's Swamp, and later was sold to Johann Heinrich Sprögel, at a ridiculously low figure. The sale was concluded by Falckner, who, it seems, owed[1] Sprögel some money, while Jawert was duped, or kept uninformed. Jawert complained that he had not been consulted in this somewhat obscure transaction.

A panic was caused by the adventurer Sprögel, in 1708, when he attempted to dispossess a great many of the Germantown settlers of their lands, claiming that he owned the only correct title by virtue of his purchase of the Frankfort Company's rights. The settlers appealed to Pastorius, who was always the deliverer in time of trouble, and Pastorius hastened to Philadelphia. He found that "all of the lawyers of the city were feed," which meant that all four of the lawyers residing in Philadelphia had been engaged in behalf of Sprögel's side of the case. Pastorius, not affluent enough to import an advocate from New York, consulted his friend, James Logan, and with

acres, which, however, he lost again for the company, through sale. Daniel Falckner's later career was a useful one, as pioneer and minister in New Jersey and New York. He had also been the founder of the first Lutheran church in Falckner's Swamp district (Manatawny). Daniel must not be confounded with Justus Falckner, ordained in the Swedish Lutheran church at Wicacoa, and beloved minister in New York and along the Hudson, 1703–23. His brother Daniel then served his parish for a short time, until Pastor Berkenmeyer came.

[1] Cf. "The Case of the Frankfort Company's Business briefly stated" (by Pastorius), *German American Annals*, vol. v, no. 6, pp. 353 ff.



FACSIMILE OF TITLE-PAGE OF PASTORIUS' BEEHIVE

the straightforward testimony of Jawert, the injustice of the plot was exposed and the difficulties removed. While the settlers of Germantown retained their rights to their property, Sprögel remained in possession of Falckner's Swamp, which was by no means what the name implies, but good land, constituting, as above stated, the remaining portion of the Frankfort Company's land, about seven eighths of the twenty-five thousand acres originally purchased from William Penn.

Germantown maintained its independent government until 1707. In that year George Lowther, the queen's attorney, summarily dismissed the town's court and the newly elected officers. There were mild protests, but no serious regrets, since the citizens of Germantown were thereby relieved of at least one tax, having previously, in spite of their complaints, been required to pay a threefold tax, viz.: for the province, for the county Philadelphia, and for their own municipality. When the old accounts were closed, the treasury of Germantown still owed Pastorius two pounds fourteen shillings, and, judging by the carefully kept books of Pastorius, that debt was never paid. This is an illustration among many of the unselfishness with which Pastorius did his work. He was in every respect a public-spirited man, the "Bradford" of Germantown, and it is well to pause a moment for closer acquaintance with this interesting man.[1]

Franz Daniel Pastorius was born in Sommerhausen, in 1651, the son of a jurist of prominence. He studied at the Universities of Altdorf, Strassburg, Basel, and Jena. Besides his special training in law and theology he was

[1] Seidensticker, *Bilder aus der deutsch-pennsylvanischen Geschichte*, iv, xi, u. xii, Abschnitt. An exhaustive treatment of Pastorius' life and work, by Professor M. D. Learned, has appeared in *German American Annals*, vols. v and vi.

a polylinguist, and probably no man among his contemporaries in America was his equal, certainly not his superior, in classical culture and encyclopædic learning. He was remarkable as a statistician, noting every fact of knowledge or experience with characteristic accuracy and neatness, an evidence of which is his scrap-book called the "Bee-Hive," still preserved and treasured by his descendants.[1] Of his other works the best known is his description of Pennsylvania, a collection of his letters and reports, sent to his father, Melchior Adam Pastorius, and by him collected in book form and published in 1700.[2]

But better than his learning, that if chronicled at the present day might smack of pedantry (if not put us to shame), was his exemplary character. He was the mainstay of the colony, the chief cause of its initial success. The prosperity of Germantown was his life-work, excluding ever the thought of personal gain, or the feverish appetite for land speculation. He served the colony as burgomaster and town clerk, and at all times as notary, his handwriting being visible in all public and private documents, for which he exacted fees lamentably small. Nevertheless he was self-respecting, and while not wealthy, was able at his death, in 1719, to leave his widow and

[1] Exact title: *Francis Daniel Pastorius, His Hive, Beestock (Bienenstock), Melliotrophium, Alvear or Rusca Apum;* begun A. D. 1696. Most of the matter is written in English, for Pastorius had gained a mastery of the language. Historical, literary, geographical, didactic, sententious, and epigrammatic articles and notes to the number of 5000 are loosely strung together. Verses (doggerel, more strictly speaking), in English, Latin, German, French, Dutch, Italian, vary the monotony of this queer hive of pedantic learning. A facsimile of one of the pages is reproduced in *Americana Germanica*, vol. i, part 4, and copious extracts are published in vols. i and ii.

[2] *Umständige Geographische Beschreibung der zu allerletzt Erfundene Provintz Pennsylvania an denen End-Gräntzen Americae in der West-Welt gelegen.* Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1700.

two sons a respectable property. Besides being a public officer in Germantown, and a member of the assembly (which with the provincial council was the legislative power of the colonial government) in 1687 and 1691, he was the leader in educational matters.

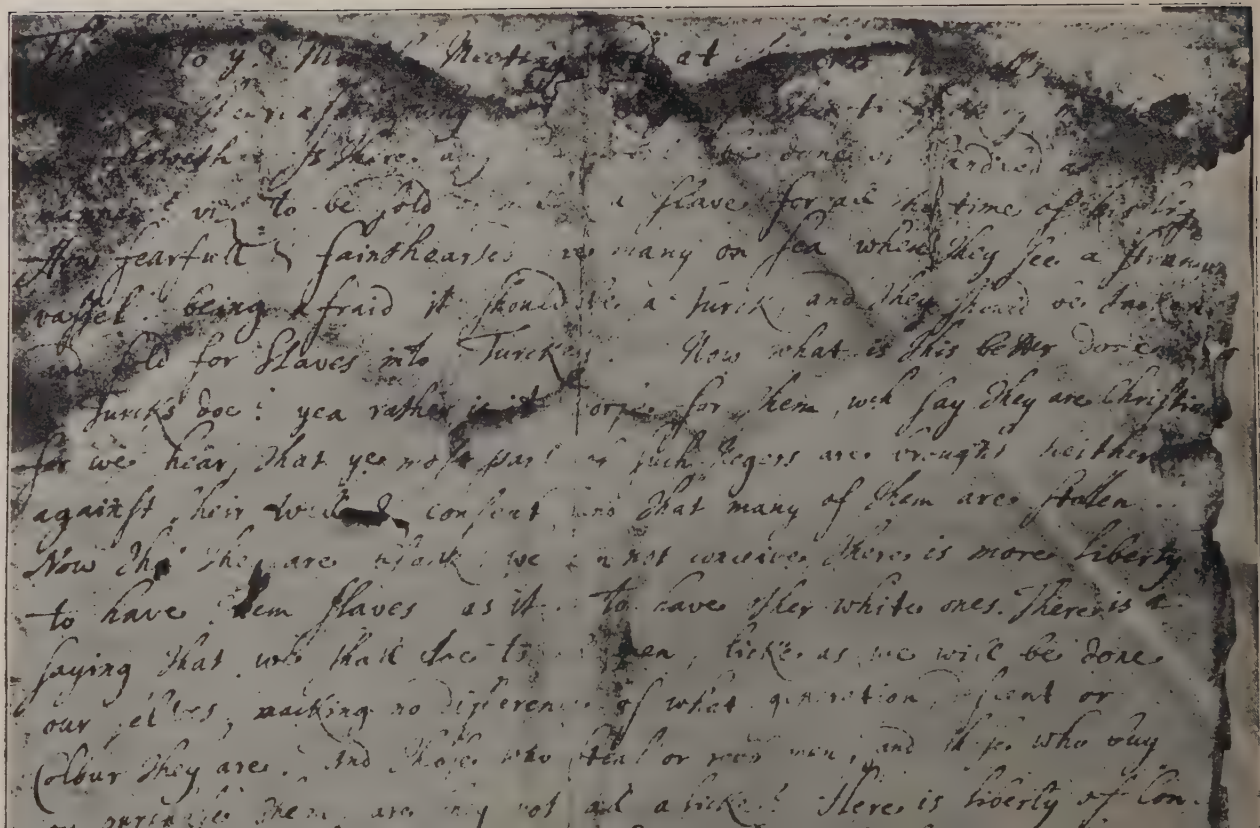
In 1698 he was called to the Quaker School in Philadelphia, which he served until 1700. Two years after, when a school was established in Germantown, Pastorius became its head. The latter, a coeducational institution, was supported by a fixed rate, four to sixpence a week as the scholar's fee, while several citizens besides made voluntary contributions. A night school was established for such as labored during the day or were too far advanced in years for the day school.

However distinct and valuable were the material contributions, such as its agriculture, its paper manufacture, its weaving and milling industries, the German settlement in colonial Pennsylvania was still more remarkable for another feature, — a monument built more enduring than brass, erected for the cause of humanity, that will make Germantown forever memorable in the annals of the people of the United States. This was Germantown's protest against negro slavery, made in the year 1688, the first formal action ever taken against the barter in human flesh within the boundaries of the United States.[1] The system of negro slavery was repulsive to the German settlers from the very start, and they were shocked to find that the Quakers remained indifferent toward this criminal abuse. They failed to understand how the Quakers could harmonize slavery with their religion,

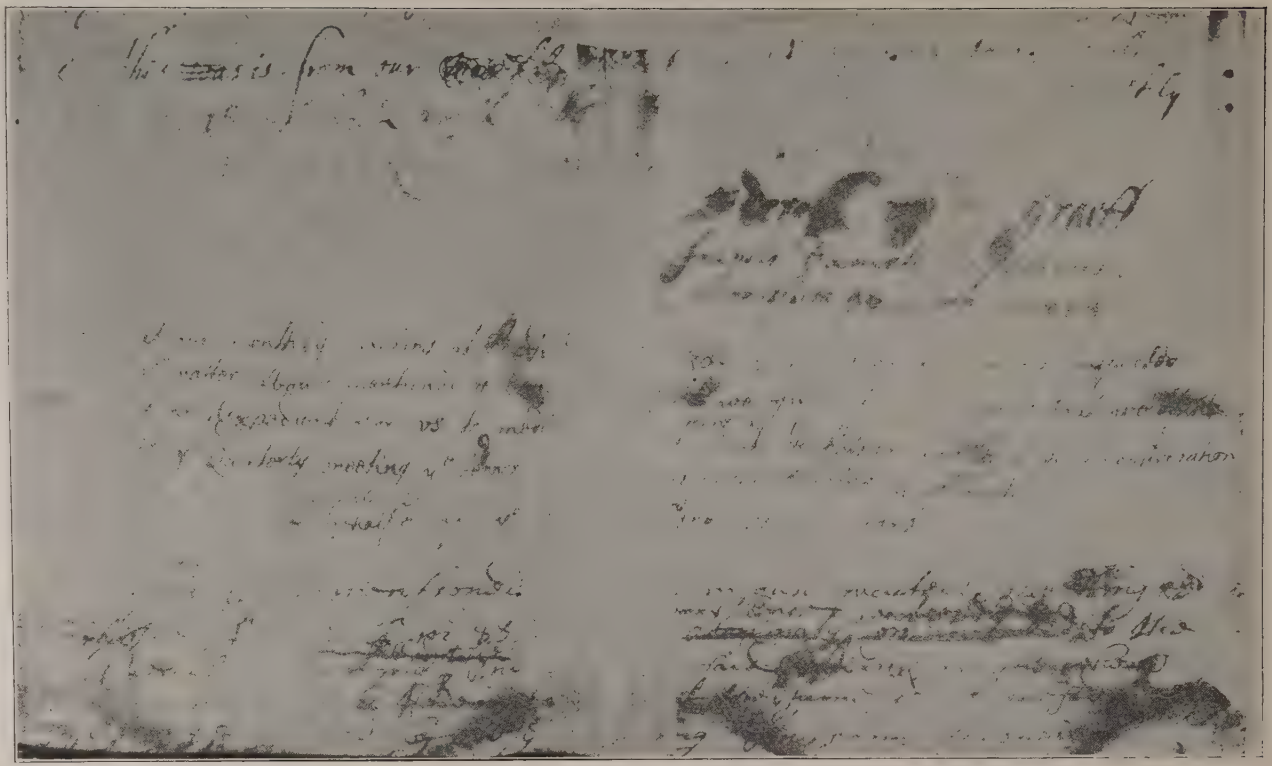
[1] E. Bettle, in his *Notices of Negro Slavery in America:* "To this body of humble, unpretending and almost unnoticed philanthropists belongs the honor of having been the first association who ever remonstrated against Negro slavery." Quoted by Seidensticker, *supra*, p. 67.

and hoping to awaken them from their stupor, the German settlers appealed to the Quakers' sense of honor, their pride and vaunted humanity. The protest had its origin in a gathering of Germans who met on the 18th of April, 1688, in Germantown. A document, still preserved, was drawn up, in the handwriting of Pastorius, and signed by Garret Hendericks, Franz Daniel Pastorius, Dirck Op den Graeff, and Abraham Op den Graeff. Addressed to the monthly meeting of the Quakers, about to take place in Richard Worrell's house, Lower Dublin, its design was to bring the matter of slavery before that gathering for debate and action. The monthly gathering of the 30th of April deemed the matter of such importance that they could not pretend to take action upon it. They referred it to the quarterly meeting, as the content of the protest "was quite in accord with the truth." The quarterly meeting, held in June, acted similarly, considering the case too important for their action and appointing a committee to lay the protest before the annual meeting, the highest tribunal of the Quakers. The annual meeting occurred in the same year, when "the document protesting against the buying and keeping of negro slaves, received from several German Friends," was acknowledged, but it was voted not fitting for the association to pass definite judgment upon the matter, since it stood in intimate relation with other affairs. The whole matter was laid on the table for the nonce, a diplomatic evasion. Seventeen years later the Quakers did make resolutions against the slave trade, and in 1770 the Friends were advised never to appoint slaveholders as overseers. The German Quakers may be considered the radical wing of the Quakers at that early period, on the question of abolition.

The settlement of Germantown remained a German city.



BEGINNING OF PROTEST



END OF PROTEST WITH SIGNATURES

FACSIMILE OF PROTEST (1688) AGAINST "THE BUYING AND KEEPING OF NEGROES"

William Penn had preached there in the German language in 1683, and in 1793 President Washington attended a German service in the Reformed church, the epidemic of yellow fever in Philadelphia compelling him to remove his residence for a time to Germantown. The city became ever more prominent as the base for distribution of German immigration to the counties of Montgomery, Berks, Lebanon, York, Bucks, Lehigh, and Northampton. It long remained the centre of German culture, whence books and German newspapers were distributed to German counties and settlements. The printing-press of Christopher Sauer, that remained in operation for a period of forty years, will be mentioned later.[1] The industrial activities and the semi-annual fairs of Germantown, the latter planned for both business and pleasure, served as models for other settlements. Such was Germantown in the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth, the rural charm of the location began to attract the wealthy citizens of Philadelphia. The original aspect of the place was lost, and even the names of the pioneers, as Lücken, Schumacher, Jansen, Kunders, survive only in an English disguise, as Lukens, Shoemaker, Johnson, Conrads, many of the present inhabitants knowing naught of their German origin.

In concluding this chapter on the Germantown settlement, a serious omission would be the failure to note the arrival of a group of men, who were noted as Mystics. Their leader was Johann Kelpius; others were Köster, Falckner, Seelig, and Matthai. They believed in bodily translation to realms beyond at the moment of death, conditioned on their keeping firmly attached to their faith. Bearing the conviction that the world was coming to a

[1] See Chapter v, pp. 143–146.

speedy end, their purpose was to await the Judgment Day in the wilderness of North America, where they might, during their last years, be in closer communion with the Divine Spirit. Magister Johann Jacob Zimmermann was the real founder of this chapter of Mystics. One of the best mathematicians and astronomers of Europe, he died at Rotterdam on the eve of embarkation for America, in 1693. According to Zimmermann's calculations the millennium was to come in the autumn of the year 1694, an event he had also expected to await in America.

This group of Mystics, tarrying at Germantown, lost two of their number, one of them marrying the daughter of Zimmermann, content to build a terrestrial home among the peace-loving Germantown settlers. The others remained faithful to the higher call, following Kelpius (1694), who selected a tract for settlement known as the Ridge, then supposed to be the highest point of vacant land in the neighborhood of Germantown, a part of a range of hills drained by the flow of the Wissahickon. A small natural cave was found among the rocks of the hillside and near it gurgled a spring. Kelpius enlarged the cave and made it habitable and was wont to retire within it for prayer and contemplation. The popular name that the mystical brotherhood received was "The Woman in the Wilderness," [1] though the members themselves never acknowledged this name. One of the members, Köster, paid considerable attention to the religious life of the Germantown Germans and their English neighbors, and in Philadelphia became involved in the Keithian controversy,[2] which was then agitating the Quakers through-

[1] "Das Weib in der Wüste." — Revelation, xii, 14.

[2] The Quakers petitioned Pastorius to banish the Mystics from the colony.

out the province. The sequel was a disagreement between Kelpius and Köster, and the withdrawal of the latter from the Ridge for the purpose of founding a new brotherhood. A few members of the original community and some Keithians joined him in the attempt to form a new religious society, that they located a short distance north of Germantown, but the movement was not crowned with success, and the defection of Köster is nowhere dignified with mention in the writings of Kelpius, Seelig, or Falckner.

It must not be supposed that the hermit on the Wissahickon and his mystical brotherhood were given exclusively to idle contemplation. Kelpius was a teacher of children, Seelig a binder of books, and all the rest supported themselves by gardening or some other form of employment, most frequently by giving instruction. One of their most curious functions was the satisfaction of the popular craving for supernatural aid. It was characteristic of the age and of the peasantry to appeal to the stars and other mysterious agencies for favorable influence. The horoscope was firmly believed in, even by intelligent persons, and the Mystic chapter, from their weird astronomical tower on the Wissahickon, cast horoscopes not only at nativities of human beings, but also at the laying of cornerstones of important edifices.[1] Before planting or sowing, the advice of the Mystics was deemed

He said he would refer the matter to the proprietor (Penn), who was soon to come, and admonished patience. He wrote the following lines : —

Die Fehler meiner Brüder
Sind mir zwar ganz zuwider
Doch wegen eines Worts
Ihr Zeugniss zu vernichten
Und freventlich zu richten
Find ich nicht meines Orts.

[1] Such as the Swedish Lutheran church at Wicacoa.

of value, and at other times their divining-rod was called into service to incline toward hidden springs or indicate the presence of precious metals under the surface of the earth.[1] A number of astrological instruments, with which the brotherhood was provided, ultimately passed into the possession of the Philosophical Society of Pennsylvania. Another interesting superstition was their faith in talismans (*Anhängsel*). The latter consisted commonly of small pieces of parchment or paper, or sometimes of thin stone or metal, on which were written some magic symbols, consecrated with occult ceremonies, at moments when the planets were supposed to be of particular power.[2] The talisman was supposed to be effectual in securing personal safety, bodily and spiritual, against accidents and evil spirits, or to be possessed of magnetic power, or virtue to heal wounds and diseases. Mystic healing powers were attributed also to the saintlike Kelpius, who, after the brotherhood became better known, was visited by many sectarians of Pennsylvania. Abel Noble, the leader of the Sabbatarians, frequently visited the brotherhood in their tabernacle in the forest, and conferences took place also with the Swedish pastors, Rudman and Aurén. An effort was made by Kelpius to combine the numerous sects under one church roof, in a united Christianity, but it was without success. Conrad Matthai was prominent in this attempt. The Moravian Zinzendorf, nearly half a century later, tried again to realize that glorious dream, but was likewise unsuccessful.

[1] Sachse, in his youth, was shown a bed of iron ore, not far from Germantown, which was said to have been located by one of the divining-rods. See Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania*, part I.

[2] One of the *Anhängsel* most in demand was prepared at midnight on St. John's Eve and buried for a time where the Sonnenwend fire had been. This special one was supposed to protect against all evil spirits. Sachse, *The German Pietists*, part I.

JOHANN KELPIUS

Kelpius lived until 1708 or 1709, an interesting account of his dying day coming down to us through an attendant, named Geissler. Kelpius suffered from the widespread disease so well called the white plague, and his consumptive frame wasted away slowly. He pleaded with his Lord for a transfiguration, such as was granted Enoch and Elias, but upon the third day of his prayers he said resignedly to his faithful famulus: "My beloved Daniel, I am not to attain that to which I aspired. I have received my answer: it is, that dust I am, and to dust I am to return. It is ordained that I shall die like all other children of Adam." With that the hermit handed Geissler[1] a box which he told him to cast into the river. Geissler, thinking that the box might contain objects of value, hid it away, but on his return, Kelpius told him that he had not obeyed his behest. Frightened by such clairvoyance, Geissler took the box and threw it into the river, when it flashed and thundered (*geblitzet und gedonnert*). Returning to Kelpius, the master thanked him. This is an instance of the faith which people reposed in the occult powers of the mystic brotherhood.

The logical successor of the hermits on the Wissahickon was the Ephrata Community on the banks of the Cocalico,[2] Lancaster County. A branch of this new society flourished in Germantown and vicinity, and a massive stone building was erected in 1738 on the Wissahickon, a short distance from the spot where the original tabernacle stood. The location is within the confines of Fairmount Park, where an interesting history is hidden behind such park signs as

[1] Geissler, when an old man, reported these incidents to Mühlenberg, in 1742. See *Hallesche Nachrichten*, pp. 1265–1266. Reprint (Philadelphia), vol. ii, p. 640.

[2] For an account of the Ephrata cloister, and its founder, Conrad Beissel, see Chapter v, pp. 114–115.

"Hermit Glen," "Hermit Bridge," "Hermit Lane," suggesting, alas, to but few of the thousands of daily visitors, the memory of the ancient hermit of the Wissahickon.

With the settlement of Germantown in 1683 and its increasing prosperity, the Germans had gained, by the end of the seventeenth century, a permanent foothold on American soil. Located close to Philadelphia, the leading port of entry, and founded just in advance of the larger migrations of the eighteenth century, Germantown served as a base for the distribution of the German people over the area most favorable, through climatic and natural conditions, for the increase of their race. They fully availed themselves of this splendid opportunity, as will be told in succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER III

INCREASE IN GERMAN IMMIGRATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, AND ITS CAUSES

Conditions in the Palatinate and in the southwestern German countries — Causes for emigration — Immigrant hunting — Newlanders and their methods — The redemptionist system ; advantages and evils — Crowding, extortion, shipwrecks — The Deutsche Gesellschaft of Philadelphia improves conditions.

In the first decades of the eighteenth century there rose a great tide of German immigration. Its volume presents a strange contrast to the sparseness of German settlements in the seventeenth century, the period that has just been passed in review. The change was produced by historical causes, operating as mighty forces. Destructive wars, religious persecution, relentless oppression by petty tyrants, rendered existence unendurable at home, while favorable reports from earlier settlers beyond the Atlantic, more plentiful means of transportation, and an innate desire for adventure (the German *Wanderlust*), made irresistible the attraction of the foreign shore. The area which furnished the largest number of immigrants was the southwestern part of Germany, the Palatinate, Würtemberg, Baden, and Switzerland, perhaps in that very order. Sometimes all of the causes just mentioned united to compel an exodus from a particular district, as in the case of the Palatinate, while in Switzerland, with a nominally freer government, religious persecution was the main cause of emigration. The emigrations from the Palatinate[1] for a time surpassed in

[1] The geographical borders of the Palatinate at that time exceeded the present limits of the Rhenish Palatinate, which is to-day a part of Bavaria.

extent those from all other parts of Germany, so much so that in England and America emigrants from Germany were commonly called Palatines, and curiously enough we meet in an historical document the phrase, "a Palatine from Holsteyn."

In order to understand more clearly the situation as it existed in the Rhine country and in the southwestern part of Germany at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it will be necessary to get a closer view[1] of each of the main causes of discontent, viz., the wars, the religious persecutions, and the tyranny of small rulers.

The most destructive of all the wars that devastated Germany was the Thirty Years' War, 1618–48, than which none more terrible is known to history. It is an accepted fact that in its material development Germany was set back two hundred years. Throughout Germany seventy-five per cent of the inhabitants were killed, and the property loss was far greater. Statistics are furnished by Freytag for the county of Henneberg,[2] showing that in the course of the war seventy-five per cent of the inhabitants, sixty-

It extended from the Neckar Valley, downstream on both sides of the Rhine as far as Oppenheim, Alzei, and Bacharach, and from the Bergstrasse (the old Roman road running along the Odenwald from Darmstadt to Heidelberg) on the east, to the Hardt Mountains on the west. Mannheim, Heidelberg, Worms, Alzei were within its borders. Its area was about 340 German square miles, a little less than the area of the present state of Massachusetts, and the number of inhabitants about 500,000.

[1] Cf. the following: Dändliker, *Geschichte der Schweiz;* Freytag, "Aus dem Jahrhundert des groszen Krieges," vol. iii of *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit;* Häusser, *Geschichte der Rheinischen Pfalz.*

For brief accounts see: Kapp, F., *Geschichte der Deutschen im Staate New York* (N. Y. 1867), pp. 58–145. Reprinted in *Geschichtsblätter* (edited by Carl Schurz), vol. i, New York, 1884; Kuhns, *German and Swiss Settlements of Pennsylvania*, chap. i.

[2] Within the present borders partly of Saxe-Weimar, Prussia, and the Saxon Principalities, i. e., in Central Germany. For statistics, see Freytag, pp. 234 ff.

six per cent of the houses, eighty-five per cent of the horses, and over eighty-two per cent of the cattle were destroyed. He also proves that the number of houses and inhabitants in this locality did not again reach the ante-bellum number, until 1849, i. e., two hundred years later.

The southwestern part of Germany fared no better, the Palatinate worst of all, being repeatedly visited by the contending armies. The ruler of the Palatinate at the beginning of the war was the unfortunate Frederick V, the Winter King, who, after accepting the leadership of the Protestant cause, was badly defeated in Bohemia. The war was carried into his own country, when General Tilly, in 1622, laid waste that fair and prosperous land. Ten years later Gustavus Adolphus expelled the Imperialists from the Palatinate, but after the battle of Nördlingen, the troops of Sweden and Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, far from acting as friends and allies, gave to the country, as a contemporary expressed it, "the Last Ointment." In 1635 came the Spaniards under Gallas, who exceeded even the Imperialists and Swedes in brutality and spoliation, leaving behind them only "glowing iron and millstones." As elsewhere, terrible tortures[1] were inflicted to obtain information concerning hidden treasures, and death was but a mercy, saving from torments and dreaded exile.

The Palatinate was again ravaged by the French and Bavarians in 1639, and the first good crop thereafter, that of 1641, was also destroyed. In 1644 and 1645 the old

[1] For a graphic description of the methods employed by the troopers of the Thirty Years' War, cf. the German contemporary novel of the seventeenth century, Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*. One of the most diabolical of the tortures employed was that of putting salt on the soles of a peasant landlord and getting a goat to lick off the salt. The agonized laughter of the victim furnished amusement for the brutal bystanders, who liberated him only upon his disclosing the hiding-places of the last precious pieces of his property.

foes overran and robbed, with their traditional savagery. In the last years of the war neither friend nor foe any longer entered the Palatinate, the melancholy fact staring them in the face that there was no longer anything to steal, — the most fertile area of Germany having become a desert.

The moral degradation following in the wake of such devastation was even worse than the loss of life and property. Friend could not be distinguished from foe, and men would wrest from their starving neighbors a crust of bread. It has been recorded that not even human flesh was sacred, that the gallows and churchyards were put under guard to protect them against theft by desperate, famine-stricken people. Incredible as it may seem, in some instances even murder and cannibalism were resorted to. The neighborhood of the city of Worms, once a centre of European civilization, a free imperial city, at times the residence of emperors, now afforded cover for a group of beggars, who fell upon passers-by and devoured their bodies for sustenance. The destruction of fields and property had another disastrous effect, disposing the surviving tillers of the soil to become camp-followers, as the easiest way of procuring a living. Self-reliant toil was thus given another inducement to idleness and consequent demoralization.

A ray of hope lightened the Palatinate, when, immediately after the war, the Elector Karl Ludwig ascended the throne. He was the son of the ill-starred Winter King, a sensible, duty-loving, and economical ruler, whose character had been formed in the school of adversity. While in exile in London, he had witnessed the death of Charles I, his uncle, on the scaffold. Returning to the Palatinate, instead of a land of plenty, he found a barren waste. A dis-

aster of such magnitude could not be repaired within a short time, but Karl Ludwig contributed more than one man's share to the social and material betterment of his native land. Still, even within his lifetime, there began a new series of misfortunes. In 1674 Louis XIV sent Turenne into the Palatinate, to burn and plunder. In some districts the inhabitants dared not cultivate their fields for the succeeding three years. The knightly challenge of the helpless elector for a duel with Louis XIV was not accepted. The pillaging continued, and the elector was even forced to pay tribute. In 1680 the French despot invaded the Palatinate in time of peace. It was the year of Karl Ludwig's death, and his successors could and would do nothing to lessen the sufferings of the people. The most cruel invasion of all was that which Louis XIV made in 1688, again without declaration of war, and on an absurd claim to the territory by inheritance through Elizabeth, the late elector's daughter, who had married the Duke of Orleans, brother of the French king. The beautiful castle of Heidelberg and the city of Mannheim were burned in the severe winter of 1688–89. The Palatinate was to be made and kept a desert in order not to serve as a granary for the enemies of France. The beautiful cities of Speyer and Worms presently shared the fate of Heidelberg and Mannheim. These cities, through centuries famed for their prosperity, now harbored a pauper population. Even less consideration was shown the people in smaller towns and in the innumerable villages. The greed and cruelty of the French troops surpassed even the record of the "Landsknechte" of the Thirty Years' War. When nearly five hundred thousand Palatines were driven from devastated fields and burning houses, no humanitarian hand was raised to render assistance. Exile was followed by famine,

famine by pestilence, and all the finer impulses of the human heart were extinguished in the gross wretchedness of brutalizing despair.

A remarkable fact in the history of the Palatinate is, that during the brief intervals of peace, between successive invasions in the seventeenth century (and they by no means discontinued at its close), the country showed most wonderful recuperative power. Whenever a period of ten years of peace was vouchsafed, the country prospered to such an enormous degree, that it again became an alluring bait for warlike neighbors. The fertility of the soil, the industry and agricultural skill of the population, "a nation of farmers through thirty generations," invariably transformed again the desert into a garden. The invading armies in the Thirty Years' War and those of Louis XIV frequently took advantage of this ability to recover, allowing the country just time enough to grow new crops again, before reinvasion. On one occasion a French army, after having robbed a district of everything it possessed, returned seeds to the farmers, so that they might prepare another harvest for the soldiers. The farmers by and by refused to turn the sod and raise crops for others to reap.

Under the electors of the Palatinate, succeeding Karl Ludwig, another cause for popular dissatisfaction was added. Karl Ludwig, though himself a Catholic, had been tolerant in matters of religion. His successors were fanatics, or ruled entirely under the influence of Jesuit advisers. The persecution of Protestants, the Lutheran and Reformed, was carried on systematically, their church property being confiscated to a very large extent, and the worshipers in many cases expelled from the country. This was done even in contravention of treaties or agreements,

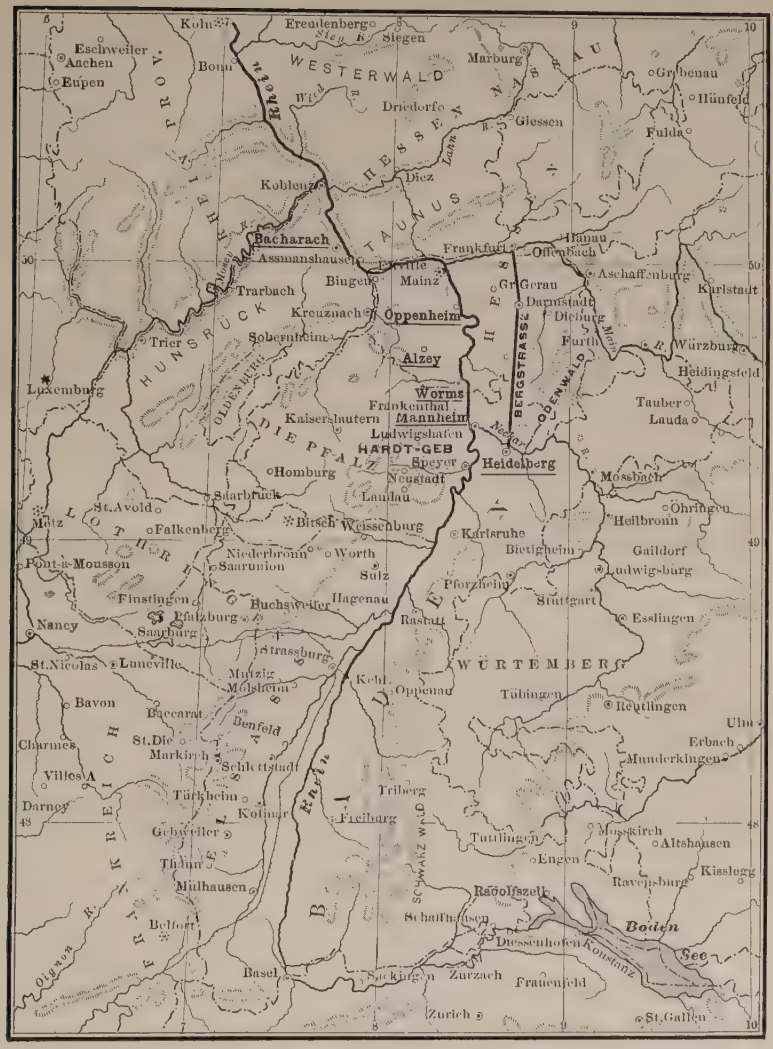
and caused reprisals in the Protestant countries, taken against the Catholic inhabitants. A cessation of terrorism was thus frequently brought about, at least officially. The law of the stronger, however, continued in force, and denominations other than Lutheran or Reformed, such as Huguenots, Waldenses, Mennonites, Quakers, *et al.*, had no rights which the government was bound to respect.

The third cause for emigration which already existed in the seventeenth, but became far more compelling in the eighteenth century, was the tyranny of the princes of small domains. Germany was broken up into hundreds of practically independent principalities, whose rulers generally imitated the example of Louis XIV. They impoverished the people through heavy taxation, levied to support an extravagant court, that hunted, feasted, and reveled, until bankruptcy or revolution put an end to their riotous living. The peasant classes were the principal sufferers, and long-suffering they were indeed, throughout western Europe, until their day dawned, near the close of the eighteenth century, with the French Revolution. In the mean time the "Landesväter" (or, as they have been dubbed, "Landesverräter") thumbscrewed their faithful subjects, until they were reduced to serfdom or beggary. Conditions were no better in Würtemberg, Baden, or any part of the southwestern German territory. Not only did the princes tyrannously disregard the economic welfare of their subjects, but several of them added religious persecution to the other inflictions. All the more did the persecuted hold fast to their religion, whatever sect they belonged to, being all that was left them, a treasure that could not be attacked by dust or rust, or the lust of princes. The history of the period is replete with instances of heroism displayed in the cause of religion, the various

sectarians proving equal devotion to their particular faith. A fond hope for betterment of their earthly condition rose in their hearts with the good reports from the American colonists under English[1] rule, a hope made more vivid by the eloquence of serious men such as William Penn, — a hope that suddenly seemed capable of realization, when what appeared to the Palatines as a direct invitation from Queen Anne of England came for them to settle in her transatlantic colonies. The wretchedness of their present condition, the impossibility of future improvement seeming never so evident as now, turned sentiment into resolution, and what might be likened to a tidal wave of immigration formed quickly and swept from the Rhine to the shores of England, thence to turn impulsively and with compelling force toward the promised land. The story of this first great exodus, the Palatine immigration to the colony of New York, will be the subject of the succeeding chapter.

The principal causes of the great German immigration in the eighteenth century were found to have been religious persecutions, the tyranny of autocrats, destructive wars, failure of crops and famine, economic bankruptcy. The flames of immigration once having a good start, a gale soon arose, which fanned them into a conflagration beyond control. There were then as there are now, in our own day, various artificial aids operating toward the increase or steady continuance of immigration. Such were, firstly, more frequent opportunities of transportation, prepared by profit-seeking ship-owners or ship-companies, and secondly, more abundant information or communication supplied gratuitously by the selfish interests of ad-

[1] On the Continent Prussia, since the time of the Great Elector, had stood for religious tolerance, and had invited the persecuted sectarians to settle in her territory.



THE PALATINATE. AND THE CENTRE OF THE GERMAN EMIGRATION DISTRICT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

vertising agents and land speculators. The perils of the immigrant by land and sea furnish a theme that cannot be exhausted within the limits of the present chapter, but a brief survey may fittingly precede the historical outline of the German settlements in the eighteenth century, may serve to increase our admiration of the courage and heroism of the early immigrants, and remind us also that neither cleverness nor gullibility was born within our own generation.

The immigrant agents were either employed by ship companies in Holland or England, or in many cases acted on their own initiative. They were commonly called "newlanders" (*Neuländer*), and frequently had been failures as colonists in America, or at all events found immigrant-hunting a more profitable occupation. "They receive," says Mittelberger,[1] "from their merchants in Rotterdam or Amsterdam for every person of ten years and over, three florins or a ducat; whereas the merchants in Philadelphia, sixty, seventy, or eighty florins for such a person, in proportion as said person has incurred more or less debts during the voyage." The newlanders not only obtained a commission from the so-called merchants or shipowners, but had many opportunities of extracting money from the immigrants, whom they pretended to serve as friends or patrons. In their dress they affected the appearance of wealth begotten in America, wearing pocket watches with heavy gold chains as a sample of the gold to

[1] Gottlieb Mittelberger's *Journey to Pennsylvania* in the year 1750 and return to Germany in 1754, showing not only a description of the country according to its present condition, but also a detailed account of the sad and unfortunate circumstances of most of the Germans that have immigrated or are immigrating to that country. Translated from the German by C. T. Eben, Philadelphia, 1898. See p. 38. The German original was published in Stuttgart, 1756.

be found lying in the streets of the new country. Stories of rapid advancement in wealth or station constantly issued from their mouths, — "The maid had become a lady, the peasant a nobleman, the artisan a baron, the officers of the government held their places by the will of the people." The newlanders carried about with them letters from acquaintances, perhaps from some one of the same village, now settled in America, prosperous and anxious that his friends should share his happiness. Such letters were often forged by the skillful hand of the newlander who could "imitate all characters, marks and tokens so admirably that even he whose handwriting they had imitated, must acknowledge it to be their own. By means of such practices they deceived even people who are not credulous." [1]

Quantities of descriptive pamphlets and advertisements were circulated, revealing brilliant prospects for settlers in Pennsylvania, Carolina, and elsewhere,[2] some of them of so seductive a nature that governments found it necessary on their part to circulate literature with a view to counteracting the dangerous influence. An instance of a prohibition against newlanders was that reported by Christoph Sauer in his newspaper in 1751: "The Elector Palatine has issued a command that no newlanders are to be tolerated in the whole of the Palatinate; that if captured they should be thrown into prison." [3] In spite of such mandates the newlanders succeeded in accomplishing their purposes by the most effective of their methods,

[1] Mittelberger, p. 42.

[2] For attempts to get German settlers to New England, see Chapter IX, pp. 254 ff.

[3] Cf. also Kapp, *Die Deutschen im Staate New York* (1867). Dokumentarischer Anhang, pp. 385–397. (5) "Kaiser Joseph's Auswanderungs-Verbot"; (6) "Formulär eines holländischen Seelen Verkäufers Lockzettels"; (7) "Dienstvertrag eines Auswanderers."

house to house visitation, performed in secret, under the disguise of fellow countrymen returning from America.[1] Watchful for an opportunity to make a favorable impression, they would expatiate, in the appropriate local dialect, upon the glorious opportunities waiting in America, in comparison with the restrictions and abuses at home, and then, if possible, speedily arrange a plan of exit by way of the Rhine and the Netherlands.

A good example of the literature used to excite in the common people the desire for immigration is the little book written in the interests of South Carolina, and extensively circulated throughout Switzerland and the Palatinate, entitled: "Der Nunmehro in der neuen Welt vergnügt und ohne Heim-Wehe lebende Schweitzer. Oder: Kurtze und eigentliche Beschreibung Des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der königlichen Englischen Provinz Carolina, aus den neulich angekommenen Briefen der Alldorten sich befindenden Schweitzeren zusammen getragen, von J. K. L.; Bern. Getruckt bey Johannes Bondeli," 1734. The booklet pretends to give the impressions recorded in letters of Swiss settlers located in South Carolina, notably those in Purysburg. The pleasures of house and home on large acreage are emphasized. The land literally flows with milk and honey — the cows roaming about on perfect pasturage all the year round, and honey being found abundantly in hollow trees. Wild turkeys are found in flocks of five hundred, geese, — that some of the farmers possess in flocks to the number of two hundred, — furnish choice feather beds. As for game, the

[1] Cf. H. A. Rattermann in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vols. xiv, xv, and xvi, in connection with his articles, "Geschichte des deutschen Elements im Staate Maine," where he furnishes a very full account of the work and wiles of several immigrant agents, with reprints of advertisements, etc.

bisons put their heads through the windows of the log cabins waiting to be shot; the wolves are by no means as large as the European, and can be tamed. The taste of venison in Carolina far surpasses anything in Europe, the bears are smaller and frequently seen herding with the swine. The alligator (*Allegatter*) has no terrors, it is diminutive in comparison with the crocodile of the Old World, and the Indians and negroes use its tail for food. The danger of overpopulation, which is the main cause for emigration in Switzerland, can never exist in Carolina, with its length of three hundred and seventy hours[1] and breadth of more than one thousand hours. An appendix follows, consisting of letters from Swiss colonists located inland, furnishing positive proof that the Switzer in Carolina is happy and lives without the dreaded homesickness, that preys upon the Swiss when in a foreign country.

The book seems to have been so seductive in its effect, that it called forth a reply, written perhaps under the auspices of the Town Council of Bern, who, on March 17, 1735, gave directions for the distribution of the following counterblast, entitled: "Neue Nachricht alter und neuer Merkwürdigkeiten, enthaltend ein vertrautes Gespräch und sichere Briefe von der Landschaft Carolina und übrigen Englischen Pflanzstädten in Amerika, zufinden zu Zürich, Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen, und St. Gallen in den Berichthäusern gegen Ende des Jahres Siebzehn hundert vier und dreissig." The latter also was calculated to reach the very heart of the immigrant. In the form of a dialogue between a likely young fellow of twenty-five and the schoolmaster, the whole subject of immigration to Carolina is discussed,

[1] An hour is about three English miles. The distances as stated are of course overestimated; it was not known how far the land extended westward.

in the hypercritical manner of a Mittelberger. Pictured in lurid coloring appear the dangers of the passage, the mortality on shipboard, the slavery awaiting colonists on the other side, hopelessly duped by dishonest ship captains and newlanders. Any number of irksome tribulations are emphasized, such as breaking your plow far out in the Carolina wilderness, when there is no smith within a hundred miles to repair it, or the impossibility of obtaining seed in sowing time or a spade when you want to dig, and the "plentiful" game running over the crops and ruining them, when the outraged farmer cannot buy a gun to shoot down the intruding beasts. If the harvest be rich a sickle is surely lacking, and the farmer has to pull the grain out with his hands. Such aggravating little troubles, so skillfully designed to terrify the Swiss peasant, are represented as depriving the settler of every comfort in life. Lastly the argument is made, "If Carolina be fair, Switzerland is fairer, who might gainsay that?" In conclusion follows an appeal to the patriotism of the Swiss, who is called on to decide — though he has never been in America — which of the two countries is the more beautiful. His national pride being thus appealed to, the answer cannot be in doubt for a moment.[1] This reply, so shrewdly conceived and bearing governmental sanction, undoubtedly had for a time a strong counteracting influence upon literary propagandism. However, immigration went on, regardless of literature pro and con, as if impelled by elemental forces, uncontrolled by sentiment, but governed by natural laws.

[1] The two above-named pamphlets are described in detail, with extracts, by Ludwig Hirzel, in a series of articles, entitled "Nach Amerika aus dem Anfang des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts." *Sonntagsblatt des Bunds*, Bern, November 8, 15, 22, 29, and December 6, 13, 20, 1896.

A system was established very early in American colonial history, by which an immigrant could get to the promised land, though not in possession of the means to pay for his passage. He would agree to serve from three to seven years in the colonies until the price of his transportation was paid off to the shipmaster who had advanced it. At the end of his term he was released, given a suit of clothes, sometimes money or land, and awarded all the rights of a free citizen. Hence the term redemptioners (because redeemed) was applied to this class of immigrants, who were also known as "indented servants." At first the system seemed humane and liberal, yielding the poor ultimately the same opportunities as the well-to-do. It had been advocated by Furley, the agent of William Penn, and had been in vogue in Virginia since the first decade of that colony's existence.[1] The system began to be applied extensively to German immigration about 1728. Mühlenberg describes the arrival of a ship in Philadelphia in the following manner:[2] —

"Before the ship is allowed to cast anchor in the harbor, the immigrants are all examined, as to whether any contagious disease be among them. The next step is to bring all the new arrivals in a procession before the city hall and there compel them to take the oath of allegiance to the king of Great Britain. After that they are brought back to the ship. Those that have paid their passage are released, the others are advertised in the newspapers for sale. The ship becomes the market. The buyers make their choice and bargain with the immigrants for a certain number of years and days, depending upon the price demanded

[1] The redemptionist system was also in existence among the French of the West Indies, and among the French and Spanish in Louisiana; "Les engagés" was the name for indented servants. Cf. Hanno Deiler, *Zur Geschichte der Deutschen am unteren Mississippi. Das Redemptionsystem im Staate Louisiana.* New Orleans, 1902.

[2] *Hallesche Nachrichten*, vol. ii, 998, note. Reprint, vol. ii, pp. 460–461.

by the ship captain or other 'merchant' who made the outlay for transportation, etc. Colonial governments recognize the written contract, which is then made binding for the redemptioner. The young unmarried people of both sexes are very quickly sold, and their fortunes are either good or bad, according to the character of the buyer. Old married people, widows, and the feeble, are a drug on the market, but if they have sound children, then their transportation charges are added to those of the children, and the latter must serve the longer. This does not save families from being separated in the various towns or even provinces. Again, the healthiest are taken first, and the sick are frequently detained beyond the period of recovery, when a release would frequently have saved them!"

Not only tillers of the soil and artisans became serfs for their passage money, students and schoolmasters also were often sold in this labor market. The Reverend Mr. Kunze naïvely writes, that he had entertained the thought, if ever he became the owner of twenty pounds, of buying the first German student who would land at Philadelphia, put him into his garret, and there with his help begin a Latin school,[1] which he was sure would quickly pay off the outlay. People of rank, who had lost their money, fared no better than the low-born peasant. There was Frederick Helfenstein,[2] probably a lineal descendant of Count Helfenstein and the Emperor Maximilian, who was compelled to sell himself as a redemptioner in Georgia. Mittelberger tells us of a noble lady, who, with her two

[1] *Hallesche Nachrichten*, p. 1377. Reprint, vol. ii, pp. 709–710. The following advertisement appeared in *Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote*, January 18, 1774: "Deutsche Leute. — Es sind noch 50–60 deutsche Leute welche neulich von Deutschland hier angekommen sind, vorhanden, so bei der Wittwe Kreiderin im goldenen Schwan logiren. Darunter sind zwei Schulmeister, Handwerksleute, Bauren, auch artige Kinder, sowohl Knaben als Mädchen. Sie möchten für ihre Fracht dienen."

[2] Strobel, *History of the Salzburgers*, p. 117.

half-grown daughters and a young son, in 1753, was compelled to serve, having lost her thousand rix-talers given for safe-keeping to a newlander, who proved to be an embezzler. John Wesley speaks of John Reinier of Switzerland, who "while provided with money, books and drugs" was robbed by the captain and forced to sell himself for seven years. Advertisements were found in the newspapers that did not tactfully distinguish between redemptioner and slave. For example: —

"To be sold — A likely Servant Woman having three years and a half to serve. She is a good spinner." ("Pennsylvania Gazette," June, 1742.) "To be sold — A Dutch apprentice lad, who has five years and three months to serve; he has been brought up to the tailor's business. Can work well." ("Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote," 14 December, 1773.) [1]

The profits in the transportation of redemptioners were greater than in that of passengers who paid their way. The latter were therefore made the victims of extortions, from the very beginning of their journey, namely, the passage down the Rhine. The number of toll stations [2] was legion, and on passing from one principality to another all the baggage had to be reëxamined, a duty never done with a view to expedition, but regulated by the convenience of the customs officials. Fees were demanded with such frequency by agents of all kinds, that the unhappy

[1] Cf. Eickhoff, *In der neuen Heimat*, p. 145.

[2] As late as 1804, Dr. Fried. Hermann (of Lübeck), who investigated the transportation facilities of German immigrants, reported on the trip from Heilbronn (on the Neckar) to Rotterdam as follows: "Diese Reise dauert blos von Heilbronn aus 4 bis 6 Wochen, weil die Rheinschiffe bis an die holländische Gränze nicht weniger als 36 Zollstätten zu passieren haben, und bei jeder derselben visitiert werden, ein Geschäft wobei die Zollbeamten mehr auf ihre Bequemlichkeit als auf die schnelle Abfertigung der Schiffe Rücksicht nehmen." Hermann, *Die Deutschen in Nordamerika*, 1806, p. 14. Earlier conditions were much worse. Cf. Mittelberger, *supra*, p. 18.

Redemptioners.

THERE ſtill remain on board the ſhip Aurora, from Amſterdam, about 18 paſſengers, amongſt whom are,

Servant girls, gardeners, butchers, maſons, ſugar bakers, bread bakers, 1 ſhoemaker, 1 ſilver ſmith, 1 leather dreſſer, 1 tobacconiſt, 1 paſtry cook, and ſome a little acquainted with waiting on families, as well as farming and tending horſes, &c. They are all in good health. Any perſon deſirous of being accommodated in the above branches will pleaſe ſpeedily to apply to

Captain JOHN BOWLES,
in the ſtream, off Fell's-Point:

Who offers for Sale,

80 Iron-bound Water Caſks
1 cheſt elegant Fowling Pieces, ſingle and double barrelled
15,000 Dutch Brick, and
Sundry ſhips Proviſions.

July 14. d3t:e94t

ADVERTISEMENT OF REDEMPTIONERS ON SALE

This Indenture MADE the Thirteenth Day of May in the Year of our Lord one thouſand, ſeven hundred and eighty four BETWEEN Alexr Beard of Broughoshane in the County of Antrim Taylor by Conſent of his Father of the one Part, and John Dukey of Ballybarkey in the ſaid County — Gentleman — of the other Part, WITNESSETH, that the ſaid Alexander Beard doth hereby covenant, promiſe and grant, to and with the ſaid John Dukey — his — Executors, Adminiſtrators and Aſſigns, from the Day of the Date hereof until the firſt and next Arrival at Philadelphia — in America, and after for and during the Term of Three — Years to ſerve in ſuch Service and Employment as the ſaid John Dukey — or his Aſſigns ſhall there employ him according to the Cuſtom of the Country in the like Kind. In Conſideration whereof the ſaid John Dukey — doth hereby covenant and grant to and with the ſaid Alexr Beard to pay for his Paſſage, and to find allow him Meat, Drink, Apparel and Lodging, with other Neceſſaries, during the ſaid Term; and at the End of the ſaid Term to pay unto him the uſual Allowance, according to the Cuſtom of the Country in the like Kind. IN WITNESS whereof the Parties above-mentioned to theſe Indentures have interchangeably put their Hands and Seals, the Day and Year firſt above written.

Signed, Sealed, and Delivered,
in the Preſence of

Peter Dillon
John Weir

Alexr Beard
John Dukey

FACSIMILE OF AN INDENTURE

immigrant had little left by the time he got to the Netherlands. His possessions, though carefully enshrined in heavy oaken boxes fastened with good iron bolts, were not secure against the cupidity of newlander or sea-captain. If boxes, trunks, and bales were numerous, they were as likely as not to be left behind, or loaded into another vessel. The latter mode of disposing of the baggage of immigrants became one of the greatest abuses of transatlantic transportation. Well-to-do immigrants, who had put into their trunks linen or clothing necessary for their journey, or perhaps even their food and cooking utensils, were deprived of these necessities and comforts during the whole voyage. Often having placed all their earthly possessions, including money, in their chests, they never saw them again, and were compelled on arrival to sell themselves as redemptioners in preference to becoming paupers. Another tyrannical measure was that of holding the entire body of immigrants on a ship responsible for the total transportation charges. The well-to-do would have to pay for those who could not, or be themselves sold as redemptioners. This arrangement protected the captain against loss, in case a large number of redemptioners died on the way, and also gave him an excuse for extortions. The Germans of Philadelphia attempted to legislate against these abuses, beginning in 1750, but for a long time were unsuccessful, because of the presence in high places of influential grafters heavily interested in the profits of immigrant transportation.

While the immigration increased, strangely enough the expense of a sea-passage rose from six or ten, to fourteen or seventeen louis d'or[1] (according to Mühlenberg), thus

[1] The present money equivalent of the louis d'or is about $4.50. Its purchasing power at that time was far greater than this sum.

forcing more people into the redemptionist class. With over-speculation came the crowding of large bodies of immigrants into vessels too small for their numbers. Their baggage was then quite generally put into another vessel or lost altogether. The mortality on board increased terribly. Sauer, in his newspaper in 1749, announced "that in that year over two thousand had died during transportation, mostly because they were not treated like human beings, being packed closely together, so that the sick breathed another's breath, and that from all the uncleanness and stench and failure of food, diseases arose like scurvy, dysentery, smallpox, and other contagious sicknesses." It was the rule in that day that the immigrant should furnish his own food supplies, but when his baggage was not received on board, the provision made for him was of course not ample. Starvation, and death from thirst, were of common occurrence on the long sea-trips consuming many months. Shipwrecks were frequent, and the danger ever present of being captured by hostile fleets or pirates. Heinrich Keppele, the first president of the German Society of Pennsylvania,[1] arrived in America

[1] Mittelberger claims that a large number of the shipwrecks were not reported in Germany, "for fear that it might deter the people from emigrating, and induce them to stay at home." (See p. 36.) Among the many shipwrecks that he tells of, the following is characteristic: "The following fatal voyage, where all the passengers were Germans, has probably not become known in Germany at all. In the year 1752 a ship arrived at Philadelphia, which was fully six months at sea from Holland to Philadelphia. The ship had weathered many storms throughout the winter, and could not reach the land; finally another ship came to the assistance of the half-wrecked and starved vessel. Of about 340 souls this ship brought 21 persons to Philadelphia, who stated that they had not only spent fully six months at sea, and had been driven to the coast of Ireland, but that most of the passengers had died of starvation, that they had lost their masts and sails, captain and mates, and that the rest would never have reached the land if God had not sent another ship to their aid, which brought them to land."

in 1738, and wrote in his diary, that of the 312½ passengers (a child was counted as one half), 250 died, not including those that died after landing. Sauer reports the loss of 160 people on one ship, 150 on another, and only 13 survivors on a third; in 1745 a ship was destined for Philadelphia with 400 German passengers, of whom only 50 survived. Mittelberger says: "Children from one to seven years rarely survived the voyage; and many a time parents are compelled to see their children die of hunger, thirst, or sickness, and then see them cast into the water. Few women in confinement escape with their lives; many a mother is cast into the water with her child." The main cause for the enormous mortality was the packing together[1] of immigrants much as negro slaves were later huddled together by African slave-traders.

The conditions were probably no worse for the German immigrants than for those of other nationalities. The Germans of Philadelphia, however, after repeated agitation, succeeded in improving somewhat existing conditions for German immigrants. They formed in December, 1764, the "Deutsche Gesellschaft von Pennsylvanien," the first of those charitable German organizations in the seacoast cities of America, that were founded to extend a helping hand to the immigrants of their own nationality. A law was drafted and put through the Pennsylvania legislature by the influential Germans of this society, rendering impossible the tyrannies and extortions before practiced by sea-captains and immigration agents, particularly in regard to the abuses already mentioned,

[1] Packed like herring and sold as slaves, says Pastor Kunze, *Hallesche Nachrichten*, p. 1377. Reprint, vol. ii, p. 709. Under date of May 16, 1773, he says: "Last week I heard of a ship bearing 1500 Germans, of whom 1100 died at sea."

the separation of immigrants from their baggage, overcrowding, and holding a shipload responsible for the profits of the captain. The society likewise established the immigrant's right of appeal to American courts of justice, in case of unjust treatment. A more effective law, "an act for regulating the importation of German and other passengers," was passed by the Pennsylvania legislature in 1818.

The sale of redemptioners was not abolished until 1820. With its many evils the system had also had good effects. Undoubtedly the rapid increase of the population of Pennsylvania was due to the redemptionist system, which allowed tens of thousands of immigrants to come to America, who would not have been able to do so for lack of means. The period of service frequently became a training school. The Swedish traveler Kalm said :[1] "Many of the Germans who come hither bring money enough with them to pay their passage, but rather suffer themselves to be sold, with a view that during their servitude they may get some knowledge of the language and qualities of the country and the like, that they may be better able to consider what they shall do, when they have got their liberty." Stories are found in German-American literature, of redemptioners,[2] who concealed within a bundle of old rags their precious coins, for which, as soon as their period of service had closed, they bought land near the possessions of their masters, and during the course of years, advancing in means through their industry and thrift, became ultimately the owners of the estates of their former masters.

[1] Peter Kalm, *Travels in North America*, vol. i, p. 304, 2d edition, London, 1772.

[2] Cf. Sealsfield, *Morton oder die grosse Tour*, I Teil, Kap. i, pp. 64 f.; Kürnberger, *Der Amerikamüde;* O. Ruppius, *Der Pedlar*, *Roman aus dem Amerikanischen Leben*, and *Das Vermächtnis des Pedlars.*

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST EXODUS, THE PALATINE IMMIGRATION TO NEW YORK

Kocherthal and his followers — Founding of Newburgh-on-the-Hudson, 1709 — The exodus of 1710 ; arrival in London ; separation into various groups, transportation to Ireland, South Carolina, etc. — The main group goes with Governor Hunter to New York — Hunter's plan and its failure — The fortunes and migrations of the Palatines in New York ; East and West Camp, Schoharie, the Mohawk, Tulpehocken, etc. — John Peter Zenger's independent newspaper, and his stand for the liberty of the press.

THROUGHOUT the seventeenth century there had been constant intercourse between England and the Palatinate, sanctioned and stimulated by the royal marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of James I, with the Elector Palatine, Frederick V, already referred to as the Winter King. Their son, the wise ruler Karl Ludwig, Elector Palatine, was the cousin of Charles II and James II, kings of England. There was also between the two countries the common bond of the Protestant faith. England was instrumental in effecting the Religious Declaration of 1705, that granted the Reformed Church toleration in the Palatinate.

The war of the Spanish Succession in 1707 devastated a portion of the Palatinate on the left bank of the Rhine, whereby hundreds of Palatines were rendered homeless. Among these was Joshua von Kocherthal, who, in January, 1708, applied to an English agency in Frankfort-on-the-Main, for passes and money to go to England. He included in his request several other families, in all sixty-

one persons, who, when no help could be obtained, together left their home without the consent of the Elector Palatine, and on their own resources traveled by way of Holland to London. Arriving there, they were too poor to live without aid, wherefore the generous Queen Anne allowed each Palatine a shilling a day for his support. The charitable deed of the crown was imitated by several Londoners, and when Kocherthal applied for the means of transportation to the American colonies, the Lords of Trade decided to send the immigrants to the colony of New York. There it was thought they might be used to settle on the frontier, as a buffer against the Indians, or else be employed in the manufacture of naval stores. Before sailing they were naturalized as British subjects,[1] and then placed upon a royal transport under Lord Lovelace, the newly-appointed governor of New York.

The colonists sailed about the middle of October, 1708, and arrived at New York during the last days of that year. Lord Lovelace gave them land on the Hudson to the north of the Highlands, beginning at the mouth of the Quassaick. The colonists called the settlement "Neuburg," after the city of the same name in the Upper Palatinate (*Oberpfalz*). This is the beginning of the busy and prosperous city of Newburgh, the county-seat of Orange County, New York, rivaling in beauty of landscape more venerable cities on the Rhine and Danube. Tracts of land of one hundred to three hundred acres were portioned out

[1] The names of the Palatines naturalized August 25, 1708, were, besides Kocherthal: Lorenz, Schwisser, Rennau, Volk, Weigandt Weber, Plettel, Fischer, Gülch, Türk, Rose, Weimar, Faber, Fiere, and Schünemann. Most of these were men between twenty-five and forty years of age; only one man was fifty-two. They were vine-growers, weavers, smiths, carpenters, or representatives of other trades. Among those given lands, not mentioned in the naturalization list, were Lockstädt and Hennicke. Kapp, *Geschichte der Deutschen im Staate New York*, p. 80.

to the settlers, fifty acres to each individual, whether man, woman, or child. Five hundred acres were reserved for the building of a church, forty acres for roads and highways.[1]

Lord Lovelace died in May, 1709, — a great misfortune for the colonists. He was their friend, and had advanced money for their support.[2] The Palatines were compelled to petition the colonial government for the maintenance promised them the first year, but as they happened to mention the fact that nineteen of their number had withdrawn from Lutheranism and turned Pietists, the discriminating government excluded the latter from its benefits. After an investigation, however, of the meaning of *Pietism*, by a special committee, supplies were furnished to them also, just as to the other colonists. Support was a necessity for all colonists during their first year, the first season being spent in clearing the forest and building rude habitations, essential labors before a crop could be raised. "The Palatine Parish by the Quassaick" was the name given to the whole settlement included in the *German Patent*, as constituted about ten years later (1719). The land in this region was not as fertile as was hoped for, the stony hillsides and rocky soil giving no rich returns, and in consequence many of the original inhabitants of Newburgh sold their lands to "Dutch and English New-comers" and departed for Schoharie County to the north, or to the Pennsylvania valleys of the Swatara and Tulpehocken. In this way Newburgh lost its distinctly German character.

Kocherthal was a man of unusual power over his constituents, of versatile occupation, being minister, farmer,

[1] Cobb, S. H., *The Story of the Palatines*, chap. iii, p. 66, etc. Putnam, 1897. Kapp, *supra*, pp. 82 ff.

[2] His widow did not receive a repayment from the government until many years later.

man of affairs, leader of men, whose sturdiness of character impressed its stamp upon an entire community, — an exceptional individual, one might say, if the exception were not of so frequent occurrence in German colonial history, with such examples as Pastorius, Conrad Weiser, Giessendanner, Joist Hite, and a succession of others down to the more recent Missourians, Follenius and Friedrich Münch. Kocherthal returned to England for a short visit, and then, accompanying Governor Hunter, sailed again for New York, in 1710, with the great migration of the Palatines. He organized a Lutheran church at West Camp and probably one also on the other side of the river. A Lutheran himself, he was acceptable nevertheless to the Germans of the Reformed church, and was regarded with reverence by the Germans on either side of the Hudson. He was frequently consulted by the provincial authorities for advice and assistance, when entanglements occurred with the German colonists. He died and was buried in 1719 at West Camp on the Hudson.[1]

The settlement on the Quassaick was but the forerunner of the extensive immigration that followed shortly after. The records are scant as to the inception and initial progress of that movement, but in addition to the impelling forces enumerated in the last chapter, an immediate cause must have been the extraordinary severity of the winter of 1708–09. In the words of Conrad Weiser,

[1] The story of the Newburgh church bell is an interesting little episode in connection with Kocherthal. It seems that the good Queen Anne presented Kocherthal, before his departure (and on his request), with a church bell for a Lutheran house of worship. Colonial conditions never permitted rapid realization of devout hopes, and for a long time the bell was loaned to the church of New York City, until the Quassaick Parish might be able to build a church. The bell was returned, probably in 1733, when Quassaick got its church, still known in the memory of the oldest inhabitants as the Glebe School House.

then a boy of twelve years, recorded in his autobiography: "Birds perished on the wing, beasts in their lairs, and mortals fell dead in the way." The success of Kocherthal, in gaining the assistance of Queen Anne, encouraged others to adopt the same course, and seek new homes beyond the sea. Religious persecution, political oppression, and economic ruin had made intolerable their dear native land; impending ruin, famine, and the hope of aid now quickened their resolution, united their action, and, as if by a sudden common impulse, a vast number of Palatines flocked to the shores of England. The migration was probably one concerted at home, and when large numbers appeared at Rotterdam, the first gathering-place, they were speedily shipped off to London. They began to arrive there in May, 1709, and by the end of June their numbers rose to five thousand. The number was nearly doubled before August, and by October thirteen thousand Palatines were in London. These numbers are by no means exaggerated; indeed, the popular impression reported was that thirty thousand Palatines swarmed to the English coast, "a migrating epidemic having seized on the stricken people." London, then no modern city capable of harboring hundreds of thousands of strangers without a tremor of excitement, was seriously embarrassed by this influx of foreigners, most of whom were reduced to pauperism, necessarily making an appeal to the charity of the nation. It will always redound to the glory of England that her management of this serious problem under trying conditions was most humane and generous. Starvation staring the needy Palatines in the face, England for months provided them with food. Having no homes, they were sheltered in barns, empty dwellings, warehouses, and a thousand tents taken from the army stores. The queen

allowed each ninepence per day, for subsistence, and such lodgings as could best be obtained. The paupers of London grew envious of the provision made for the foreigners, and filed complaints against such exceptional treatment.

What to do with the hordes of foreigners was the next question before the Lords of Trade. The numbers, however, were so large that they could not easily be disposed of. A severe discrimination was made in the first place against the Catholics, who numbered about one tenth of the whole. They were all sent back to their homes, except a few hundred, who chose the alternative of becoming Protestants. The remaining Palatines wished for a settlement in America, and an interesting story, told by Conrad Weiser (reported by Mühlenberg),[1] explains the origin of this fixed idea of theirs. It happened that several Indian chiefs were visiting London, at the time when the Palatine exiles appeared in great numbers. The sight of the homeless and half-starved immigrants mightily engaged the sympathies of the redmen, one of whom, unsolicited, made a free-will offering to the queen of a tract of land on the Schoharie, in New York, for the use and benefit of the exiled Germans. It has frequently been evident in American history that the Indian, in spite of his savage instincts, could on occasion be generous; such, indeed, was to be the experience of the Palatine settlers with the Schoharie Indians.

As stated above, there were reported in London an aggregate of thirteen thousand Palatines, in October, 1709. A large number of them were undoubtedly provided for by their entering various trades and pursuits by land and

[1] In *Hallesche Nachrichten*, reprint, vol. i, p. 613. The elder Mühlenberg is very accurate in his reports, and Conrad Weiser had a good memory.

sea. For example, Luttrell[1] states that the merchants of Bedford and Barnstaple who were engaged in the Newfoundland fisheries designed employing five hundred of them in their service. About five thousand must have been disposed of in similar ways, as we can account for only seventy-five hundred persons that were shipped to various colonies. In the first division about thirty-eight hundred persons, five hundred families, were sent to Ireland and settled in the province of Munster. Being provided with land, they built homes and became a sturdy stock, useful and influential in the country.[2] We learn from various travelers that they preserved their native character and even their language for a long time.

The second large contingent of Palatines was shipped to the Carolinas, sailing from England in the early autumn of 1709. This expedition was under the leadership of Graffenried and Michell, natives of Bern, Switzerland. They numbered over six hundred, and founded Newbern, near the mouth of the Neuse River, in the present state of North Carolina.[3] No portion of the Palatines settled in Virginia under the auspices of Governor Spotswood, his settlers at Germanna having come from Siegen, Germany.[4]

A much larger number, over three thousand persons, were destined for the colony of New York. Most of these had in mind the Schoharie region as their promised land,

[1] *Diary*, vi, 496; quoted by Cobb, *The Story of the Palatines*, chap. iii, p. 84.

[2] *Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, vol. x, p. 381. *The Pennsylvania German Society*, vol. vii, p. 335. Descended from this stock were the founders of Methodism in America, Philip Embury (Amberg) and Barbara Heck. Cf. *Ireland and the Centenary of American Methodism*, by Cook (Crook).

[3] See Chapter VIII, pp. 213–215.

[4] Cobb and others are here in error. Compare the more recent investigations published in the *Virginia Magazine*, vols. x–xiii. Also below, Chapter VII, pp. 178 ff.

and would not be content, as later events proved, until they had ultimately reached its beautiful meadows and fertile hills. The new governor of the colony, Colonel Robert Hunter, had in mind the employment of the Palatines in the manufacture of tar and naval stores. He accompanied the expedition, sailing in April, 1710, with the commission to settle the Germans on the Hudson or Mohawk. The Palatines were distributed on ten ships, on which they must have been closely crowded, as the mortality among them was enormous. According to the governor's account 470 persons died of ship fever during the voyage, and 250 more after their arrival. There remained 2227 Palatines for the settlements in New York, after a loss of 773 persons, if there were 3000 at the beginning.[1] Governor Hunter speaks of the loss of 1700 among 4000 immigrants, while other official documents mention only 3000, which is probably the correct figure.

One of the ships, the Herbert, was lost on the east end of Long Island. The people seem to have been rescued, but their goods were much damaged. This accident was probably the origin of the legend, immortalized by Whittier, concerning a ship called the Palatine, localized on Block Island (Manisees) and elsewhere. One tradition represents the vessel as laden with treasure, belonging to the Palatines, and by them hidden from view until the time immediately before disembarking, when the sight of their gold excited the grasping greed of the crew, who to accomplish the robbery slew every one of the immigrants. In Whittier's poem, "The Palatine," wreckers on the island decoyed the ship by false lights, caused the death of all on board, and then "they burned the wreck of the Palatine." But the phantom ship reappeared at each anni-

[1] Kapp's figures, p. 96. Cf. also Cobb, p. 127.

versary of the crime, and haunted the imagination of the wreckers, never allowing them an opportunity to enjoy the fruits of their ill-gotten gain.[1]

So large a company of immigrants could not be received in the small town of New York, and the Palatines, accordingly, were landed on Nutten Island.[2] A proclamation was made preventing extortionate prices for bread and provisions, and a small government was devised for the colonists. Prominent above all others was Johann Conrad Weiser, father of an equally famous son, a descendant of the magistrate of Great Anspach, Würtemberg. The death of his wife, the care of a large family, and the national calamities induced him to join the emigrating thousands. All his surviving children, save one married daughter, went with him. He was easily the chief among his people through his ability, experience, and independence of character. Governor Hunter and others in authority, complained much of his stubbornness, which indeed resembled that of Martin Luther, being born of the love of truth and faith in ultimate justice. Weiser was a stalwart fighter before the Lord, a willing martyr to the cause of individual rights for the American colonist. The first clash with authority occurred when children[3] were forcibly taken

[1] For still, on many a moonless night,
From Kingston Head and from Montauk Light,
The spectre kindles and burns in sight.

Now low and dim, now clear and higher,
Leaps up the terrible Ghost of Fire,
Then, slowly sinking, the flames expire.

And the wise Sound skippers, though the skies be fine,
Reef their sails, when they see the sign,
Of the blazing wreck of the Palatine!

[2] Now Governor's Island.

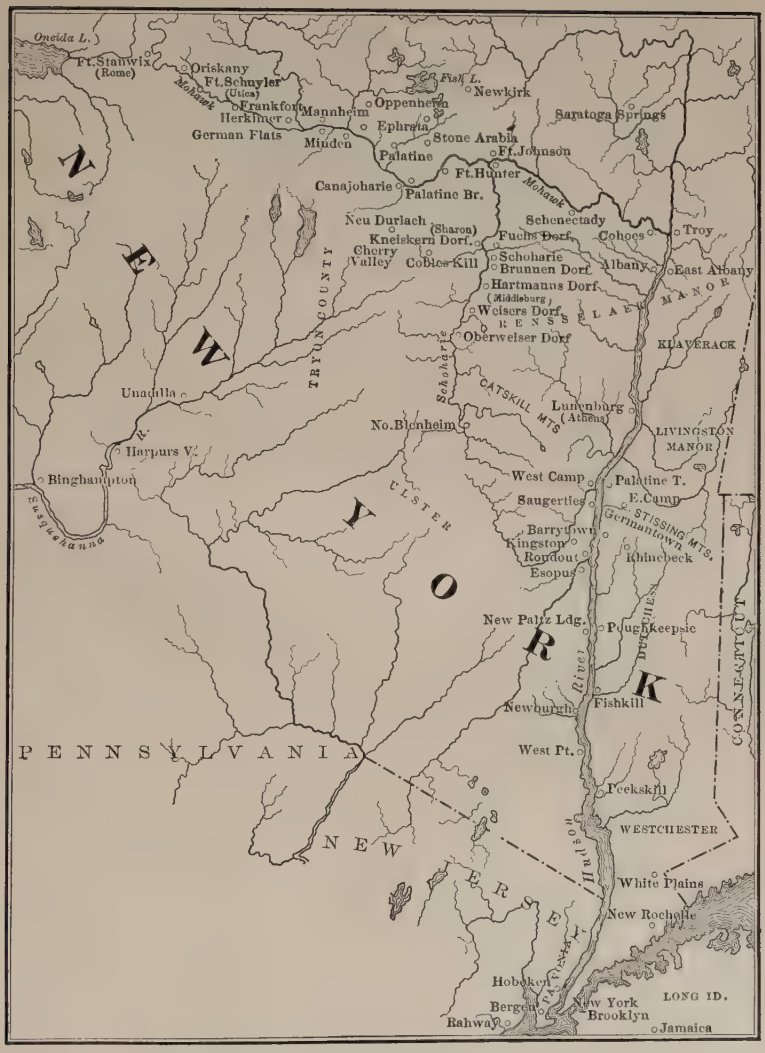
[3] There were seventy-five boys and girls thus apprenticed, some, by no means all, as was given out, were orphans. In the case of the two sons of

from their parents and apprenticed to people in New York City. Two of the sons of Weiser were thus separated from their father, whose protests were without avail. Among the forty-one boys thus apprenticed was John Peter Zenger, who was given to the printer, William Bradford of New York, and will be mentioned below for the prominent part he took in the struggle for the liberty of the colonial press.

In July, 1710, Governor Hunter despatched the surveyor-general of the province "to survey the land on the Mohaques River, particularly the Skohare, to which the Indians have no pretence." This probably means that the Indians had surrendered their rights (there had been no sale or conquest), and furnishes another link in the chain of evidence, that the Schoharie district had actually been given by the Indians to Queen Anne for the colonization of the Palatines.

In the estimation of the governor, Schoharie possessed good land for cultivation, but an insufficient number of pine forests. He wanted pine forests for the manufacture of tar and pitch, his ambition being centred on providing all the necessary stores for the English navy, even hemp, from the resources and labor of this colony, thus saving the Admiralty's heavy expense in buying from Norway, Sweden, and Russia, a heavy tax also upon English pride. Governor Hunter thought that the two requisites, of pine forest and good land, were combined in a tract which he bought from the crafty Robert Livingston, an area of six thousand acres, on the eastern shore of the Hudson, north

Weiser, their brother, Conrad, said that he never saw them again. The names of the forty-one boys, and their ages (mostly between ten and fifteen, some much below), are given in Rupp's *Thirty Thousand Names of Immigrants*, p. 445. They are also given by O'Callaghan in the *Documentary History of New York*.



EARLY GERMAN SETTLEMENTS IN NEW YORK

of the present town of Rhinebeck, a part of Livingston Manor. On the opposite side of the river there were some crown lands, probably an additional inducement for the purchase. The colony on that side was called West Camp, in distinction from East Camp, the name given to the principal settlement. The latter was composed of four villages: Hunterstown, Queensbury, Annsbury, and Haysbury, with a total of 1189 colonists in 1711. West Camp was composed of three villages: Elizabethtown, Georgetown, and New Village, with 614 inhabitants, making the total for the two, 1803 colonists.

Over four hundred Palatines were left in New York City (424 out of 2227), most of them widows, single women, and children, not adaptable to the "great and good design" of making tar and pitch. A record of their names is available in the annals of the Lutheran Church of New York City.

The hardships that followed fell solely to the lot of the Palatines in East Camp, on Livingston Manor, no serious effort being made on the west shore toward the manufacture of naval stores. Governor Hunter possessed no qualifications for the great undertaking which he was making his life work, save his enthusiasm. He possessed no technical knowledge, and the overseer, who was expected to fill the gap, proved incompetent. The management was not wise enough to import successful operators from Norway, Sweden, or Russia, who might have produced a far better yield from the trees. Governor Hunter was a soldier, and instituted military methods, demanding implicit obedience from all that were in his employ, particularly from the Palatines, for whom he had apparently no particular sympathy, and who, on their part, believed they were being cheated. Governor Hunter's blunt and tactless manner

roused the prejudices of his laborers against the undertaking, and, instead of making them and their leaders his main support, he relied on the colonial aristocrats, who used him merely to advance their own interests. The shrewdest of them was Robert Livingston, who gained not only by the sale of a large tract of land, but was awarded also the profitable contract of feeding the Palatines (adults at sixpence, children at fourpence per day). It was the opinion of contemporaries on either side of the water that Livingston grew richer daily on this contract, and that he was the only man who was benefited at all by the great scheme of making naval stores. Even Hunter himself soon wrote in a letter to General Nicholson, that he had bestowed too much confidence upon Livingston, the most selfish and ungrateful man in the world.

When the Palatines came to America, the year was already too far advanced for them to begin work. It was autumn, and the people had to be fed for the winter and up to the time when work might begin in the spring. This enforced period of idleness could not but prove harmful. Not only was it a financial loss to the management, but also a great misfortune for the colonists, idleness breeding discontent, and a paternal régime destroying the independence necessary for the permanent prosperity of a colony. The Palatines had been promised good land, for the acquisition of which they would not have felt work as a hardship; but the labor of serfs in the system now imposed upon them, without hope of future independence, they felt to be an outrage. Nevertheless, the beginnings were made in good earnest. Overcoming their dissatisfaction, the colonists cut a large number of trees,[1]

[1] Nearly one hundred thousand trees were cut, and even boys and girls were employed in gathering knots, "that no hands may be idle."

and in return received agricultural implements for the cultivation of their land.

The minister Kocherthal had warned the authorities concerning the irrepressible opposition of the people against the preparation of tar, and of their desire to leave East Camp for the promised land of Schoharie. When therefore an organized revolt began to form, Governor Hunter was ready to apply firm measures. He had ordered a company of soldiers to come from Albany, and on their arrival called the leaders of the colonists before him. In the hearing before the governor they explained the causes of their discontent, being imposed upon, as they thought, in violation of the conditions of their contract. It seems they deceived themselves, or did not understand fully the terms of the contract, for, as we read it, we must concede that the governor's position was correct on the point that the contract required labor from the colonists in the manufacture of ship stores, in return for the expenses of their transportation and sustenance.[1] During the parley three or four hundred of the Palatines came to the rescue of their leaders, thinking that they were in danger. They feigned a desire to speak to the governor, but withdrew when they saw that their leaders were not in captivity or peril. A large troop of armed men had been ordered to reinforce Hunter's soldiers, and with their aid the Palatines were dispersed, and subsequently disarmed in their several villages. Peace was thus restored, but, self-government being taken away from the colonists, they were reduced to the same level as "indented servants."

In June, 1711, the governor established a council to

[1] The governor, however, allowed no weight to be attached to another article of the contract, viz., that after the outlay was repaid, each colonist was to receive forty acres of land in fee-simple, forty acres for each head — man, woman, or child.

take charge of the government of the Palatines and the manufacture of ship stores. This consisted of Robert Livingston, Richard Sackett, the special overseer and expert already referred to, John Cast, Gottfried Wulfen, Andreas Bugge, and Hermann Schünemann. Three of them, provided Livingston or Sackett were present, had the right to inflict punishment for disobedience or misdemeanors, even to the extent of corporal chastisement or imprisonment. For every village there was an executive: on the east side, J. P. Kneiskern for Hunterstown, J. C. Weiser for Queensbury, H. Windecker for Annsbury, G. C. Fuchs for Haysbury; on the west side of the Hudson, for Elizabethtown, J. C. Gerlach, for Georgetown, J. Mauch, and for New Village, P. P. Grauberger.

The Palatines were no cowards, and when in the summer of the same year the province of New York was to furnish a quota of soldiers for the expedition to Canada, it was decided to send three hundred Palatines, in addition to the three hundred and fifty "Christians" and one hundred and fifty Indians of Long Island. The requisite number was easily found and placed under the command of J. P. Kneiskern as captain. Germans in this expedition for the first time served in the same regiment with Indians, the army being under the supreme command of Colonel Schuyler. The Palatines received no pay, though their fitness was acknowledged generally, and on their return, perhaps from fear of revolt, Governor Hunter deprived them of their weapons. In the next winter a number of them served in the garrisons at Albany.

The high-handed treatment of the Palatines by the governor, his utter refusal[1] to encourage their hopes of settle-

[1] In a passion the governor stamped upon the ground and said: "Here is your land" (meaning the almost barren rocks) "where you must live and die." *Documentary History*, vol. iii, p. 424; Cobb, pp. 156–157.

ment in Schoharie, and the greed of Livingston, who made the largest possible profits out of the food supplies, were causes producing the greatest amount of friction, but not necessarily such as to ruin the colony. The disasters that now arose came from the incompetency of the management of the enterprise. The land selected, in spite of the praises that had been sung of it, now proved to be poor in forest growth and unfertile. The trees, after cutting, were not properly prepared, Overseer Sackett not being equipped with sufficient experience or expert knowledge; moreover, after being poorly prepared, the trees were not properly cared for. In consequence, the work done did not bring proportionate returns. Instead of thirty thousand barrels of tar, only two hundred were obtained, by the summer of 1712, out of one hundred thousand trees. At home the Lords of Trade lost confidence in Hunter's ability and particularly in that of his advisers; more especially did they regret his falling into the hands of the ill-reputed Livingston. Altogether Hunter had paid out over thirty-two thousand pounds for the Palatines, and received for his expenses only ten thousand eight hundred, so that the home government owed him over twenty-one thousand pounds.[1] He struggled for more than ten years to get back his outlay, drawn from his private fortune, and it is not known definitely whether he was ever reimbursed for what he had expended.[2] More than twenty thousand pounds had gone into the pocket of Livingston

[1] Cf. Kapp, p. 110 ; Cobb, pp. 181 ff.

[2] When in the year 1722 the Lords required of Governor Hunter, who then had been recalled, that he present the receipts for money paid to the Palatines, the latter were reluctant to give them, fearing some new treachery. The request was made with the usual tactlessness, namely, that if they would not sign the receipts they would be driven from the country. They therefore refused to sign, and waited for the carrying out of the threat. Cf. Kapp, p. 110.

for supplies furnished the Palatines; moreover, his land, bordering on East Camp, increased greatly in value because of the proximity of settlements. On October 31, 1712, Governor Hunter wrote to the Lords of Trade in London saying that, his fortune and credit being exhausted, his appeals for repayment not having been honored by them, he was obliged to abandon the work of manufacturing naval stores on the Hudson; hoping the enterprise would be but temporarily abandoned, he had directed his overseer to announce to the laborers that they must keep in readiness to return to their work. Several hundred Palatines, he states, had made their way to Schoharie, a movement that had been impossible for him to prevent;[1] indeed, he saw therein an advantage, the protection of the frontier against the French and Indians. He speaks hopefully of the manufacture of tar and pitch, and continues to write in this spirit for three years longer. In 1715 the Lords of Trade seemed once more willing to renew the work, but they finally concluded that it was too late, and when the governor himself in 1716 made the confession that the scheme, which at first seemed so advantageous, had been a failure, it was dropped altogether in London.

The consternation wrought in East Camp, when, in September, 1712, John Cast suddenly announced to the settlers that the enterprise was to be abandoned, is difficult to realize fully. Winter was near, with absolutely no provision made for the colonists. They were to shift for themselves, as best they could, and not to look for assistance. At the same time they were reminded of their obligations, warned to remain in the province or even in the settlement, to be within call for the renewal of the

[1] He had forbidden it. See following pages.

manufacturing scheme. In their distress the hope that had almost been abandoned, that of reaching the promised land, Schoharie, loomed up brightly before their mental vision. They took counsel and decided to send a group of their leaders to the Indians, asking their permission to settle in the Schoharie region. Johann Conrad Weiser and Captain Kneiskern were among those who beat their path from Schenectady through the woods to Schoharie in execution of the plan. They were well received, and their request was granted. They were told that no one should hinder them from settling there, and that the Indians would help them in proportion to their means. Accordingly a fifteen-mile trail was cut through the woods, and about a dozen families were sent in advance to Schoharie. Upon their arrival a message from the governor overtook them, forbidding their settlement in Schoharie, and declaring that any refusing to obey should be treated as rebels. But after some deliberation the Palatines determined to remain, starvation seeming the other alternative.

In March, 1713, the rest of the Palatines who had decided to migrate appeared in Schoharie. The snow lay three feet deep, the travelers struggled against hunger and cold, but two weeks' hardship brought them to the land of promise. Some citizens of Albany tried to anticipate their purchase of the land, but the Palatines received the preference at the hands of the Indians, who sold them what they wished for the equivalent of three hundred dollars. The privations of the newcomers during the winter were intense, and, had it not been for the friendly aid of the Indians, most of them would probably not have survived. A graphic account of their sufferings is given in the journal of Conrad Weiser, son of Johann Conrad, in which due acknowledgment is made of the services of the

Indians, who "showed the settlers where to find edible roots." "Many of our feasts were of wild potatoes and ground beans."[1] In the spring they "broke ground enough to plant corn for the use of the next year. But this year our hunger was hardly endurable." In March, 1713, "did the remainder of the people (tho' treated by the Governor as Pharaoh treated the Israelites) proceed on their journey, and by God's assistance travel'd in a fortnight with sledges thro' the snow, — which there covered the ground above three foot deep, — cold and hunger, Joyn'd their friends and countrymen in the promised land of Schoharie."

The majority of the Palatines remained at or near the original settlements on the Hudson, and when left to their own resources began to thrive. About thirty families on the Manor, for instance, moved a few miles to the southward, and settled on Beekman's land. Henry Beekman sold them lands in fee-simple, which Livingston apparently would not do, and the town of Rhinebeck was founded. It was originally spelled "Rheinbeek" in honor of their home on the Rhine and Beekman (Beek), their generous patron.

The original settlement of six thousand acres on Livingston Manor also went into the hands of Palatines, but not earlier than 1724. Three of them, Scherb, Hagedorn, and Schumacher, in that year asked Governor Burnet, Hunter's successor, for a title to their lands for themselves and their people. Sixty-three of the families were prepared to remain, ten ready to leave, as reported by Surveyor Colden. The patent was signed by the governor in 1725, allow-

[1] Quotations from the *Journal* of Conrad Weiser. This diary has been edited by D. I. Rupp, in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ii, pp. 182 ff., etc. Cf. also: *The Life of Conrad Weiser, Pioneer, Patriot and Patron of Two Races*, by C. Z. Weiser. 2d ed., Reading, 1899.

ing the above-mentioned men with Heiner and Kollman to act as trustees in distributing the land. Forty acres were left for a church.[1]

The two German ministers, Joshua Kocherthal and Johann Friedrich Häger, on request of the Board of Trade, near the close of Hunter's term, made a census of the Palatines in New York. They reported the following statistics for 1718 in the province of New York: On the east side of the river (in the district now known as Germantown), including Rhinebeck, 499 persons, 126 families; on the west side of the river, including Kingsto(w)n, Esopus, West Camp, etc., 272 persons, 68 families; New York City, 150 persons, 30 families; Schoharie, 680 persons, 170 families; total, 1601 persons, 394 families. Curiously enough Kocherthal and Häger say they have not included widows and orphans, leaving an error in their notation of perhaps several hundred persons. According to this table there were four persons to a family. This is a very low average for frontier conditions, that commonly favor the growth of families. The original number of Palatines landed at Nutten Island being about 2500, the natural increase by 1718 ought certainly to have overcome the death-rate, which is nowhere recorded as having been large, with the exception of the first sojourn on Nutten Island.[2] Kapp estimates that there must have been as

[1] The following names, besides those mentioned, are found among them: Stoppelbein, Lauer (changed to Lawyer), Schenk, Hann, Kiszler, Schmid, Lauffmann, Mann, Salbach, Dietrich, Mühler, Rauch, Haubach, Buck, Winder, Schenkel, Schauz, Schöffler, Klein, Bartels. Among those that would not remain were: Schmidt, Schneider, Hausser, Wernershöfer, Wist, and Dirk. Cf. Kapp, p. 115.

[2] The mortality there was 250, as we know from the petition in September, 1711, of an undertaker who prayed for payment for 250 coffins supplied to the Palatines. This number, 250, was already deducted in the estimate of 2227, on p. 83.

many as two thousand to twenty-five hundred Palatines in New York State in 1718. Scheff, who, with Weiser, was sent to London as an envoy of the Palatines in defense of their rights, in his separate petition to the Board of Trade estimated that there were at that time (1718–20) about three thousand Palatines in the state of New York. He gives the number of Palatines in Schoharie as one hundred and sixty families or one thousand souls, making an average of over six persons to a family, contradicting Kocherthal's estimate of four to a family. Scheff was pleading a case, while Kocherthal no doubt shared the experience of all early census-takers in getting too low an estimate. The truth lies somewhere between, i. e., for the total number, somewhere between three thousand and eighteen hundred, plus widows and orphans, i. e., close up to twenty-five hundred, which is Kapp's highest figure.[1]

From the middle of the twenties the Germans maintained a sure footing south of Germantown (Columbia County) and Clermont, and settled also the northern part of the present county of Dutchess. Germantown and Rhinebeck[2] became points of attraction for German immigration and the stopping-place for those who desired to go either north or west in the province. Intimate ties of both blood and religion existed between these settlers and those on the Schoharie and Mohawk. Migrations were frequent, as for instance in 1760, when a number of

[1] Kapp, pp. 114, 115.

[2] Among the first settlers of Rhinebeck were: Hähner, Schufeld, Hagedorn, Wiederwachs, Staats, Berner, and Elsasser. Some of the names in Germantown were Coon (Kuhn), Coons (Kuntz), Crysler (Kreisler), Salbagh (Salbach), Kleyne or Clyne (Klein), Schutts (Schutz), Shoemaker (Schumacher), Snyder (Schneider), Smith (Schmidt), Freats (Fritz), Shufelt (Schufeld), Meghley (Michle), Younghance (Junghans), Wagenaer (Wagener). See Kapp, pp. 115, 116.

inhabitants of Rhinebeck settled in the Schoharie Valley and founded New Rhinebeck.

The original site of the Schoharie settlement was on the Little Schoharie, beginning somewhat south of the present town of Middleburg, and extending northward to the entry of Fox Creek and the Cobleskill into the main Schoharie River, an area of about two thousand acres. Seven villages were founded on both sides of the Schoharie River, and named after the leaders of the colonists. Weisersdorf was the southernmost village, located where now is Middleburg. Two miles to the north was Hartmannsdorf, named after Hartmann Windecker, soon to become the largest of all the villages, with sixty-five houses, and noted for its fruit trees, and particularly its apple trees, which, as early as the first quarter of the eighteenth century, became a staple product. Then came Brunnendorf, named after its springs, and a thousand paces to the north, Schmidtsdorf, of obvious derivation, the smallest of the villages. Fuchsdorf, at the mouth of Fox Creek, was named after Wilhelm Fuchs, who established the first mill. Two miles to the north was Gerlachsdorf, and beyond that Kneiskerndorf, on the east side of the river, opposite the mouth of the Cobleskill, named respectively after Gerlach and Captain Kneiskern.

The difficulties encountered in the beginning of the settlement were increased by the want of cattle and agricultural implements.[1] For salt it was necessary to journey nineteen miles, to Schenectady. The first crop of grain, however, that sprang from the soil surprised the colonists with its richness and quality, and strengthened them in their determination not to give up their new homes, what-

[1] They could not take along those they had used at East Camp ; that would have been theft.

ever the commands of the governor. In general appearance the country reminded them of their native land between the Hardt and Taunus mountain ranges, with its picturesque valleys and hills rising in moderation. In their first year, when Lambert Sternberg bought the first bushel of wheat in Schenectady and brought it on his back to Schoharie, he little thought that forty years thereafter Schoharie would annually send thirty-six thousand bushels of wheat to Schenectady. In the earliest days fifteen to twenty Palatines would be obliged for safety to journey together on their long trip to Schenectady, there to have their sacks of grain ground in the mill. Wilhelm Fuchs soon shortened the distance by setting up his mill on Fox Creek. In Weisersdorf nine inhabitants joined in the purchase of their first horse, using it in common, by taking turns. When, ten years later, some of them migrated to Pennsylvania, they drove large herds of cattle and horses before them. After the first necessities were provided, many of the men in the colony plied their respective trades and thus turned an additional honest penny. This also made their progress more rapid.

The relations of the Palatines with the Indians of the Mohawk tribes were very friendly, to such a degree that Governor Hunter grew suspicious, as will presently appear. Conrad Weiser, by consent of his father, Johann Conrad, lived with the Mohawk Indians,[1] when a boy. He learned their language and their customs, and on his return to the white settlements became ever after the mediator between the two races. An instance of the cordial relations existing between them is furnished by one of the festivals in

[1] The Mohawk chief, Quagnant, took a special liking to Conrad, then sixteen years of age, and proposed to take him to his own country and teach him the Indian language.

the early days, the crowning feature of which was a series of athletic sports. The chief event was a mile race between the fleetest of the Indian youths and Conrad Weiser. The speed of the two contestants was about equal for most of the distance, and they ran neck and neck near the finish, when Conrad Weiser, by accident or design, collided with his rival, causing his fall, and in the next moment reached the mark before his adversary could recover. The Indians, who had watched the race with breathless interest, complained vehemently of unfair treatment, when Conrad Weiser, going quickly from chief to chief, explained that his act was unintentional, and that he certainly was not deserving of the prize of handsome deerskins, that were to go to the victor. This pleased the Indians so much that they, in turn, were not to be outdone as sportsmen, and insisted on Weiser's taking the prize, the festival winding up in peace and good will, though at one time a dangerous antagonism was threatened.

Very different were the relations of the Palatines with the original Dutch settlers, called frequently Low Dutch, to distinguish them from the High Dutch, or Germans. Being older settlers and therefore more well-to-do, they looked down upon the poor Palatines, or tried to worst them when business affairs brought them in contact. This feeling, continuing until the Revolutionary War, was not due to national hatred, the two types being closely related by blood and geographical location in their European homes, but rather to class prejudice existing between rich and poor, patrician and plebeian, and subsequently between Tory and Patriot. Violent outbreaks occurred between them at times, as when, in the year 1714, Adam Vrooman, a well-to-do Dutch farmer of Schenectady, sent his son Peter to settle in the neighborhood of Weisersdorf.

The estate contained about fourteen hundred acres, and prevented the Germans from spreading out westward beyond the Schoharie. If young Vrooman's statements can be relied upon, Palatines drove their horses over his fields at night, tore down his buildings, and were abusive with "rebellious speeches." Johann Conrad Weiser was accused of being the ringleader in all disturbances, and his son of "telling the Indians all sorts of lies."

The resentment against the Weisers was shared by the governor and all aristocrats, but they were afraid to seize or arrest the Palatine leader, the champion of the rights and independence of the German colonists. The prosperity of the Schoharie settlements aroused the cupidity of the earlier settlers, who now became actively engaged in reviving Governor Hunter's grudge against the Palatines. Overstepping his prerogatives, the governor granted to the Seven Partners[1] of Albany at a very moderate selling-price[2] the identical territory, between the Little Schoharie and the Cobleskill, on which the Palatines had squatted. He might have bestowed upon his friends some of the equally valuable lands on the Mohawk, but his purpose was evidently to drive the Palatines out of the fertile valley of the Schoharie, choosing to forget the original instructions of Queen Anne, in accordance with which he was to engage the Palatines in the business of preparing pitch and tar, but also to have special concern for "the comfort and advantage of the Palatines." It was not so easy a matter for the Seven Partners to gain actual possession of the territory granted them. The Palatines in-

[1] The grant was dated, Fort George, November 3, 1714, and made to Meyndert Schuyler, Peter van Brugh, Robert Livingston, Jr., John Schuyler, George Clark, Dr. Staats, and Rip van Dam. Kapp, p. 127; Cobb, p. 231.

[2] Ten thousand acres for fourteen hundred pistoles. See Kapp, p. 231.

sisted on their right of possession by purchase from the Indians, and by special assignment of Queen Anne. Governor Hunter's only excuse could be that so long as the Palatines had not produced ship stores in sufficient quantity,[1] he would not carry out the other part of the contract, in virtue of which the Palatines as colonists were entitled to grants of land at the rate of forty acres per head.

The Seven Partners soon sent an agent, Bayard, to acquaint the German settlers with the new order of things, and graciously to offer them the lands they had cultivated, at a small rental. Bayard was lodged in Schmidtsdorf, located centrally among the seven villages, and when his purpose became known, men, women, and children, armed with clubs, sickles, knives, and guns appeared before the house where the agent was stopping. Bayard owed his life to his host, Schmidt, who restrained the angered people long enough to allow him to escape. The Seven Partners then sent the sheriff of Albany, named Adams, to renew the offers and drive from the land those unwilling to accept their terms, particularly Johann Conrad Weiser. According to the sheriff's own account, as he tried to seize one of the refractory colonists, he was struck down, dragged through all the dirty pools of the streets by the women of the village, then set upon a fence-rail and carried about for an hour. He lost an eye and had two of his ribs broken, but managed, four days after, to creep or crawl back to Albany. After that either side waited, and the Schoharie people, on their part, were very cautious about appearing in Albany. In time they grew bolder, and a number of young men, including the son of Weiser, ventured to go to Albany to get salt. They were

[1] The failure of the enterprise, however, released the Palatines from their obligations.

captured and put into prison, for how long we do not know, but since no legitimate charges could be brought against them, they had to be set free.

The Seven Partners, being unable to dislodge the Palatines, next applied to the governor. In 1717 he summoned three men from each village to appear in Albany, including Johann Conrad Weiser. When they were assembled, Governor Hunter, in a passion declaring that he would have Weiser hanged, put three questions to the Palatines whom he had summoned: —

(1) Why had they gone to Schoharie without his permission?

(2) Why would they not make any compromise with the gentlemen of Albany?

(3) Why had they so much to do with the Indians?

These questions the deputies answered as follows: —

Firstly, they had been compelled by necessity to shift for themselves, the governor having told them to do so when the manufacture of tar was discontinued. They were compelled to go somewhere and provide against starvation, hoping to gain later the approval of the king and governor. When the speaker, probably Weiser, mentioned the king, Hunter grew angry, and Livingston added, "Here is your king," pointing to the governor.

To the second question the deputies answered that they had nothing to do with the gentlemen of Albany; that the Indians had presented the land to the crown for the good of the Palatines; that they had since that time bought the land from the Indians; that the king had not given it to the Seven Partners; and that if they must serve any one, they would serve the king and no private person.

In answer to the third question they said that if they did not live on good terms with the Indians, they would

constantly be exposed to hostile attacks of both the Indians and the French.

Hunter commanded them either to agree with the Albany gentlemen or to leave the valley, and forbade them to plow and sow the ground until they had come to an agreement. The deputies returned with these behests, none of which were obeyed. The following winter the people sent three men to New York, asking the governor's permission to cultivate their land. Hunter did not change his position, nor did the Palatines theirs, on the return of the delegates. As Weiser says in his subsequent account: "They were forced for their own preservation to transgress these orders, and sowed some small corn and fruits, or else they must have starved." In the spring of 1718 the Palatines concluded that they must appeal to a higher power, and appointed three of their best men to go to London and lay their grievances before the king.

Their envoys were Johann Conrad Weiser, Scheff, and Wallrath. They secretly boarded a ship in Philadelphia, but while at sea misfortune overtook them, they fell into the hands of pirates, and were robbed of all their possessions. Weiser was tied to the mast three times and pitifully beaten, to yield up more money, though he had given his last. The ship was forced to land at Boston, in order to purchase supplies for the remaining passage, and when it arrived in London, the German envoys were bereft of all their means. Friendless and poor in a foreign city, they were compelled to contract debts, in consequence of which Weiser and Scheff were put into the debtor's prison, while Wallrath returned homeward, dying on the way. The others remained in prison almost a year, until a check of seventy pounds from their friends in Schoharie released them. Each then presented a petition inde-

pendently, rehearsing their history and numerous grievances, from the very beginning, their arrival at New York, to the attempted expulsion from Schoharie, their land of promise, given them by the crown, that had received it from the Indians. The documents showed particular strength in argumentation, and proved that their authors were by no means ignorant men such as the Palatines are frequently set down for, but on the contrary men of ability, particularly Weiser, and both of a higher intellectual type than commonly found on the frontier. Although they were supported in their plea by both pastors of the Royal German Chapel, Böhm and Robert, they did not get a satisfactory hearing. Governor Hunter, then in England, after his recall from office, being questioned as a witness, gave some damaging accounts of the Palatines, saying among other things that they had "settled against his will on other people's lands." He was thus begging the very point at issue, but his testimony weighed heavily with the Lords of Trade, and the result was that Hunter's grant of the lands to the Seven Partners of Albany remained intact.

Scheff left earlier than Weiser, having disagreed with him on the point of the advisability of threatening to leave the colony of New York, if their rights were not maintained. Such a step, Scheff thought, transcended the terms of their commission. Weiser remained at least until 1722, hoping against hope, determined to make the right of the Palatines victorious, but in 1723 he was again at home in Schoharie. There the people were no longer in agreement, but were discussing[1] the adoption of one of three separate courses: first, remaining in Schoharie and arriving at an

[1] It is said also, that a portion of the younger element of the Palatines were persuaded or bribed by the Partners of Albany to subscribe to a petition undermining the good work of Weiser and Scheff.

agreement with the Albany proprietors; second, settling in the Mohawk Valley on land assigned them by the new governor, Burnet; and third, migrating to the neighboring colony of Pennsylvania.

Governor Burnet treated the Palatines with more tact than his predecessor. He reasoned with them, and apparently persuaded most of them that it was to their advantage to yield. He offered them equally good lands on the Mohawk, a proposition the acceptance of which he knew would also result in a gain for the province, extending the frontier forty miles westward and thereby protecting the older settlements. The petition of Weiser, after all, probably had had a good effect, for now the home government was commanding Burnet to take action in behalf of the Palatines. The governor had some trouble in getting the squatters to believe that he was fair-minded, in urging them to accept his propositions. His impression of the Palatines he gave in the words, "a laborious and honest, but headstrong ignorant people." At one time he speaks of them as ungrateful, but governing he found a thankless task and the criticism does not apply any more to the Palatines as a people than to others. The latter had been treated very harshly, and a forced migration, even under favorable conditions, was after all an injustice to them.

About three hundred persons remained in Schoharie, making an agreement with the new landlords, on easy terms.[1] They were subsequently joined by additional settlers from Germantown and Rhinebeck, so that at the time of the Revolution the whole of the Schoharie country was settled. The German farms extended twenty-five or thirty miles beyond the original seven villages. The in-

[1] Conrad Weiser says, however, the best lands were not available for the Palatines.

dustrious and thrifty settlers made a garden of the country, and peace and plenty entered their lives. They were active in the frontier struggles and in the war of the Revolution, but after that led quiet lives, leaving no particular mark upon the history of the state, yet harboring latent forces, which occasionally came to the surface, as in the career of William C. Bouck, prominent in politics through his native good sense and honesty, and serving as governor of the state of New York from 1843 to 1845.

The leader of the Palatines who settled in the Mohawk Valley was Gerlach. The settlements were made on either side of the Mohawk in the present counties of Montgomery, Herkimer, and beyond. Fort Hunter was the easternmost point, and fifty miles west, at Frankfort, was the western limit. The whole distance between Frankfort and Schenectady is seventy English miles, of which area the Germans settled more than two thirds. In this location they protected the frontier of New York throughout the French and Indian and the Revolutionary wars, the Schoharie Germans forming the other side of the wedge running into the western territory of New York. The district soon became the granary in time of peace and war, and the labors of Governor Burnet were well rewarded. In number the Palatine settlers of the Mohawk Valley, about the middle of the eighteenth century, amounted to from twenty-five hundred to three thousand, inhabiting about five hundred houses. Indian traders advanced as far as Oswego and Niagara, which marked the borders also of the territory of the Six Nations. Even to-day the Mohawk Valley is Palatine territory, indexed with German names, as Palatine, Palatine Bridge, Mannheim, Oppenheim, Newkirk, etc. The level meadows extending along

the south side of the Mohawk, unsurpassed in cultivation and fertility, are still known as the German Flats. On the opposite side of the Mohawk lies the town bearing the name of General Herkimer (or Herkheimer), the hero of the battle of Oriskany, described in the chapter below on the Revolutionary War.[1]

Not only Gerlach, who led his hosts to the Mohawk Valley, but another of the seven chiefs would not listen to the compromise of the Albany landlords. Johann Conrad Weiser chose rather to leave the lands he and his people had cultivated for twelve years than suffer injustice. For some time past a number of the Palatines at Schoharie had looked in the direction of Pennsylvania for settlement, receiving encouragement from Governor Keith, who promised them freedom and justice. A petition had been addressed to him from fifteen heads of Palatine families, that recited their experiences in New York, spoke of the generous treatment always shown their countrymen in Pennsylvania, and begged that lands might be set aside for them on the Tulpehocken, which they would be ready and able to purchase. This petition was acted upon favorably, and an immigration to Pennsylvania resulted on invitation of Governor Keith. To carry out the plan, steps were taken in the assembly to satisfy the claims of Chief Sassouan, who protested against the occupation of the Tulpehocken district. The Indians were given compensation satisfactory to them, and the relations between the Palatines and aborigines became as cordial in Pennsylvania as they had been in Schoharie.

The migration was made in two bodies, the first starting in the spring of 1723, and the second in 1728. About sixty families, or three hundred persons, left Schoharie.

[1] Chapter xi, pp. 307-314.

This time they had a large train of cattle, abundant supplies, and money to make a good beginning. They ascended the Schoharie, and under the conduct of an Indian guide crossed the mountains southwestwardly to the headwaters of the Susquehanna. They constructed canoes and followed the Susquehanna River to the mouth of the Swatara. Ascending the river, they reached the undulating country that lies between the sources of the Swatara and Tulpehocken, and made it the site of their permanent settlement. Heidelberg was the name given to their first town. Word was sent back to Schoharie of the success of the expedition and settlement, and five years later came Conrad Weiser, with his people, who had been hoping in vain that by some chance they might still get a clear title to their possessions. The Weisers founded the settlement of Womelsdorf, which rapidly gained in importance. Conrad Weiser, the younger, was soon recognized as the head of the new German settlements in Berks County, his public service as a soldier and mediator in Indian affairs making his name respected throughout the land. The elder Weiser lived with his son almost a score of years longer, seeing increase and prosperity all about him, and peace at last. He had been one of the most stubborn fighters for justice and independence in all colonial history, what with the determined stand he took against Hunter, and the defense of his people's rights before the very throne of Great Britain, ever undaunted by poverty, chastisement, imprisonment, and the law's delay.

The number of Palatines in the Tulpehocken district was very soon increased by accessions from Germany. Reports of their kind treatment in Pennsylvania went home through letters and personal messages, with the result that the main stream of German immigration now went

into Pennsylvania and avoided New York. The Swedish traveler and naturalist, Peter Kalm, comments upon this fact, and says that even when immigrants were forced to take ships bound for New York, "they were scarce got on shore when they hastened to Pennsylvania in sight of all the inhabitants of New York." Within twenty years of the settlement of Tulpehocken, the Germans in the Pennsylvania counties had increased to nearly fifty thousand. The colony of New York lost inestimably through the diversion of this main current of immigration, and it is largely due to this fact that New York in colonial times ranked but fourth in importance, being exceeded by Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

The name of probably the most lasting fame among the Palatine settlers of New York State is that of the printer, John Peter Zenger. He made the first good fight in the history of the American colonies for the liberty of the press. When a youth of thirteen years he was apprenticed to William Bradford, then the only printer of New York. He was one of the Palatine orphan boys, separated from the other colonists, and left behind in New York City; but great was his fortune to serve under a man of such high character as Bradford. The latter was an English Quaker, who had come over with William Penn, but in 1685 removed to the colony of New York. In 1725 he had given New York City its first newspaper, "The New York Gazette." With him Zenger learned the trade of printing and the art of editing a newspaper. His rise had been speedy from apprentice, to employer, to partner. In 1733 Zenger left the partnership and started an independent newspaper called the "New York Weekly Journal." Bradford's paper was the organ of the governor's party, Zenger's that of the opposition.

The beginnings of an epoch of severe party strife in New York came with the appointment of Governor Cosby, who had been governor of Minorca and there made an unenviable reputation for avarice. He did not immediately come to New York, but resided in London a year before entering upon his duties. In the interim Rip Van Dam, as president of the council, conducted the affairs of the colony. Cosby claimed that one half of the salary paid to the president of the council was due to himself. Van Dam agreed to this, but demurred when Cosby claimed also one half the fees the former had received. A lawsuit arose which divided the colony into two camps, popular sympathy naturally being on the side of Rip Van Dam. When Cosby dismissed Chief Justice Morris and set in his place a man amenable to his designs, popular discontent rose to white heat. The case naturally was won by Cosby, but it was a victory dearly bought, savoring of bitter defeat. Bradford's "New York Gazette" being the faithful instrument of the government, Zenger thought the auspicious moment had arrived for the founding of a paper voicing the sentiments of the people. The "New York Weekly Journal" obtained as supporters and contributors some of the ablest men in the province, such as Rip Van Dam, Judge Morris, and the lawyers Smith and Alexander. Bradford's stately pages were no match for the bold, truth-telling, satirical columns of Zenger.

Now there appeared in the "Journal" a number of articles, which inveighed against the high-handed actions of the governor, and complained of his driving residents of New York away to other colonies. The following is a brief quotation from the paper: —

We see men's deeds destroyed, judges arbitrarily displaced, new courts erected without the consent of the legislature, by

Numb. I.

THE New-York Weekly JOURNAL.

Containing the freſheſt Advices, Foreign, and Domeſtick.

MUNDAY, November 5, 1733.

Mr. Zenger,

UNDERSTANDING you intend ſhortly to publiſh a Weekly Paper, I recommend to your diſpoſal the incloſed Verſes upon Wiſdom; which is ſo noble a Theme, that whoever takes the Pains ſeriouſly to reflect thereon, will find himſelf happily loſt in the boundleſs Ocean of Benefits and Satisfaction attending it. It is without Diſpute the chief Wood of Mankind; the firm Bank that conſtantly ſecures us again the impetuous Raging of that turbulent Sea of Paſſions, which inceſſantly daſh againſt the Frame of human Nature. It is a Fort impregnable by all Aſſaults of Vice, Folly, and Miſfortunes, and a ſecure Rock againſt all the Caſualties of Miſery. It is a Guide and Security to Youth, Health, and Vigour to Old Age; and a Remedy and Eaſe in Sickneſs and Infirmity. It is Comfort in Adverſity, it is Plenty in Poverty, and a conſtant Source of true Joy and Delight. It is infinitely beyond all that the feigned *Fortunatus* ever could wiſh, or *Gyges*'s Treaſures purchaſe; *For her Ways are Ways of Pleaſantneſs, and all her Paths are Peace.* She is of eaſy acceſs to all that diligently ſeek her; and refuſes none that with Sincerity apply to her, and is always a ready Help in Time of Need: Therefore pray continue to recommend the earneſt Purſuit of Her to all Mankind; and you will particularly oblige.

PHILO-SOPHIA.

On WISDOM.

VIctorious Wiſdom, whoſe ſupreme Command
Extends beyond the Bounds of Sea and Land;
'Tis thou alone that doſt reward our Pains,
With Pleaſures that endure, and ſolid Gains.

But Oh! What art thou, and where doſt thou dwell?
Not with the Hermit in his lonely Cell,
The ſullen Fumes of whoſe diſtemper'd Brain,
Make the dull Wretch torment himſelf in vain:
Whilſt of the World affectedly afraid,
He ſhuns the End for which Mankind was made.

Not with the Epicure in all his Pleaſures,
Nor with the Miſer in his Bank of Treaſures,
The one's a Slave bound faſt in golden Chains,
The other buys ſhort Joys with laſting Pains.

Not in the vain Purſuit of partial Fame,
The gaudy Outſide of an empty Name;
When moved by Chance, not Merit common Breath,
Gives the falſe Shadow fudden Life or Death.

Honour, when meritoriouſly aſſumed,
The noble Actions of a God like Mind,
Is then indeed a Bleſſing from Heaven,
A bright Reward for human Labour given.

But when 'tis Fame's miſtaken Flattery,
A popular Applauſe of Vanity,
The worthleſs Idol ought to be abhor'd;
And is by none but Knaves and Fools ador'd.

Thus as I'm ſearching with the feeble Light
Of human Reaſon, in dark error's Night,
For what has oft eſcap'd the curious Eye,
Of lofty Wit, and deep Philoſophy,
From the bright Regions of eternal Day,
Methinks I ſee a ſmall but glorious Ray,
Dart ſwift as Lightning through the yielding Air,
To an unſpotted Breaſt, and enter there.

This is the Wiſdom I ſo much adore;
Grant me but this, kind Heaven, I aſk no more.
This once obtain'd, how happy ſhall I be?
Kings will be little Men, compar'd to me:
They in their own Dominions only great,
I Conquer of the World, my ſelf and Fate.

Thus arm'd, let Fortune uſe me as ſhe will,
I ſtand prepar'd to meet with Good or Ill.
If I am born for Happineſs and Eaſe,
And proſp'rous Gales ſalute the ſmiling Seas;
This Path I'll tread, (the Bleſſings to repay)
Where Virtue calls and Honour leads the Way,

But if the Weather of my Life prove foul,
Though Storms ariſe that makes whole Kingdoms
rowle.

Yet

which it seems to me trials by jury are taken away when a governor pleases; men of known estates denied their votes contrary to the recent practice of the best expositor of any law. Who is there in that province that can call anything his own, or enjoy any liberty longer than those in the administration will condescend to let them, for which reason I left it, as I believe more will.

This was plain speaking, unheard of in the colonial papers up to that time, yet it represented the exercise of a newspaper's noblest function, that of giving free and fearless expression to public opinion.

The governor left no stone unturned to close the mouthpiece of the people's party. First he directed the grand jury to indict Zenger for libel. They did not see any cause for accusation. The governor tried the jury again, and failed. He then brought the matter before the colonial assembly, who refused to order the burning by the hangman of certain numbers of the "Weekly Journal." The colonial council (upper house), under pressure from the governor, then passed an order, by which the hangman was to burn publicly certain designated articles, while the burgomaster and magistrate of the city should witness the act. The latter both refused to obey, and when, four days later (November 6, 1734), the sheriff made a motion in court to carry out the order, they forbade the hangman, who was a city official, to act in accordance with the demand. The objectionable numbers of the newspapers were then burned by a black slave of the sheriff in the presence of some officers of the garrison.

Soon after, on the 17th of November, followed the arrest of Zenger, but he was set free on bail, through the efforts of his lawyers, James Alexander and William Smith. In January, 1735, the grand jury again found

no cause for indicting Zenger. The attorney-general next took the matter in hand. The lawyers of Zenger attacked the constitutionality of the court over which Delancey (successor to Morris) presided, but this was followed by the latter's disbarring Alexander and Smith from practice in New York for contempt of court. Thus Zenger lost his legal defenders, and his case seemed hopeless in the face of the criminal procedure instituted against him, August 14, 1735.[1] But Zenger's cause had become more than a personal contest; it was now the cause of the people of New York and with them of all the American colonists. The friends of Zenger summoned to his aid Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, the most noted and respected advocate of the colonies. He was a Scotch-Irishman, who had settled in the Quaker City in the beginning of the century and had come by his reputation justly through his able and honest public service.

In this trial he admitted at once that his client had published the paragraph in question, whereupon the court claimed a verdict for the crown. But Hamilton maintained that the question for the jury to decide was not whether the paragraph in question had been printed or not by Zenger, but whether the paragraph which Zenger had printed was a libel or not. The paragraph had been described as "false, scandalous, malicious, and seditious." Hamilton declared that there was nothing false in the paragraph, but that it was a statement of plain and well-known facts. The chief justice ruled that the truth of a libel could not be admitted in evidence according to English law. But Hamilton impressed upon the jury, by the very force of his character and eloquence, the justice of his own view, that what the jury was to decide was

[1] Kapp, p. 176.

whether the paragraph of Zenger, if true, could properly be condemned as a libel. Hamilton created a precedent for the future, and this very case of the Zenger trial was referred to in 1792, when the Fox Libel Act became a law in England.[1]

The peroration of Hamilton was a remarkable performance, and won the jury unanimously. In conclusion the able advocate said: —

> The Question before the Court, and you, Gentlemen of the Jury, is not of small nor private Concern, it is not the Cause of a poor Printer, nor of New York alone, which you are trying: No! It may in its Consequence, affect every Freeman that lives under a British Government on the Main of America! It is the best Cause, it is the Cause of Liberty, and I make no Doubt but your upright Conduct, this Day, will not only entitle you to the Love and Esteem of your Fellow-Citizens, but every Man who prefers Freedom to a Life of Slavery will bless and honor You, as Men who have baffled the Attempt of Tyranny; and by an impartial and uncorrupt Verdict, have laid a noble Foundation for securing to ourselves, our Posterity and our Neighbors, That, to which Nature and the Laws of our Country have given us a Right — The Liberty — both of exposing and opposing arbitrary Power (in these Parts of the World, at least) . . . by speaking and writing *Truth!*

Judge Delancey delivered a charge to the jury which fell upon deaf ears. They returned very shortly with the verdict of "not guilty." The scene that followed outside of the court-room, when the acquittal of John Peter Zenger became known, had had no equal in the history of New

[1] Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, vol. ii, p. 244. Cf. also Kapp, chap. ix, — a complete report of the trial, with the speech of Hamilton, in a German translation, is given on pp. 178–199. Cf. also *John Peter Zenger: His Press, His Trial and a Bibliography of Zenger Imprints*, by Livingston Rutherford. New York, 1904. The text is accompanied by abundant illustrations. Zenger's verbatim report of 1736 is given complete, in its original form.

York. There was no greater rejoicing on the day of the inauguration of George Washington. By threats the judges tried to subdue the shouting, but they might as well have tried to stem the flow of the tides. An English naval officer made an allusion to the acquittal of the Seven Bishops, which renewed the popular demonstration. The aged Hamilton, whose bodily infirmities could not keep him from serving his people and nation, was the hero of the hour, and on leaving, he was accompanied by an escort and martial music.

Zenger also deserves a large share of the glory in this brilliant victory. He was the one to provoke the fight for the freedom of the press, and then he added to his services by giving in his newspaper a complete verbatim account of the trial, a valuable piece of legal and historical literature.[1] He possessed the genuine newspaper instinct and persistence. When in prison, his bail having been fixed at so high a sum, eight hundred pounds, that it was impossible to procure release, he went on publishing his newspaper energetically. He communicated with and dictated to his assistants, availing himself, it is said, of a crack in the door of his prison, and his newspaper appeared without interruption. Peter Zenger was no mere typesetter, but a live and fearless journalist of the modern stamp. The Zenger trial laid the foundation of the liberty of the press in America, and Peter Zenger himself was the founder of the first independent newspaper in the country.

[1] This report, printed in full in the works of Kapp and Rutherford, named in the footnote above, puts to shame the charge of ignorance sometimes made against the "Palatine apprentice." Equally unfair is the statement that the "poor printer" knew not the importance of the stand he was taking. We might in the same way find fault with Luther or Columbus because they did not realize at the time the full consequences of the radical steps they were taking.

A brief Narrative of the Case and Tryal of *John Peter Zenger*, Printer of the *New-York weekly Journal.*

AS There was but one Printer in the Province of *New-York*, that printed a publick News Paper, I was in Hopes, if I undertook to publish another, I might make it worth my while; and I soon found my Hopes were not groundless: My first Paper was printed, *Nov.* 5*th*, 1733. and I continued printing and publishing of them, I thought to the Satisfaction of every Body, till the *January* following; when the Chief Justice was pleased to animadvert upon the Doctrine of Libels, in a long Charge given in that Term to the Grand Jury, and afterwards on the third *Tuesday* of *October*, 1734. was again pleased to charge the Grand Jury in the following Words.

'*Gentlemen*; I shall conclude with reading a Paragraph or two out of the same Book, concerning Libels; they are arrived to that Height, that they call loudly for your Animadversion; it is high Time to put a Stop to them; for at the rate Things are now carried on, when all Order and Government is endeavoured to be trampled on; Reflections are cast upon Persons of all Degrees, must not these Things end in Sedition, if not timely prevented? Lenity, you have seen will not avail, it becomes you then to enquire after the Offenders, that we may in a due Course of Law be enabled to punish them. If you, *Gentlemen*, do not interpose, consider whether the ill Consequences that may arise from any Disturbances of the publick Peace, may not in part, lye at your Door?

'*Hawkins*, in his Chapter of Libels, considers three Points, 1*ſt*. *What shall be said to be a Libel.* 2*dly*. *Who are lyable to be punished for it.* 3*dly*. *In what Manner they are to be punished.* Under the 1*ſt*. he says, §. 7. *Nor can there be any Doubt, but that a Writing which defames a private Person only, is as much a Libel as that which defames Persons intrusted in a publick Capacity, in as much as it manifestly tends to create ill Blood, and to cause a Disturbance of the publick Peace; however, it is certain, that it is a very high Aggravation of a Libel, that it tends to scandalize the Government, by reflecting on those who are entrusted with the Administration of publick Affairs, which does not only endanger the publick Peace, as all other Libels do, by stirring up the Parties immediately concerned in it, to Acts of Revenge, but also has a direct Tendency to breed in the People a Dislike of their Governours, and incline them to Faction and Sedition.* As to the 2*d*. Point he says, §. 10. *It is certain, not only he who composes or procures another to compose it but also that he who publishes, or procures another to publish it, are in Danger of being punished for it; and it is said not to be material whether he who dispersed a Libel, knew any Thing of the Contents or Effects of it or not; for nothing could be more*

 easy

FIRST PAGE OF ZENGER'S TRIAL

CHAPTER V

THE GERMANS IN PENNSYLVANIA

The various religious sects — The Lutherans, German Reformed, and United Brethren, the three most influential denominations — Statistics, and characteristics of the Pennsylvania German farmer, and the sixteen points enumerated by Dr. Rush, the "Tacitus" of the Pennsylvanians — Industrial activity of the Pennsylvania Germans — Their printing-presses, newspapers, schools.

THE principal port of entry for German immigrations before the Revolution was Philadelphia. Some Germans, as will be seen, entered at northern ports; after the ill-starred arrival of the Palatines, however, only a few immigrants landed at New York; Baltimore[1] and Charleston received more Germans, though the exact number is difficult to ascertain; but probably all ports combined did not surpass Philadelphia. The immigrations before the Revolution may be divided into three periods. The earliest, from 1683 to 1710, is the least in amount, and represents the initial movement. An increase came between 1710 and 1727, the latter being the year when records of the immigration were begun, with names of persons and generally of the country whence they came. The reason for recording the immigration was its great increase, sometimes amounting to from five to eight thousand a year, and the consequent fear that this swelling German population, together with the large Scotch-Irish immigration, might change the character of the state

[1] Including Annapolis and Alexandria, i. e., all the Germans coming by way of Chesapeake Bay.

politically and socially. Though there recurred from time to time a nativistic agitation, nothing was done prohibitive of immigration.

After the settlement of Germantown, in 1683, and its subsequent accessions, the second strong current of German immigration into Pennsylvania was that of the Swiss Mennonites, about 1710. They were of the same religious faith as the original settlers of Germantown, who had been Mennonites before joining the Quakers, and whose favorable reports from Pennsylvania no doubt induced their brethren to try their fortunes also in the land of Penn. The movement gained strength in 1711, when the Mennonites of Bern were offered free transportation down the Rhine, the privileges of selling their property and taking their families with them, provided they would pledge themselves never to return to Switzerland. The Mennonites of Holland offered them a helping hand, especially the Dutch ambassador, Runckel. The Swiss Mennonites selected as their settlement a tract of ten thousand acres on Pequa Creek, Conestoga, in what is now Lancaster County (organized in 1729), their patent being made out in the names of Hans Herr and Martin Kundig.[1] The industrious and gentle Mennonites lived on good terms with the Conestoga and Mingo Indian tribes, and with the help of the later German immigrants, that soon poured into the county, Lancaster became the

[1] Some of the names of the Lancaster County Swiss are the following: Aeschlimann, Brubacher, Baumgartner, Brechbühl, Bucher, Bühler, Bürki, Ebersold, Egli, Fahrni, Flückiger, Frick (from Zurich), Galli, Gäumann, Gerber, Goshnauer, Graf, Gut, Haldimann, Hauri, Huber, Jeggli, Krähenbühl (Krehbiel), Kuenzi, Landis, Maurer, Meili, Neukomm, Oberli, Ringer, Rohner, Rubeli, Rubi, Ruegsegger, Rupp, Schallenberger, Schürch, Stähli, Strahm, Wenger, Wisler, Zürcher. Cf. Kuhns, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania: a Study of the So-called Pennsylvania Dutch*, pp. 46, 47. Holt & Co., 1901.

garden spot and pride of Pennsylvania. Another very old settlement of the Mennonites was that at Skippack in Montgomery County, where a number of the old Germantown Mennonites settled as early as 1702. One hundred acres were presented by Van Bibber for a church, erected about 1726.

In doctrine the Mennonites resembled the Quakers closely. They would not bear arms, they believed in the separation of church and state, the freedom of conscience, simplicity of dress and life. They refused to take oaths, and baptized only on the profession of faith. Their founder was Menno Simons (1492–1559) of Friesland. In the seventeenth century there was a schism, dividing the sect into Ammenites[1] (or Upland Mennonites) and Lowland Mennonites. The former were the more conservative and rigorous in doctrine and in dress. The use of buttons, for instance, was considered a vain thing, and hooks and eyes became the substitute. They are also called Amish, and their number in the United States to-day is about fifteen thousand.[2]

Another sect which chose Pennsylvania as a place of refuge very early in the history of the province was that of the Dunkards or Tunkers. Their name is derived from their method of baptism, dipping (in German, *eintunken*).

[1] After the founder, Jacob Ammen, of the Canton Bern, Switzerland. There were other divisions in the Mennonite Church, such as the formation of the Reformed Mennonites. On this subject, see Kuhns, *German and Swiss Settlements of Pennsylvania*, pp. 178 ff. The chapter on "The Religious Life of the Pennsylvania Germans," pp. 153–192, is an excellent presentation of the subject of the German sectarians of Pennsylvania.

[2] The last census (1900) reports the number of Amish as . 13,413
Of old Amish as 2,438
Together 15,851
The total number of Mennonites in the United States, including the Amish, is 59,892.

As in the case of the Mennonites, there was with them no infant baptism, they refused to take oaths or bear arms, and to accept public office. They would not institute a lawsuit against brethren of the order, and they lived the simple life. Alexander Mack was the founder, in 1708, establishing a congregation at Schwarzenau in Westphalia. In course of time all of the Dunkards came to Pennsylvania, the first group of twenty families arriving in 1719. They were distributed among the settlements of Germantown, Skippack, Oley (in Berks County), and Conestoga. Their leader, Peter Baker (Becker), sometime minister under Mack, made a tour of all the Tunker settlements in 1723, instituted among them a revival of their religion, and succeeded also in gaining many new members. One of the most prominent Tunkers was the printer Cristopher Sauer, the publisher of a German newspaper with a wide circulation throughout the province. The paper made him one of the most influential men among the German settlers, and gave prominence to religious principles that the Tunkers had in common with the Mennonites, Quakers, and Anabaptists, such as rigorous simplicity in dress and habits, refusal to bear arms, take oaths, or accept public office, principles which were opposed to the more strenuous and militant rule of life exhibited by the patriarch of the Lutheran Church, Mühlenberg, and his friend of the Reformed Church, Schlatter, who was soon to appear in Pennsylvania.

Conrad Beissel had been chosen assistant to Baker, in the fold of the Tunkers, but, "being wise in his own conceit," Beissel soon caused trouble in the church, on the issue of Sabbath observance. He declared that the day of rest should be celebrated on the seventh day, and when a council held at Conestoga, where the founder, Alexander Mack, who had come to visit Pennsylvania, was present,

REAR VIEW OF SAAL AND SISTER HOUSE

SOUTH VIEW OF THE BROTHER HOUSE

EPHRATA MONASTERY

decided against him, he determined to secede. With a few followers he organized a society of "Seventh-Day Baptists" on the Conestoga, but some years later, desiring even greater seclusion from the world, he fled to the Cocalico and there founded the Cloister of Ephrata.[1] Its successful administration, peculiar customs, and devotion to music, rendered it unique and picturesque. There was a home for the brothers and one for the sisters, with such names as Kedar, Bethania, and Saron, and some of their buildings have lasted even to our day. Tonsure and monkish robes were introduced, asceticism prevailed, and devotion to the order characterized them from the beginning, when the brethren balked not at becoming their own plow-horses. All property was owned by the order, which grew rapidly in wealth through the self-sacrificing toil of its members. The cloister owned a printing-press, from which there are still extant many of the mystical writings of Conrad Beissel ("Vater Friedsam Gottrecht"), and some of the religious songs chanted by the choirs. The literature of Ephrata reminds one strongly of the Mystic Kelpius and his brotherhood, of which the Ephrata Community, as has been observed above, is the logical successor.

Another sect that built its altar in the forests of Pennsylvania was that of the Schwenkfelders. They were founded by a contemporary of Luther, Kaspar Schwenkfeld, of Ossing, Silesia. They suffered persecution at the hands of Protestants and Catholics alike, until in 1726 they were hospitably received by Zinzendorf. In 1733–34 they immigrated and settled for the most part in Montgomery County, being most numerous in the neighborhood of Goshenhoppen.

[1] Cf. Seidensticker, *Bilder aus der deutsch-pennsylvanischen Geschichte*, pp. 169–250: "Ephrata. Eine amerikanische Klostergeschichte."

The three most important religious denominations, however, were the Lutherans, the German Reformed, and the United Brethren (Moravians). They were not prominent in the earliest history of the German settlements in Pennsylvania, though they may have been represented. Being far more numerous in the mother country, they were bound to become more and more prominent as the current of German immigration grew in volume. This applies especially to the Lutherans and Reformed, the Moravians finally yielding to the former in numbers, power, and influence, retaining, however, the most prominent place in the field of missionary work. The first Lutheran preacher ordained in America was Justus Falckner, who entered the ministry under the auspices of the Swedish Lutheran church of Wicacoa (now Southwark, a part of Philadelphia). Undoubtedly he was one of the first, if not the first German Lutheran preacher in America. Soon after ordination (1703) he preached to the Germans in Falckner's Swamp (New Hanover), the land which his brother, Daniel Falckner, had acquired for the Frankfort Company.[1] Soon Justus Falckner was called to serve the Lutheran churches in New York and Albany, leaving Falckner's Swamp without a preacher. Another old Lutheran settlement before 1729 was that called Trappe (New Providence), located south of New Hanover, between the Schuylkill and the Perkiomen, in Montgomery County. The other Lutherans were located in Germantown and Philadelphia. It was very common in the early days for the Lutherans and Reformed to use the same building for worship, sometimes even to retain the same min-

[1] As previously noted, it was the remaining portion of the 25,000 acres after 2675 had been deducted for Germantown and 300 for a tract on the Schuylkill above the Wissahickon, leaving 22,025 acres.

ister, as was the practice in Philadelphia. In Germantown the Lutherans laid the foundation of their church in 1730.[1]

Under these circumstances the Lutheran Church could not prosper. Therefore three congregations, those of Philadelphia, New Hanover, and Providence, in 1733, united to petition the Lutheran court preacher of London, Reverend F. M. Ziegenhagen, for assistance. A minister was asked for, and contributions in money for the building of a Lutheran church. The matter was much delayed, because of the dishonesty of two of the delegates, who had been sent abroad for the purpose of getting financial assistance. In 1741 a fortunate choice was made in the selection of Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, as pastor for the three Pennsylvania congregations. Mühlenberg had studied at Göttingen and prepared himself for his profession at Halle, where Pastor August Hermann Francke was the head of the Lutheran Church, or more strictly of the Pietistic wing. Mühlenberg did not proceed at once to Pennsylvania, but preferred first to visit Pastor Bolzius, the leader of the Salzburg colony in Georgia, in order to get from him some information as to conditions in America. This was done on the advice of the Reverend Mr. Ziegenhagen and was fortunate for him, preparing the young man well for coming events in Pennsylvania and helping him to understand a very intricate problem in the southern colony, which he was subsequently called to solve. In Charleston, before he reached Ebenezer in Georgia, he heard that Count Zinzendorf had arrived in Philadelphia under the name of von Thürnstein, and that he was making a great stir in the church. Mühlenberg there-

[1] Other German denominations, that were more numerous, had meeting-houses long before this.

fore hastened his departure, boarded an inferior sloop, but arrived safely on November 25, 1741, in Philadelphia.

When he landed, he was told that one part of the Lutherans favored Count Zinzendorf, and that the others held to Valentin Kraft, the Lutheran preacher who had been deposed by the church authorities in Germany. He heard also that in his prospective home at New Hanover, a dentist named Schmidt was serving as preacher. With such prospects before him, Mühlenberg. on a raw, cold, wintry day at the end of November, rode to New Hanover, thirty-six miles distant, in order to present himself to his congregation. The confusion resulting on his arrival drew from Mühlenberg the comment in a letter, " that he was obliged to undergo a moral seasickness after his physical one!" The people in Trappe counseled him to make a compromise with Mr. Kraft, but that was impossible for such a man as Mühlenberg, not given to halfway measures, particularly when he knew that he was right. The firm position he took, demanding without stint the office for which the three congregations had called him, had a lasting good effect. The battle was fought to a finish at once. Kraft was expelled and Mühlenberg had a clear field ever after.

There was also considerable difficulty with the Moravians, who claimed to be a part of the Lutheran Church, with Zinzendorf as its proper head. Mühlenberg's course of action was characterized by tact and firmness, and he was soon made more secure in his position by a favorable decision in the courts. Combining piety and learning with clear vision and rare gifts of organization, he gave the Lutheran Church in America such a good beginning that in course of time it surpassed in size and influence the

AREA OF EARLY GERMAN SETTLEMENTS IN PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW JERSEY

German Reformed Church, which, when Schlatter first arrived, possessed a larger number of preachers and churches. The steady growth of the Lutheran Church can be followed in detail in the so-called "Hallesche Nachrichten,"[1] a large collection of reports and letters sent to the Lutheran ministerium of Halle in Germany, by Lutheran preachers in America. Most instructive are the numerous reports of Mühlenberg, stating in detail the facts of his arrival, his initial difficulties and every subsequent step taken; how he at first was the pastor of the three churches of New Hanover, Providence, and Philadelphia, until, the duties becoming too burdensome, it was necessary to get assistance, the Reverend Mr. Brunnholtz being then assigned to Philadelphia and Germantown, Mühlenberg having chosen New Hanover and Providence; then follow the plans for building a church in Philadelphia, the cost seeming at first an insurmountable barrier, overcome at last with unexpected ease "mit Gottes Hilfe"; the formation of new congregations in Lancaster, York, Reading, Tulpehocken, Easton, and many other places where "parched souls were crying in the desert." The Halle reports, somewhat pedantic in style, and weighted down with a mass of material, give us a realistic picture of the times, from the ministerial point of view. The accuracy of the reports cannot be questioned, since they were written by men of learning and strict regard for the truth. The variety of qualifications necessary for such a post as Mühlenberg's cannot be well understood without a perusal of his reports. He was minister, helper, and adviser in social and spirit-

[1] *Nachrichten von den vereinigten Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord-Amerika, absonderlich in Pennsylvanien.* Halle, in Verlegung des Waisenhauses, 1787. 1 Bd. Allentown, Pa., 1886; 2 Bd. Philadelphia, 1895; reprints in German. The work has been translated, and published in two volumes by the Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1880–81.

ual matters, diplomatist, man of affairs, and frontiersman. Hardships, discomforts, or bodily fatigue never could swerve him from his purpose, adventure and hairbreadth escapes added zest to the sum of his existence. An experience such as the following, at the river crossing in midwinter, was not uncommon.

Returning from service in Philadelphia, in November, 1749, Mühlenberg had twenty miles to ride to his residence. Night overtook him and his companion, and they reached the Perkiomen Creek at eleven o'clock. This was still two miles distant from Mühlenberg's home, and, to his great surprise, he found the river frozen over. His companion had a small horse, unshod, and the minister, therefore, rode in advance to make a path in the ice. To accomplish this, he had to force his horse to rear, so that on coming down the animal would break holes in the ice with his fore feet. They got over safely, but in the darkness missed the outlet on the other side, and came to a bank that was high and almost perpendicular. Not daring to venture back, they took their saddles off their horses, and, with the aid of the bushes, clambered up on land. They tied the girths to the bridle of the small horse, and, forcing him to stand on his hind feet, enabled him to reach the top of the bank with his fore feet. Being pulled vigorously, the horse helped himself bravely, and reached the top in safety. But when the same method was applied to Mühlenberg's horse, which was old and stiff, the bridle broke and the unfortunate beast fell backward with its full weight upon the ice. The ice gave way, and the poor animal lay in the water on its back with legs turned up, and must have drowned, had not the men given it some help; but the horse broke through again and started for the other side obliging them to abandon it, to be looked

for next day, and fortunately to be rescued. Saddles and baggage were placed on the other horse, and the men wandered about for some time in the dark thickets, in a circle, until the stars happening to shed light for a short while, allowed them to find their home, about three o'clock in the morning.

The Lutheran church built in Philadelphia, the St. Michaelskirche, was found to be too small after twenty years' occupancy. A new one, the famous Zion Church, was begun in 1766 and consecrated in 1769. It was for many years the largest church in Philadelphia, and because of its spacious interior (108 feet long and 70 feet broad) frequently served as a gathering place for large assemblages, some of them noted in American history. Thus the memorial meeting in honor of Benjamin Franklin, who died the year before, was held in Zion Church in 1791 under the auspices of the Philosophical Society. On December 26, 1799, in the same church, Congress held the funeral services of George Washington, and on that occasion, those ringing words, "First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen," pronounced in the eulogy by Henry Lee, were heard for the first time.[1]

The German-Lutheran congregation of Philadelphia

[1] In the Revolutionary War, during the occupation of the British, the church was used as a hospital for soldiers (1778), while the older German church, St. Michael's, served as a place of worship for the British, the German congregation being allowed to retain it for service only one half the time. The British destroyed or removed all the seats of Zion Church, and hence the curious injunction, after the departure of the invaders (found in *Hallesche Nachrichten*, vol. ii, p. 731), that the congregation should bring their chairs with them. The church served about one hundred years, when it was torn down and succeeded by the New Zion Church on Franklin Street; the large congregation was divided into several smaller ones. Cf. *Hallesche Nachrichten*, §§ 1241, 1245, 1408, 1424–26. Also Seidensticker, *Bilder*, etc., p. 254, and *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. viii, pp. 190–192. "Das alte Philadelphia" (Seidensticker).

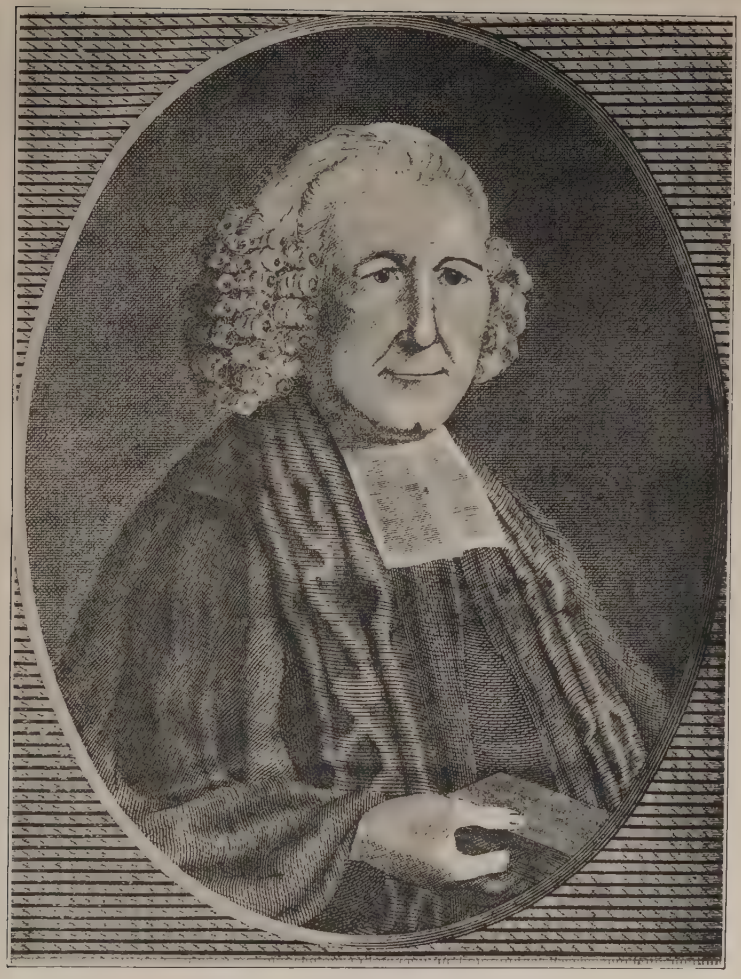
numbered nine hundred souls,[1] the most numerous in the capital city at the time of the Revolution. In 1762 Mühlenberg took charge of the Philadelphia congregation, because it needed a firm hand, and he continued until 1776, when, on account of his age, he preferred to go back to his old charge in the rural Trappe district, where he spent the last ten years of his life. During his long career he was frequently called to arbitrate church difficulties, as near by in New Jersey, or in distant Georgia,[2] or to inspire confidence among scattered congregations in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. In the summer of 1751 and again in 1752, in order to strengthen the Lutheran church in New York, he resided there as its pastor. Mühlenberg cultivated friendly relations with the Lutheran Swedes, who had been on the Delaware before the arrival of William Penn; he was on a cordial footing also with the German Reformed pastors, particularly Schlatter. There was likewise an intimacy between the Lutherans and Episcopalians, another instance of which appeared in South Carolina.[3] Strange as it may seem at the present day, a hard and fast line was drawn between Lutherans and Moravians. This was probably due in part to the personality of Zinzendorf, in part also to the fact that the Moravians claimed to be Lutherans, accepting the dogmatic principles laid down in the Augsburg Confession. The rivalry as to who truly represented Lutheranism occasioned bitter antagonism.

As the Lutherans had a great leader in Mühlenberg, so the German Reformed congregations found an organizer

[1] The charter, see *Hallesche Nachrichten*, vol. ii, pp. 629–632 (§§ 1256–60), mentions "about 500 heads of families," in 1765.

[2] See Chapter VI and Chapter IX, respectively.

[3] Cf. Chapter VII. Some of the Lutheran Swedes of Pennsylvania also joined the Episcopal Church.



HEINRICH MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG

in Michael Schlatter. Most of the Palatines probably belonged to the German Reformed Church, which was akin to the Lutheran, but followed reforms instituted by Calvin and Zwingli. They were very close in their religious doctrines to the Presbyterians, and the Dutch Reformed Church. Schlatter was sent to America by the synods of Holland, the Reformed ministerium in the Palatinate being too weak and humble to extend its influence to foreign parts. When he arrived, in September, 1746, he found only four preachers of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, while the number of communicants was estimated at fifteen thousand. He hastened from one settlement to another, to Whitpen, Germantown, Goshenhoppen, Tulpehocken, Lancaster, Falckner's Swamp, and Indian Field, to gather his sheep into folds. He seems to have obtained assistance more easily than Mühlenberg, for in 1748 four other preachers came to help him, in addition to those already present. In 1751 Schlatter reported to the Dutch synods that there were fifteen Reformed parishes in the country, with forty-six churches (thirteen parishes with thirty-eight churches being located in Pennsylvania). Most of them, he declared, were without preachers or teachers, and he appealed earnestly to the Dutch synods to send ministers. The same cry went up from Mühlenberg and all other representatives of denominations, showing that if the frontiersmen were irreligious, a mitigating circumstance was their inability to get religious instruction. Schlatter was not as fortunate in his own career as Mühlenberg. There were misunderstandings with the synods in Holland, and, perhaps in part through his own fault, his position in his own congregation was undermined. He resigned as preacher in Philadelphia,[1] and became army

[1] The German Reformed Church was also once used on a public occasion.

chaplain under Colonel Loudon in the Royal American Regiment, fourth battalion, which was mainly composed of Germans. He was chaplain in the campaign against Nova Scotia and Louisbourg. He held a similar position during the Revolutionary War.

The fact of Schlatter's serving as army chaplain is significant, likewise his cordial relations with Mühlenberg. As to their principles of life, their views on religion and the social order, the two men were very much alike, fighting shoulder to shoulder. Together they represented the strong counter-current in Pennsylvania, opposing the views on state and religion held by Quakers, Mennonites, Pietists, Moravians, and numerous other non-resistant, non-office-holding sectarians. Mühlenberg and Schlatter were fighters, vigorous men, whose influence later fell heavily in the balance for armed resistance against British oppression, and who always favored strenuous, virile principles in church and state government.

Totally different was the influence of the Moravians, or United Brethren. The name Moravian is not a happy one. It serves to commemorate one fact in history, but only one, namely, that originally a number of the brethren lived in Moravia (Austria), where they had descended from the Hussites (Utraquists) of Bohemia and Moravia.[1]

On February 19, 1776, the Honorable Dr. W. Smith delivered a eulogy on General Montgomery, who fell at Quebec. The number of hearers was estimated at four thousand. Apart from the German Zion Church and the German Reformed Church, Philadelphia possessed very few public structures. Cf. Seidensticker, *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. viii, pp. 190–191.

[1] Followers of John Huss, born 1369, burned at the stake in Constance, in 1415. He was the great religious reformer before Luther, descended from Czech peasants, influenced by doctrines of Wyclif, who wished to bring about a reformation without separation from the Catholic Church. He was summoned before the Council of Constance and, in spite of a safe-conduct of the Emperor, was arrested and burned as a heretic. His martyrdom greatly

Suffering persecution at home, the remnant, in 1722, settled in Herrnhut, Saxony, on the estates of the Count of Zinzendorf at his invitation. It is questionable whether many of the brotherhood, as constituted in the eighteenth century[1] or at the present day, ever saw Moravia, or whether they were ever descended from Moravians. The German name given them is "Herrnhuter," while the members themselves adopted the name "Unitas Fratrum," or "United Brethren."

The United Brethren are most noted as missionaries, and at the very earliest period set up as their goal the conversion of the Indians. With this purpose in view they had selected Georgia as their appropriate field, in 1735–36 settling with the Salzburgers at Ebenezer. But when during the war with Spain they were expected to bear arms in defense of the colony in opposition to their religious principles, they left Georgia and betook themselves to Pennsylvania, 1738–39. David Nitschmann, son-in-law of Zinzendorf, bought five hundred acres on the Lehigh (Lecha), "in a barren wooded region." Count Zinzendorf, who visited the spot shortly after his arrival in 1741, gave it the name of Bethlehem. In the same year they bought nearly five thousand acres from George Whitefield, the Methodist, who had made this purchase in order to found

increased the spread of liberal doctrines in Bohemia and Moravia. The fierce Hussite wars arose in 1419, and lasted until 1434.

[1] Queerly enough, the name Moravian has clung to them in the United States, though there is documentary evidence showing that the members themselves fought against this appellation in the eighteenth century. "We are Lutherans," said one (Brother Leonhard Schnell, "Diary," 1747, *Virginia Magazine*, vol. xii, pp. 55 ff.) of the traveling missionaries, and "there are now [1747] not ten in Bethlehem who were born in Moravia." We can say with positiveness that the so-called "Moravians" that appeared in Pennsylvania were Germans, the exceptions being generally brethren not from Moravia, but from their other European home, namely, England.

a negro school, a scheme doomed to failure financially. On this place Nazareth was founded. The immigration of Moravians to Pennsylvania numbered from seven to eight hundred between 1741 and 1762. Zinzendorf, on his arrival, had distinctly in mind the realization of two ideals: first, the conversion of the Indians, secondly, the union of all Protestant churches in a bond of the spirit. Endowed with a vast amount of optimism and energy, Zinzendorf proceeded to invite delegates of all Protestant denominations and sects to meet in Germantown on January 1, 1742. A number of conferences were held in different places under "the Congregation of God in the Spirit." At first there seemed to be hope of accomplishing something, but it soon appeared that few were willing to give up anything, or yield a point. Zinzendorf and his followers held the sway, and the others grew suspicious and withdrew, thinking that Moravian influence and doctrine would overpower them. Those that remained entered the Moravian Church, when it was organized as a separate denomination in the Twenty-eighth Synod, held in Bethlehem, October 23–27, 1748. Zinzendorf's scheme was too grand for realization, and it failed as completely as the similar earlier[1] attempt by Kelpius. The religious sects had come to Pennsylvania to worship in their own way, not to give up their idiosyncrasies, and time alone would be able to put them into the mood of compromise.

Zinzendorf made three journeys into the Indian country, and then returned to Europe, in 1743. His successor was August Gottlieb Spangenberg, who for twenty years was the able head of the United Brethren. He was seconded by Cammerhoff and Peter Böhler. The missionary work among the Indians was continued, and with very

[1] See the close of Chapter II, p. 50.

great success, first in the states of New York and Connecticut. After the Christian Indians were driven away from the colonies by the hostility of the white settlers, a new Indian settlement, Gnadenhütten, was begun at the junction of the Mahoney Creek and Lehigh River. Other missionary posts were built out into the wilderness, and such devoted missionaries as Rauch, Heckewelder, Zeisberger, Jungmann, Post, and Sensemann gained for the Moravians the well-earned reputation of having been the most successful Indian missionaries in the history of the United States.[1]

Another important influence of the Moravians was wrought by their educational institutions. Their day- and boarding-schools in ten different localities, particularly in Bethlehem, Litiz, and Nazareth, were among the best in Pennsylvania. The young ladies' seminary at Bethlehem is still in existence and of very great usefulness. It was founded in 1749 and claims in its modern advertisement to be the oldest school of its kind in America. Similar in purpose is the Moravian Ladies' Seminary in Salem, North Carolina, which also was of very early foundation.

In doctrine the United Brethren avoided dogmatic teaching, adhering to the Scriptures for the ethical principles of life. This was shown by those early missionaries who, about the middle of the eighteenth century, made extensive tours along the frontier settlements, starting from Pennsylvania, proceeding through the mountains of Virginia, then overland through North Carolina and along the seacoast of the Carolinas to Georgia, taking every opportunity to preach the gospel, saving souls and

[1] Some of their missions in the Middle West will be spoken of in succeeding chapters. Cf. Chapter XIII, "The Settlement of the Ohio Valley." The United Brethren also sent missionaries to the Danish West Indies.

giving encouragement by word and deed. It is difficult to understand why they occasioned so much opposition on the part of other denominations, unless it be that their preaching was so good, so simple and effective.[1]

The German Catholics were not numerous in Pennsylvania. There were congregations in Goshenhoppen (Berks County), in Lancaster, and in Philadelphia, where they built their Trinity Church in 1788. In the year 1757 there were nine hundred German Catholics in Pennsylvania, distributed among the congregations named.

It is difficult to estimate the number of Germans in Pennsylvania before the Revolution, but an approximation at least can be made, far more satisfactorily than for the other colonies. From 1727 on, the immigration at the port of Philadelphia was recorded. A careful computation of the number of Germans landed at Philadelphia between 1727 and 1775 was made by Kuhns,[2] based on the records, and compared with similar estimates by Rupp,[3] with the result, that 68,872 Germans arrived between 1727 and 1775. Kuhns assumes that before 1727 there were almost twenty thousand Germans in Pennsylvania, bringing the total up to 88,872. For the natural increase of several generations he adds a little over twenty thousand, making a grand total of about one hundred and ten thousand Pennsylvania Germans in 1775. This figure represents one third of the population, which agrees[4] with statements

[1] For a fuller account of their journeys see Chapter VII, pp. 203 ff.

[2] *German and Swiss Settlements of Pennsylvania*, p. 57, etc.

[3] I. D. Rupp, *Thirty Thousand Names of Immigrants.*

[4] The agreement, however, is accidental. Kuhns takes no account of the migrations of the Germans after their arrival in Pennsylvania. One third or more probably went into Maryland, Virginia, or North Carolina. But the estimate of the number of Germans in Pennsylvania as one third of the entire population is undoubtedly safe, since it was made by so many contemporary authorities. Kuhns's rate of increase is taken at too low a figure.

made by Benjamin Franklin, Dr. Rush, the historian Proud, and others,[1] to the effect that the Germans in Pennsylvania numbered about one third of the population.

We have found the Germans settling in Philadelphia and the neighboring counties, Montgomery, Lancaster, and Berks. They then pushed northward and westward to Lehigh, Northampton, and Monroe counties, and to Lebanon and Dauphin; reaching the Susquehanna they crossed and settled the counties of York, Cumberland, and Adams, then following the slopes of the mountains they went southward through Maryland into Virginia, ascending the Shenandoah Valley and settling it from Harpers Ferry to Lexington, Virginia. Using this main avenue for their progress, they settled in North Carolina and Virginia and later in Kentucky and Tennessee. Pennsylvania, therefore, was the distributing centre for the German immigrations, whence German settlers spread over all the neighboring provinces.

Though living in various parts of the United States, the pre-revolutionary Germans all belonged to the same general type, since they came from a common stock and home, mainly from the Rhine countries and Switzerland,

The increase was probably such as to double every twenty-three years, or nearly so.

[1] Mühlenberg (*Hallesche Nachrichten*, vol. i, p. 411) estimates the population of Pennsylvania in 1752 as follows: Schlatter gives the number of German Reformed in Pennsylvania as 30,000 (46 congregations, 16 parishes), and concedes that the German Reformed are only one third of the total German population of Pennsylvania. Mühlenberg estimates the Lutherans at twice the number of the Reformed. The result would be, according to Schlatter's estimate, that there were 90,000 Germans in Pennsylvania, and according to Mühlenberg 90,000 plus the Germans of various sects, making over 100,000 in 1752. The natural increase would in either case bring the number to at least 110,000 at the time of the Revolution. For larger estimates by Ebeling and Governor Thomas, see *Hallesche Nachrichten*, vol. i, p. 462, note 144.

and on their arrival met similar conditions in the American colonies. They were not paupers, though a great many of them, to pay for their transportation, were compelled to pledge themselves to several years of servitude. They were not wealthy, though many of them brought with them sums of money that they had realized from the sale of their lands at home. The later they settled in America the farther west they were obliged to move, not being able to purchase the land where it had become expensive, i. e., along the coastline. Therefore, whether in Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, Virginia, or the Carolinas, they constantly became the settlers of the frontier, which they defended, and assisted in pushing farther and farther to the westward. The German settler became a recognized type of frontiersman, and because most numerous in Pennsylvania, or most frequently coming from there, he received the name Pennsylvania Dutch, or Pennsylvania German. His language was the dialect of the Palatinate and the Upper Rhine, mixed with a large number of common English words. His peculiarities of speech and customs made him distinct from the other colonial types, but his individuality was marked by far more noteworthy traits of character. One of the earliest writers on the subject of the Pennsylvania Germans was Dr. Benjamin Rush, the noted Philadelphia physician, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, surgeon in the Revolutionary Army, member of Congress, treasurer of the United States Mint, distinguished essayist on medical, social, and literary topics. Dr. Rush was a keen observer and possessed a judicial mind. He noticed that the prosperity of Pennsylvania was largely due to the Pennsylvania Germans, and began to examine into the causes of their success. He seems consciously to have imitated the example of the historian,

Tacitus, who described the virtues and vices of the ancient Germans, perhaps with a view to holding them up as an example for his own people.[1] Dr. Rush wrote what might be called the "Germania" of the Pennsylvania Germans, giving it the title: "An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, Written in 1789."[2]

The author enumerates "a few particulars (under sixteen heads) in which the German farmers differ from most of the other farmers of Pennsylvania." No better characterization of the Pennsylvania Germans has ever been written than that of Dr. Rush, and his little essay, covering about twenty-five pages, is a classic in its way, certainly an historical document to be treated with due seriousness. The following are his sixteen specifications in order: —

(1) (Housing horses and cattle.) In settling a tract of land the Germans always provide large and suitable accommodations for their horses and cattle, before they lay out much money in building a house for themselves. The next generation builds a large and convenient stone house. The maxim exists among them: "A son should always begin his improvements where his father left off." The Pennsylvania German farmer has even been reproached for taking better care of his stock than of the members of his family,[3] but certain it is that sleek and well-fed

[1] Scholars of to-day have generally abandoned the theory that Tacitus had an ethical, satirical, or political purpose in the *Germania*. This, however, does not affect Dr. Rush's position, who had been brought up on the old theory. Tacitus wrote on a subject which was a burning question of the day. His view was pessimistic as to many phases of Roman life, and he welcomed an opportunity to emphasize what he considered in the Germans superior traits. Similarly Dr. Rush.

[2] Notes added by I. D. Rupp, Philadelphia, 1875. Published also among Benjamin Rush's *Essays, Literary, Moral, and Philosophical* (Philadelphia, 1798), pp. 225–248. This volume also contains the essay bearing partly on the subject: "An Account of the Progress of Population, Agriculture, Manners, and Government in Pennsylvania, in a letter to a friend in England."

[3] Meyer, *Deutsche Volkskunde*, p. 212, cites a saying of German peasants in the Palatinate: "Eine gute Kuh deckt viel Armut zu"; also

Weibersterbe isch ka Verderbe!
Aber Gaulverrecke, des isch e Schrecke!

cattle were a source of the greatest pride to him. The housing of them brought far better results than leaving them to run wild.

(2) (Good land.) "They always prefer good land, or that land on which there is a large quantity of meadow ground. By attention to the cultivation of grass, they often grow rich on farms, on which their predecessors have nearly starved. They prefer purchasing farms with some improvements, to settling on a new tract of land." Rush places the German farmer in what he calls the third class [1] of settlers, that is, the permanent kind. The first is hardly better than the hunter and savage, whose mode of life he has adopted, the second class makes a few shoddy improvements on the land, which he is glad to leave (going westward) as soon as civilization draws near. The question of the Germans' selecting good land is one frequently discussed since Dr. Rush's time. It is quite definitely settled that the Germans commonly occupied wooded land; [2] they knew that where there was rich forest growth, good soil was to be found underneath. The Scotch-Irish and Irish preferred land that lay along navigable rivers, or such as was well watered, which was generally not as fertile. In Pennsylvania the Germans settled mostly on the great limestone areas, while the Irish colonized slate formations. This process of settling the limestone areas the Germans continued throughout Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia

[1] See Rush's essay already cited: "An Account of the Progress of Population, etc., in Pennsylvania," *Essays* (1798), pp. 213–220.

[2] In the West a similar tendency is apparent. The Germans in Wisconsin have extensively settled in the wooded sections, leaving the prairies for Americans. They had harder work and a slower rise, while the Americans could cultivate larger areas and get quicker and larger returns. But the Americans more quickly drained the resources of the land, prairie land being sooner exhausted, while the Germans, with their slower and more even progress, could at a later day get more steady yields from their smaller farms. The scorn of the native American, accustomed to luxurious living, gave place to envy of his successful competitor, the frugal German farmer. Instead of the mortgaged farm, the German farmer in Wisconsin steadily grows on capital that he develops slowly by his own industry. It is again the story of the evolution of the stone house, built by the next generation. Cf. Emil Rothe, *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ii, p. 53.

(the Shenandoah Valley), and, as will be seen also, in the Blue Grass region of Kentucky. The limestone areas contain the most fertile soil, and the Germans developed it to its fullest extent.

(3) (Methods of clearing land.) "In clearing new land they do not girdle or belt the trees simply, and leave them to perish in the ground, as is the custom of their English or Irish neighbors; but they generally cut them down and burn them." Underwood and bushes they would pull out by the roots, "grub them out of the ground." The advantage was that the land was as fit for cultivation the second year as in twenty years afterward. The expense of repairing a plow, often broken by small stumps concealed in the ground, is greater than grubbing the field completely at the first clearing.

(4) (Good feeding.) They feed their horses and cows well, thereby practicing economy, for such animals perform twice the labor or give twice the yield of the less well fed. "A German horse is known in every part of the state. Indeed, he seems to feel with his lord the pleasure and pride of his extraordinary size and fat."

(5) (Fences.) "The fences of a German farm are generally high and well built so that his fields seldom suffer from the inroads of his own or his neighbor's horses or cattle." This is a mark of the German's adaptability. He was not accustomed to fences at home, but saw their usefulness in the new country where there was no scarcity of wood, but scarcity of labor, i. e., of men to watch cattle.

(6) (Use of wood.) "The German farmers are great economists of their wood." They do not waste it in large fireplaces, but burn it in stoves, using about one fourth to one fifth as much. They thus save their horses the great labor of hauling wood in midwinter, which so often unfits them for spring plowing. Their houses are very comfortable with their large stoves[1] in

[1] These large stoves were patterned after the German "Kachelofen." Undoubtedly many were imported, but later they were made in this country, e. g., by Baron Stiegel. As a result of the use of stoves, the German-built house commonly had one chimney from the middle of the roof, while the English or other houses had two chimneys, one at either end of the roof.

the centre of the room, around which the family can get a more equal chance than when burning their faces and freezing their backs before the fireplaces. Dr. Rush believed that habits of industry, e. g., spinning and repairing farm utensils were encouraged in this way. He also mentions that the Germans frequently protected their trees with a view to saving their wood, putting fences around them,[1] or letting saplings grow for later usefulness, and in general giving attention to the principles of forestry.

(7) (Comfort of cattle.) "They keep their horses and cattle as warm as possible in winter, by which they save feed, for those animals when they are cold eat much more than when they are more comfortable."

(8) (Economy.) "The Germans live frugally in their homes with respect to diet, furniture and dress." They sell the profitable grain, which is wheat, and eat the rye and corn, thus saving what is equal to the price of a farm for one of the children. They eat sparingly of boiled meat, but large quantities of all kinds of vegetables. They use few distilled spirits (whiskey and rum) in their families, preferring cider, beer, wine, and simple water. Their feather beds and homespun garments are likewise economical. When they use European articles of dress, they prefer those of best quality and highest price. They are afraid of debt, and seldom purchase anything without paying cash for it.

(9) (Gardens.) Kitchen gardening the Germans introduced altogether. Their gardens contained useful vegetables at every season of the year. Turnips and cabbage at one time were the principal vegetables in Philadelphia. A greater variety was brought in by the German gardeners in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, "and to the use of these vegetables in diet may be ascribed the general exemption of the citizens of Philadelphia from diseases of the skin." (The testimony of an experienced physician is extremely valuable on this point.) "Pennsylvania is indebted to the Germans for the principal part of her know-

[1] Large trees were often kept in pasture land to afford shade for the cattle, cool retreats to escape from the sun's heat. The fence served to protect the tree from the cattle.

ledge in horticulture." Though Dr. Rush apparently means a particular branch of horticulture, the raising of vegetables, we find from other sources that the Germans planted orchards in abundance (e. g., apples in Schoharie), and that they were very fond of planting flowers on the edges of their gardens and houses.

(10) (Few hired men.) The Germans seldom hire men to work upon their farms. The wives and daughters of the German farmers frequently forsake for a while their dairy and spinning-wheel and join with their husbands and brothers in the labor of the fields.[1] The work of the gardens is generally done by the women of the family. Hired help was procured only in harvest time. Slaves were particularly objectionable to the Germans, because the latter did their own work and thus would be compelled to work side by side with a race instinctively repulsive to them.

(11) (Wagons.) "A large and strong wagon covered with linen cloth is an essential part of the furniture of a German farm. In this wagon, drawn by four or five large horses of a peculiar breed, they convey to market over the roughest roads 2000 or 3000 pounds of produce. In September and October on the Lancaster and Reading roads it is no uncommon thing to meet from fifty to one hundred of these wagons on their way to Philadelphia, most of which belong to German farmers." The breed of horses referred to is probably the heavy stock called sometimes the Conestoga horses,[2] and the wagon the famous Conestoga wagon, "the ship of inland commerce." These wagons are described in the county histories of Pennsylvania as of a particular pattern. The body of the wagon was built strong but not clumsy, was painted blue and mounted upon sturdy wheels, painted red, masterpieces of the wheelwright's art. A cover of white linen was drawn tightly over the arched framework of the top, lower near the middle and projecting like a bonnet in front and at the back. The horses were equipped with

[1] Cf. Whittier's poem, "Maud Muller."

[2] Derived and improved from a stock brought over by English immigrants. — Note by Rupp.

good harness, sometimes with sleigh-bells,[1] and were invariably possessed of sleek skins and round bodies. The railroads ended the régime of the Conestoga wagons in the East, but then they gained a new life under the name of "prairie schooner," the vehicle of overland passage that carried untold numbers of pioneers across the western deserts.[2]

(12) (Children.) "The favorable influence of agriculture, as conducted by the Germans, in extending the most happiness, is manifested by the joy expressed at the birth of a child. No dread of poverty or distrust of Providence from an increasing family depress the spirits of this industrious and frugal people." As elsewhere on the frontier the birth of a child meant a helper, and as the children became of age they wandered westward and built homes of their own, being no care to their parents.

(13) (Love of labor.) "Germans produced in their children not only the *habits* of labor but a *love* of it. When a young man asks the consent of his father to marry the girl of his choice, he does not inquire so much whether she be rich or poor, or whether she possess any personal or mental accomplishments, but whether she be industrious, and acquainted with the duties of a good housewife." Rupp in his notes gives a number of proverbs illustrative of the consequences of idleness,[3] etc.

(14) (Patrimony.) "The Germans set a great value upon patrimonial property." The idea prevails that a house and home should be possessed by a succession of generations. This had the effect of making an estate a matter of family pride, and we shall see later that the Germans elsewhere, for instance in Missouri, always kept their land in the family.

(15) (Superstition.) "The German farmers are very much influenced in planting and pruning trees, also in sowing and reaping, by the age and appearances of the moon." Of course

[1] They were often tuned in harmony, the rear horses carrying bells of lower pitch, to distinguish them from the forward pair.

[2] Ellis and Evans's *History of Lancaster County*, p. 350 Also, *Americana Germanica*, vol. v, p. 1 ; an illustration of the Conestoga wagon is there given.

[3] e. g., "Müssiggang ist des Teufels Ruhebank."
"Wie einer den Zaun hält, halt er auch das Gut."
"Mit Futtern ist keine Zeit verlorn."

this was a matter of superstition, but Dr. Rush believes that it resulted in their giving close attention to the climate of the country, and therefore was an aid to success. The Pennsylvania Germans were as careful as seamen in observing the position of the heavenly spheres and the signs of the seasons. They consulted the mystics,[1] or other people believed to possess occult power. The divining-rod was expected to show them the presence of water in the ground, and old women with the reputation of witches (they were never burned) furnished talismans, incantations, and magic formulas. The different phases of the moon were carefully observed in the almanac, for planting was better done in the waxing of the moon than in the waning. The moon in the sign of the twins made the best time for sowing. Not only sowing and planting, but slaughtering and building were carefully planned with reference to mysterious influences. Even more curious were their magic arts of healing, and concerning these Dr. Rush, the physician, could not repress some words of complaint. But in general it may be said that the German frontiersmen were not worse than their contemporaries elsewhere, they were not as fanatical as the witch-burners, nor was their folklore more extravagant than in other sections of the country.

(16) (Barns.) "A German farm may be distinguished from the farms of the other citizens of the state by the superior size of their barns,[2] the plain but compact form of their houses, the height of their enclosures, the extent of their orchards, the fer-

[1] See Chapter II, p. 50.

[2] The Pennsylvania German barn (sometimes called the "Swisser" barn) is recognizable in all localities where the German farmers have settled. It is of a peculiar type, largely imitated from that used in their European home. The following is a description in detail: "They are two stories high, with pitched roof, sufficiently large and strong to enable heavy farm-teams to drive into the upper story to load or unload grain. During the first period they were built mostly of logs, afterward of stone, frame, or brick, from 60 to 120 feet long, and from 50 to 60 feet wide, the lower story, containing the stables, with feeding passages, opening on the front. The upper story was made to project 8 or 10 feet over the lower in front, or with a forebay attached to shelter the entries to the stables and passageways. It contained the threshing-floors, mows, and lofts for the storing of hay and grain. The most complete barns of the present day have in addition a granary on the

tility of their fields, the luxuriance of their meadows, all of which have a general appearance of plenty and neatness in everything that belongs to them."

The opinion of Rush agrees with other contemporary accounts, and also with that of subsequent European travelers, such as Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar and others. They affirm the superiority of the German farmers over the agriculturists of other nationalities. The significance of this superiority should not be overlooked. Professor F. J. Turner[1] says: "The limestone farms of the Germans became the wheat granary of the country." In the year 1751 there were exported 86,000 bushels of wheat, 129,960 barrels of flour, 90,743 bushels of Indian corn. The total exports of 1751 exceeded in value one million dollars.[2] An interesting account of the milling industry of Lancaster County, the very core of the great farming country of Pennsylvania, can be seen in an article based on researches on the spot by G. D. Luetscher.[3] By the time the Revolutionary War began, the yield of the Pennsylvania farms was enough to feed the American and French armies during the entire period of the war. Indeed, the Pennsylvania German

upper floor, a cellar under the driving-way, a corn-crib and shed, wagon with horse-power shed attached." See Kuhns, pp. 94, 95, who quotes this passage from Ellis and Evans's *History of Lancaster County*, p. 348.

Professor M. D. Learned has made extensive investigations on the subject of the Pennsylvania German barns, and has given his results in a number of illustrated lectures, to be published under the title: "The German Barn in America."

[1] *Studies of American Immigration*, by Frederick Jackson Turner, in the *Record-Herald's* "Current Topics Club," *Record-Herald*, Chicago, August 28 and September 4, 1901, "German Immigration in the Colonial Period."

[2] Rupp's notes to Rush's *Manners of the Pennsylvania Germans*.

[3] G. D. Luetscher, "Industries of Pennsylvania after the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, with special reference to Lancaster and York Counties," *Americana Germanica*, vol. v (*German-American Annals*, i), pp. 135–155, and pp. 197–208.

baker, Christoph Ludwig, who provided all the bread for the patriot army, drew his supplies of grain directly from the Pennsylvania German farms. Dr. Rush says the Pennsylvania farms produced millions of dollars, which after 1780 made possible the foundation of the Bank of North America (chartered 1781). Besides the cultivation of staples, the German farmers raised crops of a varied kind, disposing of the surplus in neighboring large cities. As Turner says, it was a necessary step in the development of the industrial self-dependence of the United States.

Pennsylvania German colonists, though for the most part farmers, were also noted as mechanics. Of them Dr. Rush says: "Their first object is to become freeholders; and hence we find few of them live in rented houses. The highest compliment that can be paid to them on entering their house is to ask them, 'Is this house your own?' They are industrious, frugal, punctual, and just." They adapt themselves to new conditions and retain the arts they brought from Germany. There were also merchants in the coast cities that acquired great wealth by foreign and domestic commerce. "The Bank of North America has witnessed," says Rush, "from its first institution, their fidelity to all their pecuniary engagements." A few additional traits are mentioned by Dr. Rush. With his model, the "Germania" of Tacitus, in mind, he speaks a word concerning hospitality, giving an instance where the host would not accept pay for board and lodging, because he had himself on some occasion been treated thus kindly before, saying: "Do you pay your debt to me in the same way, to somebody else." The Germans, according to Dr. Rush, were little addicted to so-called "feeding parties," by which we are to understand, no doubt, such feasting as Mrs. Trollope described in her

"Domestic Manners of the Americans."[1] In spite of Dr. Rush, we know from numerous other sources that the Germans, as well as their neighbors in agricultural communities, were given to holding frolics, log-rollings, quilting parties, and husking-bees, to cider- and apple-butter-making in social coöperation, and we know that drinking and gorging were also indulged in beyond the canons of good taste and health, at weddings and funerals. The Reverend H. M. Mühlenberg regrets that the latter ancient Teutonic custom was brought over to the New World. In regard to their customs in general, we may accept Dr. Rush's criticism of the entire people of his own state, and let it apply also to the Pennsylvania Germans: "If they possess less refinement than their Southern neighbors, who cultivate their land with slaves, they possess also more Republican virtue."[2]

As manufacturers, the Germans of Pennsylvania likewise made distinct contributions. The weavers of Germantown gave their industry firm root on American soil, while the establishment of the first paper-mill in the country was likewise an achievement of Germantown. Grist- and saw-mills ground and groaned, wherever Germans turned the sod. Glass-blowing and iron manufactures were also introduced by the Germans as early as colonial conditions would allow.

A bit of romance clings to the establishment of the first iron foundry, by Baron Stiegel. He was by no means the vain and erratic dreamer or the adventurer he is frequently represented to have been. Little is known of his early career. He seems to have been sent to America on his own request by well-to-do relatives, who were glad to get rid

[1] Though her descriptions of the frontier are of a much later date (1832), still customs are conservative. Cf. e. g., vol. ii, pp. 129–132.

[2] Rush, *Essays, Literary, Moral, and Philosophical*, p. 220.

of him. He possessed a genial mind, his ruling passion being to embark in grand enterprises. Arriving in Philadelphia, the repose of the Quaker City was not in accordance with his temperament. He journeyed to Lancaster, whence he drifted to Ephrata. Müller and Beissel received him kindly, and finding that he was interested in iron, told him to go to Schäferstädtel, in the neighborhood of which iron ore had been found. Stiegel, accompanied by his faithful body-servant, Jacob of Ettenheim, found the place, returned to Philadelphia for more capital and laborers, and soon established an iron foundry that gave him a limited amount of credit. According to one account, he had some means himself, having come from Europe supplied with "much money and good recommendations." It was about 1758 when he founded Mannheim in Lancaster County, laying it out after the checkerboard plan of his native city. He named his works the *Elizabeth* Iron Foundry and Smelters, in honor of his wife. The town rose as if by magic; a smithy, a wagon-factory, and, most important of all, a factory for stoves, were all built near the foundry. Iron plates for stoves were manufactured in great numbers and the stoves of Stiegel brought high prices. They are said to have borne the inscription:

"Baron Stiegel ist der Mann
Der die Oefen giessen kann."[1]

Another great achievement of Stiegel was the founding of his glassworks, by which he astonished both Germans and Americans, and which, it was rumored, yielded him annually five thousand pounds.

[1] L. A. Wollenweber claims to have seen one of these stoves a century later (shortly before 1870), with its inscription, in Lebanon, Pennsylvania. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ii, p. 28. See also, for an account of Baron Heinrich Wilhelm Stiegel, *ibid.*, vol. xii, pp. 82–87; and *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. i, pp. 67 ff.

The indulgence of some of his extravagant tastes made Baron Stiegel a unique figure among the German colonists, inured as they were to plain living. About a mile from Schäferstädtel, on a high hill commanding a view of the whole region, he built a castle with a watch-tower. The story goes, that a cannon-shot announced the master's arrival or departure; two shots, the coming of visitors; and a band of music, trained from among the musically gifted of his laborers,[1] greeted his guests at meals, while Rhenish and French wines and hunting-parties were not lacking for their entertainment. These eccentricities were, of course, derived from his birth and early environment.

The Baron's ambitious ventures were doomed to ultimate failure. The moralizing age in which he lived generally attributed the failure to his extravagant habits, but by looking a bit more deeply into the matter, we cannot but arrive at a more favorable view. Baron Stiegel spent much money, but he made much also. Most of his factories were successful and brought him good returns. The great mistake which he made was to purchase the land interests of Stedman, who held two thirds of the land in Mannheim, against one third originally held by Stiegel, the latter having invested most of his money in the factories. This immense real estate speculation must have deprived the factories of the necessary working capital. Stiegel's faith in the continued prosperity of Mannheim would, in course of time, have been rewarded, had not another unforeseen event occurred. It was the Revolutionary War, and, worse than that, the numerous precedent tyrannical measures of the British Parliament which ruined the commerce and in-

[1] The German army has no trouble in equipping its musical corps from the rank and file of the German soldiers. Dr. Rush comments upon the "strong propensity for vocal and instrumental music among the Germans of both sexes." "Manners of the Pennsylvania Germans," *Essays*, p. 239.

dustries of the colonies. No one was hit harder than Baron Stiegel, especially since he had purchased the entire property in Mannheim at a high figure. He writes appealing letters to his lawyers, pleading for time, and speaks gratefully of the successful attempts of his wife, who more than once influenced his creditors to wait. In letters to the Honorable Jaspar Yates he pleads in pathetic language (though a foreigner's English) for help and influence to weather the storm, the burden of his letters being, "If I am given time I will pay every debt." And finally he cries in despair: "Can it be possible that my former friends in Lancaster wish to drive me to ruin, when I have increased the wealth of the country at least 150,000 pounds!" All the letters[1] were written in the autumn of 1774, showing that his final difficulties came in the storms of the Revolutionary outbreak, and inducing us to believe that, had not uncommon occurrences prevented, he would have met all his obligations and made real his beautiful dream. The family of Stiegel became destitute, and he himself died in great poverty, it is not definitely known how or where, probably in the neighborhood of the smelters. Stories are told of a debtor's prison and death by starvation, but these seem legendary. Speculators in Philadelphia who purchased the works at Mannheim at a low figure, undoubtedly reaped the benefit of Stiegel's ventures, so well begun.

Another industry in which the Germans were very active was that of printing, and most famous of all was the printing-press of Sauer, in Germantown. His was in fact a publishing-house for two generations, established in 1738 and lasting for forty years, until the war put an end to it. One hundred and fifty books or pamphlets and three

[1] The letters were reprinted in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xii, pp. 85–87.

quarto editions of the German Bible were published by Christopher Sauer and his son. The honor of printing the first German books in America belongs to Benjamin Franklin ;[1] Sauer was the first, however, to use the German type. Christopher Sauer was born in Laasphe (Wittgenstein, Prussia) in 1693. He left Germany for religious reasons, coming to America with his wife and son in 1724. For some time a farmer in Lancaster County, he subsequently settled in Germantown, and there established his press, importing all of his materials from Germany. His High German Calendar was issued in 1738 and appeared regularly thereafter. In the next year he received an important order to print a hymn-book for the monks of Ephrata, with the pompous title: "Zionitischer Weyrauch-Hügel oder Myrrhen-Berg," 820 pages. Difficulties soon arose between Sauer and Beissel, the two devout religionists. Sauer began to write in a satirical manner, comparing the monk to the apocalyptic beast, commenting upon his virtues, derived from all of the planets: from Mars, severity ; from Venus, power to attract the fair sex (a reference to Sauer's wife, who ran away from home and lived in the monastery at Ephrata as Sister Marcella) ; from Mercury, his clownish tricks. Beissel revenged himself by getting his books printed in Germany, or Philadelphia, afterwards setting up his own printing-press.

The greatest product of Sauer's press (or of the entire colonial press) was the printing of the Lutheran Bible in German, with 1272 pages, quarto form. As the preface stated, it was the first edition of the Scriptures printed in

[1] Franklin furnished three volumes of mystical songs in German for Conrad Beissel, 1730–36. The *Göttliche Liebes und Lobesgethöne*, 1730, is noteworthy, because Benjamin Franklin's name as a printer appears on it for the first time without the name of his partner, Meredith.

BIBLIA,

Das iſt:

Die

Heilige Schrift

Alten und Neuen

Teſtaments,

Nach der Deutſchen Ueberſetzung

D. Martin Luthers,

Mit jedes Capitels kurtzen Summarien, auch beygefügten vielen und richtigen Parllelen;

Nebſt einem Anhang

Des dritten und vierten Buchs Eſra und des dritten Buchs der Maccabäer.

Germantown:

Gedruckt bey Chriſtoph Saur, 1743.

TITLE-PAGE OF SAUER BIBLE OF 1743

the Western Hemisphere in a European language.[1] The excellent paper of the edition came from the paper-mill of Rittenhouse in Germantown ; the types were imported from Frankfort-on-the-Main. This first edition appeared in the summer of 1743, a second edition in 1763, and a third in 1776. In addition to these, Sauer printed the New Testament and Psalter in separate editions, and any number of hymn-books for the various sects in Pennsylvania. Most influential of all was the newspaper which he printed, entitled : " Der Hoch-Deutsch Pennsylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber, oder Sammlung wichtiger Nachrichten aus dem Natur- und Kirchen-Reich," a name that was altered several times. At first the journal appeared monthly, then semi-monthly, and from 1773 on weekly, without a rise in price, while the size was constantly increased. The newspaper was sold not only in Pennsylvania, but also in the Carolinas, Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia. It supported Sauer's principles, the pacific policy of the Quakers, and was generally opposed, as already indicated, to the militancy of Mühlenberg and Schlatter. Sauer also established a book-bindery and paper-mill, and manufactured printer's ink and types, the latter being the first attempt in America. The younger Sauer was accused of being a Tory, and therefore his whole estate was confiscated. This was unjust to him,[2] though two sons of his (Christoph and Peter) did establish a Tory newspaper [3] (in

[1] Only once before had a Bible been printed in America ; it was the New Testament in the Indian language for the converted Indians of Eliot in Massachusetts. No Bible had been printed in the English language in the colonies before the German Bible of 1743. A copy of the Sauer Bible, in any edition, is now regarded as a rare treasure.

[2] Cf. Seidensticker, *Bilder*, etc., pp. 158–166, " Christoph Saur, der Jüngere, und die amerikanische Revolution."

[3] A number of this paper, May 6, 1778, is reprinted in Schlözer's *Briefwechsel*, vol. iii, pp. 260–267. Göttingen, 1778. See Chapter xi.

German) in Philadelphia, when General Howe occupied the city.

There were other printing-presses that followed Sauer's. That at Ephrata for the most part printed religious literature. In Philadelphia Joseph Crell printed a German newspaper in 1743, which did not live long. He was followed by the Armbrüsters (1746) and Johann Böhm. Böhm had been associated with Franklin in printing Johann Arndt's "Sechs Bücher vom Wahren Christenthum" (8vo, 1388 pp.), a book which, next to the Bible, was read most by the German immigrants. Heinrich Müller (Miller), from 1760, was for twenty years the best German printer and publisher in Philadelphia. He was the printer of Congress, and published a large number of books in the English language. In 1762 he founded the "Philadelphischer Staatsbote," first a weekly and then a semi-weekly paper. He apparently sold out, in 1776, to the German firm Steiner and Cist, who represented the Revolutionary doctrines. Thomas Paine's "The Crisis" was issued by their press,[1] and Cist, in 1776, started the "Columbian Magazine." Steiner paid more attention to his German newspaper, "Philadelphia Correspondenz." All these German printers fled from Philadelphia during the English occupation, but returned immediately afterwards. Before the close of the century there were also German presses in Lancaster, Reading, and Easton. "Der Reading Adler," a weekly newspaper, started in 1796, is still in existence.

The Pennsylvania Germans have frequently suffered the rebuke of being neglectful in matters of education. It was a charge made during nativistic epochs, and has made by

[1] They printed a German edition of Paine's *Common Sense*, and were the first printers of *The Crisis* in English.

far too strong an impression. The main origin of the charge was the tenacity with which Germans held to their own language and customs. The German settlers brought with them their school-teachers and preachers. Schools were invariably established by them, and sometimes before churches. The schools were, however, rarely separated from the churches, and when a movement began for establishing public schools in their districts, the Germans opposed it.[1] They viewed the movement with suspicion, as if its purpose were to deprive them of their religion, the influence of their preachers, or the use of their language. Along with that went a degree of pride (*Bauernstolz*) in their ability to pay for the instruction of their children. They did not wish to inflict this burden upon the state, failing altogether to see the benefits derived from a common school system. It was long before the church school could be replaced by a public school in their counties. An attempt was made to train a body of teachers among the German population, giving instruction in the English language and the rudiments of American law and politics, by the establishment of a college. This foundation was located in Lancaster County, in 1787, and was named after Benjamin Franklin. Henry Mühlenberg was chosen the first head of Franklin College.[2] The charge of ignorance against the Pennsylvania Germans was frequently due to their lack of proficiency in the use of the English language. Education in that day did not go beyond the three R's, or the practical necessities of life, and to the native population the first of these necessities seemed, of course, the ability to use the English language. Younger generations,

[1] Sauer was a leader in this opposition.

[2] The subject of the college and education in Pennsylvania will be treated more fully in the chapter on "Educational Influences." See Volume II, Chapter V.

however, unless inbred, found no difficulty with the English language, and many of the descendants of the Pennsylvania Germans shone[1] brilliantly in the professions at an early date, as testified by Dr. Rush.

The Germans, as seen in the present chapter, during the eighteenth century became more numerous in Pennsylvania than in any other colony, numbering at least one third of the total population. They were the best farmers of the colony, laying the foundations of its economic wealth. They developed industries, milling and weaving, iron and paper manufacture, glass-blowing. Their industry, thrift, and steadiness furnished an example to the rest of the population. From Pennsylvania the Germans spread to the south and west.

[1] Examples are David Rittenhouse, the astronomer; Caspar Wistar and Joseph Leidy, eminent in medicine; H. E. Mühlenberg, in botany; S. S. Haldemann, as a naturalist and philologist.

SGRAFFITO PIE PLATE (1786)

SGRAFFITO DISH (1762)

TULIP WARE OF THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMANS

CHAPTER VI

THE EARLY GERMANS OF NEW JERSEY AND OF MARYLAND

NEW JERSEY: Germans in New Jersey at the beginning of the eighteenth century — German Valley — Settlements spreading over Hunterdon, Somerset, Morris, and over parts of Sussex and Warren counties — Eminent descendants of the early Germans — A church quarrel arbitrated by Mühlenberg, etc. — The Moravian settlements.

MARYLAND: Sporadic cases of German settlers in the seventeenth century — In the eighteenth century Germans numerous and influential in Baltimore — The Germans of Western Maryland; Frederick County; Hagerstown — Distinguished Marylanders descended from the early Germans.

THERE is a tradition that the northern counties of New Jersey, the region between the Raritan and the Passaic, were favored by an accident in getting their first German settlers. In 1707 a number of Germans of the Reformed Church, residing originally between Wolfenbüttel and Halberstadt, embarked for New York, but by adverse winds were carried into Delaware Bay. In order to reach their destination among the Dutch of New York, they took the overland route from Philadelphia through New Jersey. As they entered the beautiful valley of the Musconetcong[1] and the Passaic River country, they were so well pleased with the goodly land that they resolved to go no further. They settled in the region of German Valley (Morris County), whence they spread to Somerset, Bergen, and Essex counties.[2]

[1] A tributary of the Delaware forming the boundary line between Morris and Hunterdon counties on the east side, and Sussex and Warren on the west, and then flowing into the Delaware.

[2] I. D. Rupp, *Thirty Thousand Names of Immigrants*, pp. 2, 3.

While it is possible that Germans arrived in these parts as early as 1707–08, the first authentic record of the presence of a German in that region is that of the baptism of a child of John Peter Appleman and Anna Magdalena, August 1, 1714. This event occurred at the house of Ari de Guinea (Harry from Guinea, a Christian negro). The child had been born on March 25, and the parents had come into the state at least a few months previously. The date, 1713, is therefore adopted by the Germans of New Jersey as the beginning of their history.[1] Another event on record is the first religious service in German Valley, which took place in 1743 (or 1744), according to a letter addressed to Michael Schlatter by the people of Fox Hill, Lebanon, and Amwell (German Valley), in 1747, which speaks of the service as having taken place three or four years before. A religious service of this kind naturally presupposes a settlement of some dimensions, and therefore the first settlers must have come to German Valley long before. The first German Lutheran church in New Jersey was opened for worship in 1731 in what is now Potterstown, about a mile east of Lebanon (Hunterdon County).[2] There were Holland Lutherans in

[1] The facts above and following on the early German settlements of New Jersey are very largely taken from Chambers, *The Early Germans of New Jersey, their History, Churches, and Genealogies*, Dover, 1895. The work is based on careful and accurate historical researches, on examination of church records (particularly in German Valley and its neighborhood), land records at the county-seats, books of wills at Trenton, county and family histories, and finally tombstones in old graveyards.

[2] The church at Potterstown (Rockaway) was dedicated Saturday, September 11, 1731. Berkenmeyer and two elders from New York were present, also the Reverend D. Falckner. On Sunday, the 12th, communion was administered to about thirty persons, at which Berkenmeyer and Falckner officiated. Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania*, p. 330, takes this note from Berkenmeyer's *Diary*. See also *Archives of the Lutheran Seminary*, Gettysburg, Pa.

the state, settled earlier, in the region of Hackensack, Bergen County.

There is evidence also that some of the Palatine immigrants of 1710 settled in New Jersey, records[1] of baptisms and marriages kept by the First Lutheran Church of New York furnishing the proof. The parish of the Reverend Justus Falckner, who began his ministry in New York City in 1703, extended over a vast area, from Albany in New York to the Raritan region (Hunterdon County) in New Jersey. The Germans of New Jersey would be justified in taking 1710 as their beginning, or three years before the date they selected when they celebrated the one hundred and eightieth anniversary of their first settlement.[2]

In South Jersey there were Germans who came with the Swedish settlers long before 1700, but they lost their identity amid the predominant race. In Salem County, not far from the sources of the rivers Cohansey and Alloway, where now stands the little town of Friesburg, there was a German Lutheran congregation. Jacob M. Miller had settled there in 1732 with Pastor Johann Christian Schultze.[3]

[1] The names given by Chambers (p. 35) are: Schneider, Lorentz, Müller (widow), Hoffman, Schmidt, Henneschild (Hendershot), Fuchs (Fox), Vogt, J. and N. Jung (Young), Klein, Cramer (widow), Lucas.

A road survey in 1721, in the vicinity of Amwell Township, Hunterdon County, makes mention of "the Palatines' land." This is another evidence of the early settlements of Palatines in New Jersey, in Hunterdon County.

[2] This memorable event occurred in 1893 under the auspices of the early German settlers of German Valley, among whom are many men distinguished in the service of church and state. The Reverend Theodore Frelinghuysen Chambers was one of the moving spirits.

[3] *Hallesche Nachrichten*, vol. i, pp. 184, 269. They were served by the Swedish pastor Tranberg, 1726–40, later by Lutheran ministers from Philadelphia. In 1760 Pastor Handschuh baptized twelve babes and had one hundred and twenty communicants, when there was a great assemblage. They built and rebuilt churches, one of brick, bearing the date 1768, the "Emanuel Church."

The bulk of the early German settlers were located within the present boundaries of the counties Hunterdon, Somerset, Morris, and parts of Sussex and Warren. The towns of Newton and Lambertville would mark the boundaries on the north and south; Bound Brook and the Delaware River on the east and west respectively. Some of the names of the settlements which may serve to denote the locality more definitely are: German Valley, Fox Hill (once the name of the whole region now centring in German Valley; Fairmount Presbyterian Church is the successor of the old Fox Hill Church), Lebanon, New Germantown, Unionville, Flanders, Spruce Run, Schooley's Mountain, Pleasant Grove. Each place had its church, Lutheran or German Reformed (sometimes both), the latter often taking a step in conformity with prevailing religious conditions in New Jersey and becoming Presbyterian, the differences in dogma not being considered important, and the necessity of hearing sermons in English being strongly felt. The Lutheran churches were more tenacious of their denominational identity, owing to their stronger organization and their greater numbers.

Chambers[1] gives about three hundred German family names, compiled mainly from church records before 1762, within the above-named district, giving evidence of quite a large population. The German settlers of Passaic, Bergen, and Essex counties may have come from the region of German Valley or may have entered from Hudson County, i. e., they were new immigrants coming from New York City.

Like the early Germans elsewhere, those of New Jersey were industrious and thrifty. They were mainly of the agricultural class, and converted German Valley and

[1] On pp. 34–37, and in the appendix of his book.

neighboring districts into garden-like farm-lands.[1] They were religious, building churches and schools and enjoying above most other districts the reputation of liberality toward their preachers, a fact which is dwelt upon by both Mühlenberg and Schlatter. An instance of such a spirit is found, for example, in 1760, when the sum of one thousand pounds, munificent for that period, was bequeathed to the church of New Germantown for the purpose of its support and that of its school.

Though the New Jersey Germans kept their German speech and customs for a long time, they were public-spirited and patriotic, bearing their full share of the burdens of the colonial wars and particularly of the Revolutionary War, the latter raging in New Jersey probably longer and more fiercely than in any other district. Instances of exemplary devotion to the patriotic cause were those of Nevelling and Frelinghuysen. John Wesley Gilbert Nevelling, who served the Amwell church at the beginning of his ministry, converted all his property into money, amounting to five thousand pounds. He loaned it to the Continental Congress, and, losing the certificate of receipt of the government, he never recovered any of the amount. He served as chaplain in the army, was highly esteemed by Washington, and a large reward was offered for his capture by the British government.[2]

General Frederick Frelinghuysen, grandson of the Reverend Theodore J. Frelinghuysen (who also spelled his name Frelinghausen, and was born at Lingen, East Friesland, within the present limits of Prussia), was prominent

[1] They also improved agriculture; e. g., a man by the name of Fuchs introduced a new and superior variety of wheat, and the people from a great distance bought wheat of him. "They went to Foxenburgh" (Fairmount). Chambers, p. 128.

[2] Chambers, p. 40.

as a soldier in the Revolutionary War. He took part in the battle of Trenton, where he shot the Hessian colonel Rahl. Afterwards in command of militia, he took part in the skirmishes at Springfield and Elizabeth, and in the battle of Monmouth Courthouse, June, 1788. He was a member of the Continental Congress, of the Convention of 1787, and of the United States Senate, 1793–96. In 1794 he was major-general of the forces of New Jersey and Pennsylvania that served during the Whiskey Insurrection of Pennsylvania.

Some distinguished descendants of the early New Jersey German settlers are found in the Werts family. The Reverend John Conrad Wirtz, born in Zurich, Switzerland, was the first German Reformed preacher in Lebanon and German Valley, before 1750, of whom there is any record. The Honorable George Theodor Werts, governor of New Jersey, 1893–96, is a great-great-grandson of the Reverend John Conrad. The man noted as the wealthiest capitalist in the world, John D. Rockefeller, the founder of the Standard Oil Company, is a direct descendant of the early Germans in New Jersey. But recently (1906), Mr. John D. Rockefeller erected a monument to the memory of his ancestor Johann Peter Rockefeller,[1] "who came from Germany about 1733 and died in 1783." The monument[2] is erected in the village of Larrison's Corner, near Flemington, Hunterdon County, New Jersey, on a piece of land

[1] Spelled also Rockefellar. See Chambers, *Early Germans of New Jersey*, appendix. John Peter Rockefeller had two sons, Peter and John (naturalized 1730). Some of the Rockefellars settled at the camp in New York (Saugerties).

[2] It was erected in 1906, and bears an inscription stating that the monument is dedicated to Johann Peter Rockefeller by his direct descendant, John Davison Rockefeller. At a recent family reunion it was stated that the family had descended originally from a Huguenot ancestor, who had immigrated to Germany.

which Johann Peter Rockefeller gave as a burial-ground for his family and his neighbors. This giving instinct was not exceptional among the early Germans, — it has grown in modern times, and culminated in such magnificent endowments as the University of Chicago, that of the General Education Board,[1] and the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, New York. There is probably no modern benefactor whose vast and numerous gifts have been more wisely distributed.

As an illustration of the seriousness with which church and religious matters were treated by the early Germans, the following narrative may be of service. It is the story of a church feud, taken from the letters written by the Reverend Mr. Mühlenberg [2] to the church fathers at Halle, published in the "Hallesche Nachrichten."[3]

During the lifetime of Justus Falckner, who was the able head of the Lutheran Church in New York from 1703 to 1723, his brother, Daniel Falckner, served the German Lutheran churches in the Raritan district. But after the death of Justus Falckner in 1723, and when Daniel Falckner had become too old for service, the German churches in New Jersey applied to the Reverend Mr. Berkenmeyer, successor to Justus Falckner, for a new preacher to be imported from Germany. A call, duly sealed and signed by the members of three congregations, was forwarded to Germany in 1731. Nothing came of it, however, until three years

[1] The recent gift of $32,000,000 to the General Education Board, by John D. Rockefeller, "is the largest sum ever given by a man in the history of the race for any social or philanthropic purposes." (Words quoted from the letter of acceptance by the Board.)

[2] The character and career of the great organizer of the Lutheran Church in America, the Reverend Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, has been sketched in the preceding chapter.

[3] German Reprint: Allentown, Pa., 1886. See vol. i, pp. 113 ff., 119 ff., 123 ff. The translation appeared earlier: Reading, Pa., 1882.

later, when the home church ordained August Wolf, and sent him to America at a stipulated salary and expenses paid. The call was given by three congregations, "on the mountain" (about one mile from Pluckamin), Rackaway, or Rockaway (Potterstown), and Hanover (probably Fox Hill). The Reverend Mr. Wolf was received with love and hopeful expectation, which very soon, however, gave place to disappointment, for the new pastor, according to Mühlenberg, proved "a wolf in sheep's clothing." To quote the story as told in the "Reports": —

They then fell into strife with one another, which Pastor Berkenmeyer and Mr. Knoll from New York have again mediated. But Mr. Wolf does not look at his office rightly, for he is not willing or able to preach without his written sketches. Having married a farmer's daughter, he lived with her amid continual blows and quarreling. This quarrelsome life and inefficiency in preaching made the congregation dissatisfied, so that they did not pay him his promised salary. They offered him his traveling expenses, if he would return home again, but he would not consent to do so. He boasted then that he had brought his written call and seal from Hamburg. Mr. Berkenmeyer and Mr. Knoll interfered and complained to the governor, of the unscrupulousness of the congregation. The governor ordered that the congregation pay and support him. The congregation complained that the minister was not efficient. The matter then came to trial before the court. When a year had passed Mr. Wolf swore before the authorities that he had performed his duties according to contract. The members were then served with writs of execution upon their property, and many of them were arrested upon the highway. In short, the office of preacher was by these causes brought into disrepute, the young neglected, the holy communion not administered, the sick not visited, indeed, there was such a desolation, that it was made among the Germans a subject of street songs. Finally, the matter came before the supreme court and caused a heavy expense to the con-

gregation. The lawyers found their advantage in it. Part of the members sold their property and moved away.[1]

This condition had endured for many years. Mühlenberg had often been implored to help the congregations, but his duties kept him in Pennsylvania. Finally a board of arbitration was chosen, consisting of four preachers. Mr. Wolf named on his side the ministers Berkenmeyer and Knoll of New York; the congregations named the ministers Mühlenberg and Brunnholz of Pennsylvania. For the latter the Reverend Mr. Wagner was afterward substituted. Mr. Berkenmeyer absented himself. Thus with three judges the examination and deliberations went on, continuing four days and four nights and proving an arduous task. The board found "that Mr. Wolf had been the primary cause of all the contention and scandal," and, as Mühlenberg also reports: "He had not shown official and paternal fidelity enough to teach his children the Ten Commandments."[2] The board was ready to set the congregation free, when a compromise was agreed to, yielding Mr. Wolf a sum of money, for which he would release the congregation absolutely. The famous document (the call) bearing the signatures of the congregation, was handed over, and Mr. Wolf received ninety pounds, from which the court costs were deducted. The Reverend Mr. Mühlenberg had once more done his church and countrymen a noble service. Thus ended the most bitter of all the colonial German church quarrels, with the exception perhaps of the one in Georgia,[3] which Mühlenberg also arbitrated.

[1] *Hallesche Nachrichten*, vol. i, p. 119.

[2] The discovery of this neglect no doubt weighed heavily in the balance against Wolf.

[3] See Chapter IX.

The church difficulty was not completely settled after the decree of the ministerial judges had gone into effect. The congregations were unwilling to sign another call, having had the one unfortunate experience, and they hesitated also because of the rivalry between the Lutheran ministeriums of Halle and Hamburg, each of which wanted to fill the vacancy. But Mühlenberg was equal to all emergencies, becoming the patron of the Lutheran congregations of New Jersey for a number of years, frequently serving them for months at a time. He healed all schisms and brought about a period of prosperity. Sometimes, to be sure, he was disappointed in the choice of assistants, and he writes mournfully to the church fathers at Halle: "The lack of faithful, steady, and experienced laborers is a great hindrance to the spread of the kingdom of Jesus Christ. May the Lord have compassion upon us and send faithful laborers into his harvest." Mühlenberg remained the patriarch of the New Jersey congregation (from 1757 to 1775), with assistants to serve the various churches, among whom for some time were his sons Peter and Henry.

An interesting product of prevailing colonial conditions was the Reverend Mr. Caspar Wack. He was called to Great Swamp Church in 1771. When he first came to German Valley, the preaching was all in German, but under changed requirements in the latter part of his ministry, he preached only occasionally in German, to please the old people. The jargon of the transition period between the German and English sermons probably did not offend in those days as it might now. On the contrary, on one occasion it had a very pleasing effect. An English army officer, having heard that the Reverend Mr. Wack was a German, went to his church in order "to hear what a German sermon would sound like." He came

away rejoicing. "He never knew before that German was so much like English; he could understand a great deal of what Mr. Wack said." On that day Mr. Wack had preached an English sermon, or at least what he took to be English. In later days, however, the Reverend Mr. Wack is said to have been in command of good English, at least of correct English, faulty only in accent, and somewhat in pronunciation, though as to the latter it is known that he carefully marked his manuscript with the dictionary's pronunciation.

Mr. Wack was musical, taught a singing-school, carried on a farm, and drove an oil- and fulling-mill, using for power the stream on his land. He became a well-to-do member of the community. No eight-hour laws prevailed with him, and he was out on his fields before the first peep of day. When the breakfast-bell was heard, he would say: "Now, boys! a race," and he was rarely beaten.[1] Stories are told of the quickness of his wit. While on one of his long journeys, a young man asked him for a ride. "Certainly," said Mr. Wack, "get up behind me." Now this young man was not one that had walked straight in the paths of church virtue, nor had the shepherd ever had an opportunity to lead back this recalcitrant member of the flock. The opportunity had come, and the minister poured into the ears of the sheep such an amount of wholesome admonition that the latter remembered it as an experience in his life. The young scapegrace declared, when he was released, that it was the hardest ride he had ever taken. Mr. Wack later removed to Stone Arabia in the Mohawk Valley, and served as chaplain in the War of 1812.

Besides the settlements in German Valley and sur-

[1] Chambers, pp. 112 ff.

rounding counties, there are records of a few other German colonies. At Elizabethtown, where the first English settlement was made in 1664, there were many German settlers prior to 1734, as we learn from the Urlsperger "Reports."[1] Other German settlers were located at a place called Hall Mill, some thirty miles from Philadelphia.[2] In addition to these we get information about others from the reports of the Moravian preachers. The latter had regular preaching stations in the more southerly counties of New Jersey, at Maurice River, Penn's Neck, Raccoon, Cohansey, Middletown, Trenton, Maidenhead, Crosswicks, Crawberry, and Princeton. These stations presuppose the existence of German settlers in considerable numbers, for the Moravian preachers commonly preached in German, many of them not knowing English well enough to preach in that language, as we learn from the diaries of Moravian missionaries who passed through Virginia.

A prosperous Moravian colony, at least for a period, was the Hope Settlement, located in Warren County. American travelers,[3] passing through, commented on "the strong, neat, and compact Moravian houses, mostly of stone, the mechanics' shops, the stores, and above all a mill, one of the finest and most curious mills in America." The same mill is described in the travels of a French soldier,[4] in 1778, one of the members of La Fayette's staff:

Mr. Colver treated us with an anxiety and respect more German than American, and led us first to see the saw-mill which

[1] Von Reck, *Urlsperger Nachrichten*, p. 159.

[2] The Reverend Michael Schlatter preached there in 1746. *Magazine of German Reformed Church*, vol. ii, p. 266.

[3] The Honorable William Ellery and the Honorable William Whipple, two signers of the Declaration of Independence, in 1777, wrote about it in their diary, from which the above quotation is taken.

[4] *Travels in North America*, pp. 307 ff., published 1780–82, by the Chevalier de Chastellux.

is the most beautiful and best contrived I ever saw. A single man only is necessary to direct the work; the same wheels which keep the saw in motion serve also to convey the trunks of trees from the spot where they are deposited to the workhouse, a distance of 25 or 30 toises (making a total distance of over 150 feet): they are placed on a sledge, which, sliding in a groove, is drawn by a rope, which rolls and unrolls on the axis of the wheel itself. Planks are sold at six shillings, Pennsylvania currency, the hundred. If you find the wood, it is only half the money.

In 1807 the properties[1] at Hope were sold by the Moravian Brethren, and the members of the settlement removed to Bethlehem or other Moravian towns. All their settlements were managed on the coöperative plan, and if any proved less advantageous, it was abandoned or sold so as not to be a burden for the others.

We have seen that the Germans settled within the present boundaries of New Jersey as early as the first and second decades of the eighteenth century. They soon massed in great numbers in the district known as German Valley. Their settlements were most prosperous within the boundaries of the present counties of Hunterdon, Somerset, Morris, and in portions of Sussex and Warren. Many distinguished Americans have descended from the old New Jersey Germans.

Maryland: In the province of Maryland some few Germans had settled as early as the seventeenth century. There was Cornelius Commegys from Vienna, who settled in Cecil County with four other Germans, among them Augustin Herman (Harman), before 1660. There was Martin Faulkner (Falkner), who received one hundred and fifty acres in Anne Arundel County (1680), which he

[1] There were also a tannery, pottery, oil-mill, besides a saw-mill and farms.

called "Martin's Rest." Robert Sadler in 1689 received a grant of land in Baltimore County. There were a number of others in various counties, as the records in the state capitol at Annapolis show.[1] Most of the immigrants landed at Annapolis, called "The Port of Severn," then of much greater importance as a seaport than Baltimore, the latter being incorporated as a city not until 1796 (though laid out about 1730), Annapolis having been made a city in 1696, one hundred years earlier.

There were a number of Germans with the Labadists,[2] the sect of communists who settled (1684) on the Bohemian River, within the present state of Delaware. The founder and leader of the Labadist settlement on Bohemia Manor was Peter Sluyter, born at Wesel in the Rhineland. His original name was Vorstmann, but just before his immigration he assumed the name of Sluyter or Schluter. His co-worker, Jasper Danker, had also changed his name, from Schilders. They had been sent by the mother colony at Wieuwerd in Westfriesland to discover a suitable place for a colony in America. The place selected was that already named, on Bohemia River, on the land of Augustin Herman. Herman even promised to erect the necessary buildings for the colony, and his oldest son, Ephraim, became a convert to the society.[3] Danker soon withdrew

[1] J. A. Weishaar, "The German element in Maryland up to the year 1700," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, pp. 13–34. The author has carefully worked through the old court records at Annapolis and brought to light a quantity of interesting facts regarding the earliest Germans of Maryland.

[2] They were followers of Jean de Labadie, Christian communists. They denied the observance of the Sabbath on the ground that life is a perpetual Sabbath. They believed in marriage as a holy ordinance, and denied original sin. The sect disappeared about the middle of the eighteenth century, and even earlier in America. In 1698 besides Sluyter only eight male members remained in the Labadist settlement of Bohemia Manor.

[3] The deed conveyed the land, August 11, 1684, to Sluyter and Danker

and left Sluyter sole leader of the community with the rank of bishop. The latter became a successful tobacco planter, and it is said a slave trader, dying a wealthy man.

The most noted of the Germans in this section was, however, Augustin Herman[1] (born at Prague, 1621), the founder of Cecil County, patron at one time of the Labadists, and defender of the rights of Maryland against neighboring colonies.[2] He drew a map[3] of the state of Maryland for Lord Baltimore, which was "applauded for its exactness even by His Royal Majesty, the King," and about the same time he was chosen representative of Baltimore to the General Assembly.

No considerable number of German settlers arrived in Maryland before the eighteenth century, even not before the second quarter. From its very beginning (1730) Germans were active in the settlement and commercial progress of Baltimore. Many of them, enterprising Germans or descendants of Germans, came down from Pennsylvania, and with "capital and industry employed here, contributed essentially to aid the original settlers."[4] G. M. Meyer

from Friesland, Bayard from New York (the Huguenot ancestor of a line of American statesmen, the last of them Thomas Francis Bayard, secretary of state, 1885–89, ambassador to England, 1893), John Moll and Arnold de la Grange from Delaware.

[1] Augustin Herman was naturalized in Maryland by act of legislature in 1663, with two sons and three daughters; with them a family by the name of Hack, also of German stock. One John Hack traded with the Indians and was well known in Maryland and Virginia, in 1647.

[2] Augustin Herman had previously lived in New Amsterdam, and was there distinguished as a trader in tobacco, a representative of the popular party and a diplomatist. Though not a friend of Stuyvesant, the latter used him on many important embassies, the last becoming the occasion of Herman's settling in Maryland. *Deutsch-amerikanisches Magazin*, pp. 202 ff. and 524 ff.

[3] Cf. Weishaar, p. 28.

[4] Cf. Colonel J. G. Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore*, pp. 37, 202. Baltimore, 1874. See also *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xviii, p. 179, article by E. F. Leyh.

erected a mill, D. Barnetz and Leonard from York, Pa., together established the first brewery, Valentin Larsch built an inn at the southwest corner of Baltimore and Gay streets, Andrew Steiger was the first butcher, who, before 1759 and after, purchased large tracts of land in the bend of Jones's Falls and beyond, for the feeding of his cattle, his purchases covering a large part of East Baltimore and being known as Steiger's Meadow. German Street, parallel to Baltimore Street, and one of the thoroughfares for the wholesale trade, was once covered with the kitchen-garden and tobacco plantation of a German farmer. After Baltimore was incorporated, in 1796, there were three Germans among the first seven aldermen of the new city, viz.: Engelhardt Yeiser, Peter Hoffmann, and George Lindenberger, the latter a public-spirited man, magistrate, founder of a fire company and a militia officer during the Revolutionary War. As early as 1758 a German church was built in Baltimore, and four years later a second one.[1] Both were Protestant, the German Catholics being not numerous enough as yet to build a church of their own, or finding it more advantageous to join the prominent English Catholic congregations.

At the time of the Revolutionary War the Germans of Baltimore sent many volunteer companies into the patriot army, a fact that proves the existence of a large German population in that city. Washington's purchasing

[1] Cf. *Second Annual Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, pp. 60 and 64. Also: *A History of Zion Church of the City of Baltimore*, 1755–1897, pp. 9, 10, 14. By Pastor Jul. Hofmann. Baltimore, 1905. The Germans held union services (including the Lutheran and Reformed) in Baltimore very soon after the town was laid out (1730). The Lutherans founded a separate organization as early as 1755 (Zion Church). Their first church, however, seems to have been built a few years after the church of the German Reformed (1758), who were at first more numerous

agent, Jake Keeport (Kuhbord), was a Baltimore German. When the Continental Congress, after its flight from Philadelphia, sought refuge in Baltimore, they held their meetings in a hall owned by the German merchant, Veit.[1]

Many of the noted families of the city and state are of German origin, among them those bearing the names of Albert, Appold, Baer, Diffenderfer, Friese, Frick, Hoffmann, Keyser, King, Levering, Mayer, Miller, Miltonberger, Reeder, Schley, Schmucker, Steiner, Stricker, Uhler,[2] Van Bibber, Yeiser, and a large number of others.[3] The ancestor of the Alberts came from Würzburg, Bavaria, in 1752. The family were prominent as merchants and organizers of financial and charitable institutions in the city. Peter Hoffmann came from Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1742, settled first at Frederick, then became a drygoods merchant in Baltimore, his descendants expanding into business operations of many kinds, in and beyond the state. George Hoffmann is noted for once owning the finest residence in Baltimore called "Hoffmann's Folly," at the corner of Franklin and Cathedral streets. The Leverings are descended from an ancestor born in Germany, who settled first in Roxborough township, in the county

[1] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xviii, pp. 179 ff.

[2] The name Uhler appears very early, in Uhler's Alley, 1730, when the town was laid out.

[3] C. F. Raddatz, "German American Families in Maryland," *Sixth Annual Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, 1891–92, pp. 43–50. Also *Fifth Annual Report*, "Family Records," pp. 91–96. Also *Sixth Annual Report*, E. F. Leyh, "Baltimore's Deutsch-Amerikaner im Handel u. Industrie," pp. 77–85. The Calendar of 1795 contains a very large percentage of German names, among them representatives of prominent business houses: Peter Hoffmann, Falck, Focke, Albert, Mayer, Schwarz, Schäfer, Bohn, Slingluff, Brantz, Waesche, Raborg, Schroeder, Benziger, Reinecker, Diffenderfer, Stauffer, Stark, Seekamp, Ratien, Könicke, Zollikoffen, Clemm, Eichelberger, Sadler. Governor Sharpe in 1753 comments on the prominence of well-to-do Germans in Baltimore.

of Philadelphia, about 1685, and later removed to Baltimore. His name appeared in a deed as Weekhart Liebering, and he lived to the age of 109 years.[1] His great-grandchildren, Aaron and Enoch, through the influence of their brother-in-law, John Brown, a native of Belfast, Ireland, removed to Maryland and became the founders of the Levering family in Baltimore. Aaron became a soldier in the Revolution, one of the captains of the flying camp, and was honorably discharged with the rank of colonel. As merchants the Leverings became distinguished by their coffee trade with South America.[2] More reputed as a soldier was General John Stricker, born in Frederick, Maryland, 1759, the son of Colonel George Stricker of Revolutionary fame. He fought in the Revolution, later became a merchant of Baltimore, and during the attack on the city in 1814 by the English under General Ross, commanded the brigade which was sent forward to check the enemy's advance. A street in Baltimore bears his name. Christian Mayer[3] and his partner, Louis Brantz, emigrated from Germany in 1784 and were intimately connected with Baltimore's commercial development. They

[1] He died in 1744, as stated in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, no. 844.

[2] Joshua Levering was the prohibition candidate for the presidency of the United States, 1896. The Leverings were the donors of the Y. M. C. A. building of the Johns Hopkins University.

[3] Francis B. Mayer, ex-president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, gives some interesting items of family history, published by the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland (*Fifth Annual Report*). The Mayers came from Ulm, Würtemberg, first went to Ebenezer in Georgia, thence to Maryland, bearing a letter from Cecil Calvert to Benjamin Tasker, first in the council of the state, "recommending Mr. Christopher Bartholomew Mayer to Civilitys on his arrival in Maryland" (1752). C. B. Mayer led a group of Palatines to the Monocacy settlement in Frederick County. They had come on the ship *Patience* from Georgia. A branch of the Mayer family later removed to Baltimore, as was the case with many Frederick County Germans, e. g., the Schleys and Steiners.

established a tobacco trade with the Netherlands, and founded marine insurance companies. There were prominent also the Appolds, leather merchants, the Fricks, men of affairs and lawyers, and Jac. Brusstar, one of the first shipbuilders of Baltimore, when that industry was the pride of the state. The Bremen and Hamburg ship companies soon established agencies in Baltimore, as, for instance, the firm Kapff and Ansbach in 1795, succeeded by others later. These German ship-lines going regularly back and forth to Europe, and visiting also South American ports, had much to do with raising Baltimore to a high rank as a seaport in the nineteenth century.

Just as important is the part the Germans took in the settlement and development of Western Maryland. Generally the settlers of Western Maryland were Pennsylvania Germans who, on their way to Virginia (Spotsylvania), were attracted by the good land and prospects on the way. The route of travel from Lancaster County to Virginia was over an Indian trail, now broad enough to be used by travelers and settlers moving with packhorses. It extended across York and Adams counties, Pennsylvania, to the Monocacy River near the point where it crosses the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania, followed the river for a time, then went westward across the Blue or South Mountains, at Crampton's Gap, and thence to the Potomac River. On this route the first Germans arrived in Maryland about 1729, and settled near the Monocacy River. They built the first German church in Maryland between 1732 and 1734. The Indian trail in 1739 was widened by action of the Lancaster County Court and the Maryland Assembly, and became known as the Monocacy Road, being used as a part of the great highway from the East to the South and Southwest. On

this road one hundred and fifty wagons and two hundred packhorses, secured in Pennsylvania, were brought to the camp at Frederick in 1755, preparatory to the campaign of General Braddock.[1]

Charles, Lord Baltimore, seeing the generous propositions made by neighboring provinces to German settlers, tried to do better than the governor of Virginia. Accordingly in 1732 he made an exceedingly liberal offer to colonists: two hundred acres of land in fee (subject to the rental of four shillings sterling per year, for every one hundred acres, payable at the end of three years) to any person having a family who should within three years actually settle on the land between the rivers Potomac and Susquehanna, and to each single person, male or female, between the ages of fifteen and thirty, one hundred acres of land on the same terms, with the assurance that they should be as well secured in every particular in Maryland as in any part of the British plantations in America, without exception. This offer guaranteed land at the rental of one cent an acre, and no rent to pay for the first three years. It is not surprising that many Pennsylvania Germans, seeing the good land in what is now Frederick and Washington counties, Maryland, dug their spades into the earth then and there, set up their hearthstones, and forgot all their intentions of going farther.

The earliest settlement was that called Monocacy,[2] near the present site of Creagerstown, about ten miles north of the present city of Frederick. The location of the old log church of Monocacy and of the graveyard near by, has been fixed as less than a mile distant from Creagerstown.

[1] The road was macadamized in 1808.

[2] Cf. E. T. Schultz, "First Settlements of Germans in Maryland," a paper read before the Frederick County Historical Society, etc. Published by request, D. H. Smith, Frederick, Maryland, 1896.

The latter place was a later settlement, founded by a German, either Cramer or Creager, between 1760 and 1770. This town was located on more elevated ground, doubtless an advantage over the older village, which declined and possibly was even abandoned. Creagerstown might well have adopted the name Monocacy, and then could claim the honor of being the oldest town in Western Maryland.

The successful rival of the Monocacy settlement was Frederick Town. In 1735 there arrived about one hundred families from the Palatinate by way of Chesapeake Bay, landing either at Annapolis or Alexandria,[1] presumably at Annapolis, because the German immigrants settled on lands owned by Daniel Dulaney of Annapolis, located in Western Maryland. There a town was laid out in 1745, on both sides of Carroll Creek, three miles from the Monocacy River. It was called Frederick Town in honor of Frederick, son of Lord Baltimore, then a boy of fourteen.

The leader of the immigrants was Thomas Schley, their schoolmaster, the ancestor of a prominent family with branches in Maryland and Georgia. He seems to have been, like Ulmer of the Waldo settlement in Maine, every inch a leader, capable of taking the initiative in all important activities of the colony, besides being the teacher, and reader in the absence of a minister. Schlatter reports of him: "It is a great advantage for this congregation[2] that they have the best schoolmaster I have

[1] Both of these towns were more important seaports at that time than Baltimore. Large numbers of Germans landed at Annapolis, as the following record will illustrate, taken from the entries at Annapolis. Between 1752 and 1755, 1060 immigrant Germans arrived. In 1752, 150 arrived; in 1753, 460; and in 1755, 450. Cf. "Memoranda in reference to early German Immigration to Maryland," by F. B. Mayer, *Fifth Annual Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, 1890–91, p. 19.

[2] The Monocacy congregation embraced Frederick and the straggling settlements in the neighborhood.

met with in America. He, Thomas Schley, spares neither labor nor pains in instructing the young, and edifying the congregation according to his ability, by means of singing and reading the word of God, and printed sermons, on every Lord's Day." Germans continued to arrive in the Monocacy district in a steadily flowing stream. Before 1750 German families of the following names had built their homes in this valley: Zimmerman, Kolb, Hoffman, Beckenbaugh, Bickel, Tradane, Devilbiss, Wetzel, Eckman, Cramer (Kramer), Brinker, Crise (Kris), Gushorn, Dohlman, Blumingshine, Protsman, Shrump, Stull, Culler, Creiger (Krieger), Poe (Poh), Eichelberger, Shriver, Weinbrenner, Shryock, Wilnide, and many others. Most of these can be recognized as good Pennsylvania German names.[1] A few settlers of English extraction intermingled with the Germans, the Campbells, Grimes, Hammetts, Heads, and others. The first church-rolls of the Reformed and Lutheran congregations in the Frederick district furnish an abundance of names known from Pennsylvania to Carolina in addition to those mentioned, such as Baltzell, Brunner, Baer, Getzendenner, Michael, Holtz, Kemp, Sinn (or Zinn), Steiner (Stoner), Wolff, Thomas, Gephardt, Mantz, Doll, Hauer, Lingenfeld, Schwartz, Schriner, Schultz, Rohr, Kunkle, Kuntz (Kuhns, Coons, etc.), Fauble, Webber, Witman, Wetzel, Bentz, Weiss, Staley (Stehli), and numerous others.

Most of our information concerning Monocacy and

[1] The Albaughs, Zollers, Harbaughs, Stauffers, Stimmels, Smiths, Cronises, Millers, Derrs, Delaplanes, Shanks, Hauvers (Hoover, Huber), Dudderers, Fogles, Adamses, Weavers, Barracks, Hedges, Crimms, Wiers, Kellers, Snooks, Reamers, Snyders, Clems, Ramsbergs, Shaefers, Lettermans, Wormans, Houcks, and Heffners were also settlers prior to 1760 in what are now the districts of Hauvers, Lewistown, Woodsboro, Liberty, and Mechanicstown. Schultz, *First Settlements of Germans in Maryland*, p. 24, etc.

Frederick is derived from reports of Schlatter and Mühlenberg, who organized congregations, preached to them, and supplied them as far as possible with ministers. Both of them comment on the fact that there were few sectarians in Maryland. There was only one other denomination besides their own, namely, the Moravian, and that gave Mühlenberg some trouble. The missionaries, Ninke and Nyberg, between 1745 and 1749 collected a number of believers about them and founded the settlement of Graceham, about twelve miles northwest of Frederick Town. Graceham is the seat of the first Moravian church in Maryland, and for a long time was a noted centre of religious worship.

Michael Schlatter, with the purpose of organizing the German Reformed congregations, arrived in Maryland in 1747, and repeated his visits subsequently. On his first tour he baptized twenty children and administered the Lord's Supper to eighty-six communicants. He comments upon the purity of the settlement, meaning the absence of "religious errors," i. e., sects, and says that if this congregation were united with Conogocheague, lying thirty miles distant, the two would be able to support a minister (a union which was effected some years later). The settlement at Monocacy in the earlier years was undoubtedly more important than Frederick Town, since both Schlatter and Mühlenberg always made the former their headquarters, going to Frederick Town, ten miles distant, for their religious work and coming back the same day to lodge at Monocacy. The first regular pastor of the Lutheran church at Frederick was the Reverend Bernard Houseal, in 1753, the son-in-law of Christopher B. Mayer (who arrived with the company of Palatines at Annapolis). Between 1748 and 1753 as many as twenty-eight hundred

Palatines came to Maryland seaports directly from Germany. These settled in Frederick or in Baltimore County.[1]

Another noteworthy settlement in Frederick County was that of Fleecy Dale. John Frederick Amelung came from Bremen in 1784 with a colony of from three to four hundred persons, — bakers, blacksmiths, doctors, shoemakers, tailors, etc. They settled on Bennett's Creek, near the Monocacy, in what is now the Urbana district of Frederick County. The noteworthy fact about the settlement was the founding of an establishment for the manufacture of glass. President Washington, in a letter to Jefferson, referring to these works, says: "A factory of glass is established upon a large scale on Monocacy River near Frederick in Maryland. I am informed it will produce this year glass of various kinds to the amount of ten thousand pounds." A claim is made that this factory was the first in America that manufactured hollow glassware. Amelung presented in person to Washington "two capacious goblets made of flint glass, exhibiting the General's coat of arms." The story goes, that the presentation was made at Mount Vernon, Amelung appearing in full court costume. Crossing the lawn he addressed a man mounted on a ladder, who, in his shirt-sleeves, was fixing the grape-vines. The ornamental gift of crystal almost dropped from Amelung's hands, when he found that the person addressed on the ladder was Washington himself. A large number of pieces of Amelung's manufacture are still in the possession of the Masonic Lodge at Alexandria, of which Washington was a member and the first Master. Some others of Amelung's decanters, punch-bowls, and wine-glasses are preserved by the old Holland Masonic Lodge of New York. The quality

[1] Complete ship lists of immigrants to Maryland have, unfortunately, not been preserved.

of his mirrors is said to be unsurpassed even at the present day.[1]

The names of other large settlements of Germans, not already mentioned, in Frederick and neighboring counties, were Middleton, Sharpsburg, Taneytown, Tom's Creek, Point Creek, Owen's Creek, Union Bridge, Emmettsburg, Woodsboro, Hauvers, and Mechanicstown. During the period of westward migration the Germans of Western Maryland found Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois very easy of access. Tiffin and Dayton, Ohio, were long the favorite points for settlement by the Germans of Frederick County.

The westernmost settlements of Maryland were Conogocheague and Hagerstown, both of them German colonies. Conogocheague was near the present town of Clear Spring, seven or eight miles southwest of Hagerstown, in Washington County. The first regular German Reformed pastor was the Reverend Theodore Frankenfeld, who served this, as well as the congregation at Frederick Town, from 1753 to 1755. The founder of Hagerstown was another of those strong personalities of the settlement period, Jonathan Hager,[2] who emigrated from Germany prior to 1739. He

[1] Schultz, p. 17. Amelung removed his plant to Baltimore in 1796. See *Sixth Annual Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, p. 81.

[2] A good account of Jonathan Hager's public services in advancing the economic interests of his section of country is found in an article by Basil Sollers, "Jonathan Hager, the founder of Hagerstown," in the *Second Annual Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, 1887–1888, pp. 17–30. Very interesting also is the contest over the question, whether Hager should be permitted to take his seat in the assembly of Maryland, after being duly elected by his district. He was at first declared ineligible (being foreign born, though a naturalized citizen) by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-three. A new law was made for him, representing the cause of naturalized citizens, whereupon he was permitted to take his seat in the first assembly, to which he had been elected. Hager was reëlected, and the contest was renewed the following year, but no action was taken removing him. He was placed on several committees.

took out land patents aggregating in all twenty-five hundred acres, two hundred of which he obtained December 16, 1739. In 1762 he laid out a town which he named Elizabeth in honor of his wife, which name he used in all legal documents. The popular name, Hager's Town, however, displaced the founder's favorite. In 1775 the place contained over one hundred houses, in 1807 they were increased to three hundred, exclusive of the public buildings, courthouse, jail, etc., Hagerstown being the county seat. Among the names of the pioneer settlers in these westernmost colonies were the following: Prather, Poe (both families famed as Indian fighters), Startzman, Snevely, Stull, Wolgamot (probably Wolgemut), Burhartz, Elwick, Kendrick, Shryock, Hauser, etc.

An interesting historical situation was developed in connection with the disputed boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania.[1] Lord Baltimore claimed correctly that his territory extended to the fortieth parallel, and accordingly issued grants included in this territory. Difficulties arose, culminating in border warfare. The fierce Indian fighter, Cresap (he who was accused subsequently of murdering the family of the Indian chief Logan), made an organized attempt to drive back the German settlers from Pennsylvania, who had settled west of the Susquehanna. These settlers, believing that they belonged to Pennsylvania, organized for resistance, and, aided by the Pennsylvania government, captured Cresap, who, when taken to Philadelphia a prisoner, said scornfully: "This is the finest city in the province of Maryland." Though Cresap was right at the time, the charter of Maryland clearly

[1] Cf. Hennighausen, "Die Revolte der Deutschen gegen die Regierung in Maryland," *Third Annual Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, pp. 45–59.

defining the fortieth parallel as Maryland's northern boundary (and Philadelphia being to the south of the fortieth parallel), still the case was soon decided otherwise by the boundary survey known as Mason and Dixon's Line (1766), which deprived Maryland unjustly of two million acres.

Some of the German colonial families were especially influential in the affairs of the state and of the nation. Such were the Schleys. One of the sons of Thomas Schley, the schoolmaster, was Jacob, a captain in the Revolution. A grandson, William Schley, was a member of Congress and governor of Georgia, where Schley County was named after him. John, his brother, sat upon the supreme bench in Georgia, while another brother rose likewise to eminent judicial positions. Henry Schley, father of Dr. Fairfax Schley (in Baltimore), was born in Frederick in 1793 (died 1871); he participated in the battles of Bladensburg and North Point in 1814, and then returned to Frederick as one of its foremost citizens. William Schley, born in Frederick, 1799, removed to Baltimore and became a distinguished member of the Baltimore bar. He preferred the profession of the law to public office, and after his retirement from the state senate, took no active part in politics. The family has reared also a national hero, Winfield Scott Schley, the rescuer of the Greely Arctic Expedition, commander of the flying squadron in the Spanish War, and at the battle of Santiago in immediate command of the fleet that destroyed Cervera's squadron. Concerning the Brunner, Steiner,[1] Getzendanner (Kitchadanner),

[1] The Baltimore branch of the Steiner family furnished the first librarians of the Enoch Pratt Free Library. Dr. Louis H. Steiner was the first librarian, and his son, Bernard C. Steiner, succeeded him. Under their charge the library has become one of the most useful circulating libraries in the country.

Kemp, Albaugh, and Poe[1] families, who were numerous and influential in Western Maryland, Baltimore, and throughout the state, local histories furnish abundant materials.

It has been shown in the preceding pages that in the eighteenth century the Germans of Maryland were grouped mainly about two centres, Western Maryland and Baltimore. In the latter they advanced materially the commercial and industrial interests of the city, contributing largely to Baltimore's passing her rival, the older port of Annapolis. In Western Maryland the Germans were mainly devoted to agricultural pursuits, forming a link in the chain of German farms between Pennsylvania and the Valley of Virginia. Others founded the westernmost settlements in the state, becoming the defenders of the frontier.

[1] The Poe family were noted, as before mentioned, as Indian fighters on the frontier; in Baltimore City, members of the family are leaders of the Baltimore bar. A relic of the fighting spirit survived in the young Poes, who on the football field, always playing for Princeton, annually filled Yale sympathizers with terror; their combination of pluck, daring, and skill frequently snatched victory from defeat during the last few minutes of play.

CHAPTER VII

THE GERMANS IN VIRGINIA

Earliest settlement at Germanna, 1714 — Governor Spotswood's iron-works — Settlements at Germantown, Virginia, and elsewhere on the Piedmont Plateau — Expedition of Governor Spotswood to the mountains — German settlements in the Valley of Virginia, beginning in 1726–27 — The Shenandoah Valley receives the tide of immigration coming from Pennsylvania — Settlements pushing toward the southern slope of the Valley, and through the gaps in the mountains — Germans in other parts of Virginia — The journeys of Moravian missionaries along the frontier.

According to the popular impression Virginia was settled entirely by the English stock. It is indeed true that the latter form a larger percentage in the population of Virginia than they do of most other states, and that the people of Tidewater Virginia are almost exclusively of English origin. But on the other hand, there are, even in Virginia, districts, such as the Piedmont slope, and the whole area of the Valley of Virginia, where the percentage of the English stock among the early colonists was very small, the German and Scotch-Irish predominating. Kercheval,[1] the historian of the Valley of Virginia, long ago called attention to the large Pennsylvania German settlements in the Shenandoah Valley, and Schuricht,[2] more recently, showed that the early Germans of Virginia, as well as the German immigrations of the nineteenth

[1] Samuel Kercheval, *History of the Valley of Virginia.* (Woodstock, Va., 1850, second edition.)

[2] *History of the German Element in Virginia.* By Hermann Schuricht. 2 vols., published by the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. (Baltimore, 1900.)

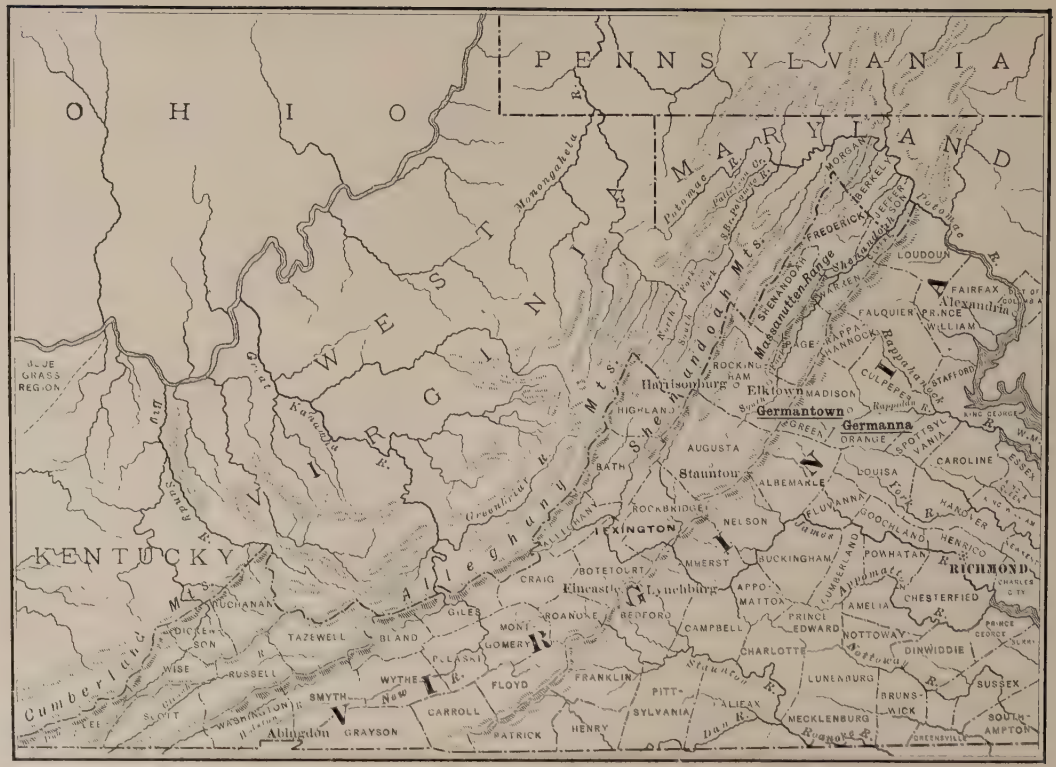
century, had a far more important share in the development of the state than was ever thought possible. Schuricht's work, however, is full of inaccuracies, and has been revised, supplemented, and in some measure done over by several more recent writers on the history of the German element of Virginia.[1]

The earliest German settlement in Virginia was made under the auspices of Governor Spotswood, favorably disposed toward colonists, and appreciative of the value of the Germans as settlers. In imitation of *Penn*sylvania, a large county of Virginia was named *Spot*sylvania in honor of the governor. Within this district (now in Orange County) he founded the town Germanna. The first colonists consisted of twelve German families of the Reformed Church, who arrived in Virginia in April, 1714. They came on the solicitation of Baron de Graffenried,[2] to establish and operate for Governor Spotswood the iron-works which they built about ten miles northwest of the present town of Fredericksburg. The names of the heads of the families were John Kemper,[3] Jacob Holtzclaw, J. and H. Fischback, Hoffman, Otterback (Utterback), Dil-

[1] Their articles have appeared in the *Virginia Magazine*, vols. ix-xiii, and are continuing to appear. Most important are the articles of J. W. Wayland, "The Germans of the Valley," in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. ix, pp. 337–353; vol. x, pp. 33–48 and 113–130. (Richmond, 1902.) Also the articles of C. E. Kemper, and the notes of William G. Stanard, the editor of the *Virginia Magazine*. On the basis of these researches we can come to very definite conclusions about the early Germans in Virginia, though the investigations made are not exhaustive. Much remains to be done, while a great deal undoubtedly has sunk into hopeless obscurity.

[2] See Chapter VIII, pp. 213 ff.

[3] John Kemper was born at Muesen, and died in Virginia between 1754 and 1759. We are indebted for the facts about the Germanna settlement to W. M. Kemper. Cf. Kemper and Wright, editors, *Genealogy of the Kemper Family in the United States, descendants of John Kemper of Virginia, with a short historical sketch of his family and of the German Reformed colony at Germanna and Germantown, Virginia*, (Chicago, 1899.)



THE VALLEY OF VIRGINIA

man Weber (Tillman Weaver), Merdten (Martin), Hitt, Counts (Coons), Wayman, Han(d)bach. The colonists came from Muesen and Siegen, Nassau-Siegen, in Westphalia. They had been skilled iron-workers for generations past, Muesen having been an important iron centre since 1300. Several groups of German settlers followed: twenty families, about eighty persons, in 1717, and forty families between 1717 and 1720. Governor Spotswood built small houses to shelter the colonists, and apparently pushed the work at the mines. The latter have been described in bright coloring by the pen of Colonel Byrd.[1] A recent statistical work confirms the antiquity of Governor Spotswood's enterprise: "The oldest furnace of which we have any certain knowledge was 'Spotswood' in the County Spotsylvania."[2] Whether the governor lacked capital, or whether there were unforeseen difficulties, is not known, but the mining operations did not continue long. In the middle of the eighteenth century, Colonel Byrd informs us, "Germanna consisted of the residence of Governor

[1] *The Westover Manuscript*, printed by Edmund and Julian Ruffin, Petersburg, Va., 1841. Colonel Byrd, the founder of Richmond, Va., was interested in procuring German colonists for a section of country on the Roanoke River. For this purpose he wrote a book in praise of the "New Garden of Eden," as he called it, and had it translated into German and circulated abroad. Its title was *Neu gefundenes Eden, oder ausführlicher Bericht von Süd u. Nord Carolina, Pennsylvania, Maryland und Virginia.* In Truck verfertigt durch Befelch der Helvetischen Societät 1737. Republished in *Der Westen*, Chicago, Illinois, November 6, 1892, and January 29, 1893.

On Colonel Byrd's testimony, the wife of Governor Spotswood was a German woman born in Hannover, named Theke, which would give another motive for Spotswood's interest in the Germans. The historian Campbell denies that Spotswood married a German wife, but gives her name as Anna Butler Bryan. Cf. also *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. xiii, p. 388.

[2] *Handbook of Virginia.* By the Commissioner of Agriculture. (Fifth edition, p. 82, Richmond, Virginia, 1886.) At the present time iron ore is still produced here by the Wilderness Mining Company, five miles south from Parker Station.

Spotswood and a dozen and a half of half-decayed houses, formerly occupied by German families." The records show that some of the German colonists, being engaged in a lawsuit with the governor, prayed for an attorney to represent their side of the question. Spotswood explained his position at length, declaring that the colonists owed him money for their transportation and keep; the colonists, on the other hand, held that their period of service was ended, and claimed land.[1] We have no information as to the adjustment of the matter, but we know that all the German colonists, except three families, had departed from Germanna in 1748, the year in which the Moravian missionary, Gottschalk, visited the Great Fork of the Rappahannock.

Two important German settlements were established by the immigrants from Germanna, the first being called Germantown. The original colonists of the German Reformed faith founded this village about 1721, "because Governor Spotswood refused to sell them the land on which they were settled at Germanna." A deed dated August 22, 1724, was made out by the proprietors of the Northern Neck of Virginia in favor of Jacob Holtzclaw, J. Fischback, and J. H. Hoffman. Germantown was located along the Licking Run, about ten miles from the Little Fork of the Rappahannock, where there had settled another group of the original Germanna settlers, the German Reformed who had originally come from Westphalia. Both places in 1748 had built churches and schoolhouses, the

[1] The petitioners, Zerichias Fleschman and Georg Utz (for themselves and fourteen other High Germans), belonged to the second colony, which came to Germanna in 1717. They were Lutherans, who subsequently, about 1724, settled in Madison County. They begged for an attorney, on the governor's order for their arrest. They stated that the governor refused to give them a copy of the agreement they made with him.

reader[1] of Germantown being old Mr. Holzklo (Jacob Holtzclaw), and of the Little Fork, John Jung. They could not afford a minister in these early days and the Moravian missionaries naturally found an "open door."[2] Brother Gottschalk speaks of these places in a much more kindly manner than of the Lutheran settlements, which, being supplied with ministers, did not receive the missionaries so cordially. "A very fine, neighborly, and friendly people"; and "the people did not look so much upon religion, but rather that Christ be preached to them," were Gottschalk's comments on the Germantown settlers. Brother Schnell, another Moravian missionary, visited Holzklo in 1734. On Sunday the Reverend Mr. Schnell preached to about one hundred persons, in a "neat church." He was offered a parsonage, one hundred acres of land and a garden, and the promise that they would not allow him to suffer want in other directions if he would only stay and preach. Germantown was situated in the present Fauquier County, about nine miles south of Warrington, on the Licking Run.

The German Lutherans of Germanna who came in 1717, migrated to what is now Madison County, Virginia, forming the second important settlement. These "upper Germans" were more numerous. In 1748 there were eighty families, mostly from Würtemberg, within a circle of a few miles, that had "a beautiful large church and school and also a parsonage and a glebe of several hundred acres

[1] Readers were frequently schoolmasters, who, in the absence of ministers, would at regular intervals read to the settlers printed sermons, or passages from the Scriptures, in lieu of preaching a sermon.

[2] A phrase used by the missionaries. Cf. *Moravian Diaries of Travels through Virginia*, edited by the Reverend W. J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, published in the *Virginia Magazine*, vols. xi and xii. These diaries are documents of historical value, preserved in the archives of the Moravian church at Bethlehem.

with seven negroes who must cultivate the minister's land." These colonists removed from Germanna prior to 1724, and settled in the forks of the Conway and Robinson rivers. In 1737 they numbered three hundred souls, and in 1740 built Hebron Church, one of the oldest churches in Virginia, used by the Lutherans continuously. It stands on a beautiful eminence in the forks of the Robinson River and White Oak Run. Reverend John Caspar Stoever was their first minister.[1] He went abroad to procure funds for the building of his church, and was very successful. He collected about three thousand pounds, and after the building of the "Hopeful Evangelic Lutheran Church" at Hebron, a surplus was left for which seven hundred acres of land were purchased and a number of slaves. This latter circumstance has frequently been looked upon as a blot on the history of the early Germans of Virginia, for everywhere else they stanchly opposed slavery. Probably this purchase was made under the influence of the Reverend Mr. Klug, the successor of Pastor Stoever, the latter not being destined to reap the fruits of his labors.

The Reverend Mr. Klug was a very energetic individual, extending the Lutheran affiliation far into the Shenandoah Valley. A very different type of man from Mühlenberg or Schlatter, he was given to the evil habits of his time, particularly to drinking, for which, no doubt, he found plenty of examples among his well-to-do friends, the colonial gentry, with whom he consorted. He was not accustomed to plain living as an incentive to high thinking, and confessed generously to one of the Moravian missionaries that he was no Pietist, gratuitous information,

[1] Cf. Dr. Slaughter's *History of St. Mark's Parish*, pp. 45–46; Bishop Meade's *Old Churches and Families of Virginia*, vol. ii, pp. 74–76; *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, vol. ii, nos. 1, 2, and 3.

in the face of stories current about the minister's tipsy rides homeward from functions not ministerial. Mr. Klug was not an eloquent preacher, but a worldly-wise man of affairs, whose actions were directed by policy, who clung to the strong and successful element. His predecessor, the Reverend Mr. Stoever, had already made good beginnings, providing church organization and joining the Virginia German Lutheran communities of Fredericksburg, Newmarket, Strasburg, Winchester, Woodstock, etc., with the Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania. The Hebron Church in Madison is still in existence, and prizes among its rare possessions some antique sacred vessels received from friends in Germany, and, more highly still, an organ constructed about 1800 by the German organ-builder David Tannenberg of Lititz, Pennsylvania.[1] A succeeding clergyman, William Zimmerman, introduced the English language into the German service at Hebron, and anglicized likewise his own name into Carpenter.

We shall now leave the settlements on the Piedmont Plateau to consider another and stronger current of immigration, namely that into the Valley of Virginia. Strange as it may seem, there was no movement from east to west, from the lowlands of Virginia to the western or higher portions, as there was in some other states, but the migration came from the north, from Pennsylvania, moving southwestwardly through the mountain valleys of Virginia, and growing in such proportions as to be forced to send tributaries in an easterly direction.

Alexander Spotswood, governor of Virginia from 1710 to 1723, during which period he greatly improved the condition of his province by wise legislation and able ad-

[1] For an account of Tannenberg's work in the Moravian settlement of Lititz, see *The Pennsylvania German*, vol. x, no. 7 (July, 1909), pp. 399 ff.

ministration, made the first organized effort to extend the frontier line beyond the Appalachian Mountains. He was not the first white man to see the Valley. The topography was surely known in 1705,[1] and even earlier through Lederer's explorations in 1670. But the great range of mountains that stretched from northeast to southwest seemed like an impassable barrier to American colonists. What lay beyond, no one was certain of. Governor Spotswood was determined to increase his knowledge of the geography of his colony, entertaining the vain hope perhaps of finding one of the Great Lakes within view of the summits of the Blue Ridge. Accordingly he gathered about him an exploring party consisting of nine of his personal friends, a band of tried rangers, and four Indian guides. They were well provided with provisions and plentifully also with invigorating drinks. They frequently encamped to lighten their baggage, and made great fires and hunted game. The itinerary of the party was presumably as follows: From Germantown, ten miles below the Falls of the Rappahannock, they started on the 29th of August, 1716; then proceeding to Germanna, and following the left bank of the Rapidan. They crossed that river near Peyton's Ford, passing by the present site of Stanardsville, in Greene County. They entered the foothills of the Blue Ridge by way of Swift Run Gap. On a bright day of early Septem-

[1] The general topography of the Valley being known as early as 1705, Governor Spotswood and his party were not the first white men to enter or look upon that region. (*Virginia Magazine*, vol. xiii, p. 113.) The first legislative recognition of the country beyond the Blue Ridge appears to have been in 1705, when the General Assembly of Virginia passed an act for free and open trade with the Indians, and, among other provisions, it was enacted that any person who should make discovery of "any town or nation of Indians situated or inhabiting to the westward of or between the Appalachian Mountains, should have, for the space of fourteen years, the sole right to trade with them." *Hening's Statutes*, vol. iii, pp. 468–469.

ber, from a mountain height which had just been ascended, the view of the Valley suddenly broke upon the governor, who was riding somewhat in advance of his troop. The broad Valley, untouched by human hand, lay before him, in its original splendor, the Shenandoah[1] River winding its silvery course through groves and tall grasses, and toward the north, spurs of the Massanutten Range projected into the Valley. The governor and his merry company were well satisfied with the view, descended to the Shenandoah and forded the stream several miles below the historic village of Port Republic. That the party crossed the Valley and passed on westward to the Alleghany Range, striking it where now is Pendleton County in West Virginia, is a matter of conjecture.[2] The company at all events, did not tarry long in the Valley. On their return, the governor, so the story is told, founded the order of the "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe," [3] bestowing upon each of his fellow travelers a miniature golden horseshoe, with the inscription, "Sic juvat transcendere montes," "which signified that it would help to pass over the mountains." [4] No immediate results followed, though

[1] The translation of Shenandoah, "Daughter of the Stars," is probably incorrect. It is an Iroquoian name, derived from the name of an Oneida Indian chief. *Virginia Magazine*, vol. xiii, p. 119.

[2] The only early account of this expedition known to be in existence is contained in the journal of John Fontaine, which appears in the work entitled "Memoirs of a Huguenot Family," reprinted in Slaughter's *History of St. Mark's Parish*, pp. 39–41.

[3] For historical confirmation of the foundation of the order see *Virginia Magazine*, vol. xiii, p. 125. Another translation of the inscription reads: "Thus it is a pleasure to cross the Mountains."

[4] This expedition is notable because it was the first organized effort made by any of the colonies to extend the frontier line beyond the Appalachian Mountains. Governor Spotswood desired to check the rising power of the French in the West, and also to discover the sources of the Virginia rivers. He likewise wished to establish friendly relations with the Indians to the westward. *Virginia Magazine*, vol. xiii, note to p. 114.

all the knights that took part in the jaunt were loud in their praises of the new country. The trip had been seriously undertaken by the governor in the hope of extending the frontier and encouraging immigration toward the western part of the colony of Virginia. Ten years elapsed, however, before the first settler arrived in the Valley.

The Valley of Virginia lies between two mountain ranges, the North Mountain or the Alleghanies, and the South Mountain or Blue Ridge, both ranges running from northeast to southwest, and forming the westernmost physiographical section of the state of Virginia. The Valley is divided into two sections with a slope to the north and another to the south, the highest portion being in the present county of Rockbridge, and the divide approximately denoted by a line running through the town of Lexington. The more fruitful section toward the north is drained by the Shenandoah River, whose two forks nearly surround the picturesque Massanutten Range, until they unite at Front Royal, and after a total course of one hundred and seventy miles, empty into the Potomac near Harper's Ferry. The Massanutten range does not divide the Valley equally; it lies nearer the Blue Ridge, and is about forty miles in length, ending at Strasburg. Then the Opequon River becomes the boundary-line of counties, separating Frederick and Berkeley from Clarke and Jefferson, as the Massanutten Range had separated Shenandoah from Warren and Page. Farther up the Valley are the counties of Rockingham, Augusta, and Rockbridge, extending from mountain to mountain. The southern slope of the Valley is drained on the east by the headwaters of the James and Roanoke, on the west by the New River, a tributary of the Great Kanawha, that opens the territory of West Virginia toward the Ohio. Still farther to the

south the Valley is drained by the headwaters of the Tennessee, by the Clinch and Holston rivers, where the first settlements of Tennessee were located, affording a gateway to the territory beyond the Alleghanies.

The average breadth of the Valley is from twenty to thirty miles, and the length over three hundred. It is the natural avenue of communication between north and south, between Pennsylvania and Tennessee or Kentucky, and had long been so, before those territorial names were known. The Indian hunters and war-parties had long ago beaten a trail through the Valley, the white hunters following in their tracks; then came the men of axe and rifle; and finally the patient settler, whose toil made the earth luxuriant with grain, fruit, and flowers. A great highway for the development of the West, and Southwest, by way of Kentucky and Tennessee, was thus opened before the war of the Revolution, and continued with ever greater usefulness thereafter. The fertile Valley, also in the later days of the railroad, was destined to play a prominent part in the affairs of the nation. Its importance as a granary for armies was seen alike by the armies of the North and South in the Civil War, the Valley of the Shenandoah becoming the bone of fiercest contention and consequently the scene of some of the bloodiest fighting in the whole war. The possession of the Valley meant subsistence; it was the key alike to both capitals, Washington and Richmond (through Lynchburg).

It is now established beyond any doubt that at least the portion of the Shenandoah Valley sloping to the north was almost entirely settled by Germans. There was but a sprinkling of the Scotch-Irish and of French Huguenots, an English settlement being claimed only for the diminutive Clarke County. Many Germans settled on the south-

ern slope of the Valley, but it is a commonly accepted fact that among the early settlers in that area there were more Scotch-Irish and Huguenots. The story of the first settlement of the Valley is typical, full of interest, and, since not generally known, worthy to be followed in some detail. All of the first settlers were Germans,[1] starting almost without exception from Pennsylvania and Maryland, following the trails to the Potomac, crossing at or near the mouth of the Shenandoah or the Opequon (a little higher upstream), and then ascending the Valley between the two mountain ranges.

An exception to this course of settlement was the first of the pioneers, Adam Müller (Miller), who, following the line of Governor Spotswood's march, entered the Valley through Swift Run Gap, and in 1726–27[2] settled near the present site of Elkton. Adam Müller was born in Germany,[3] about 1700, located first in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, but after living there for several years, de-

[1] The first Scotch-Irish settler in the Valley was John Lewis, who in 1732 located far up the Valley near Staunton. The first deed of William Beverly, who was very instrumental in getting Scotch-Irish settlers about his manor (Staunton District), was made to John Lewis in 1738. (*William and Mary College Quarterly*, vol. iii, p. 226.) The numerous settlements of the Scotch-Irish in this county are largely due to him.

[2] The claim has been made that Jost Hite was the first white settler of the Valley, but the naturalization papers of Adam Miller prove that he settled in the Shenandoah in 1726 or 1727. (Cf. *William and Mary College Quarterly*, vol. ix, p. 132.) The first step to secure land in the Valley of Virginia by due process of law was taken by Colonel Robert Carter. The record of a tree bearing the inscription "R. C., 1729," in the Shenandoah district, proves that the land was surveyed as early as that. Robert Carter was the agent for many years of the Fairfax estate, and acquired lands second in extent only to his principal. He was familiarly called "King Carter," and was one of the foremost men in Virginia. He died in 1732.

[3] The place of birth is given in the *Virginia Magazine* (see references below) as Schresoin. There is no such place. It may have been: Schretzheim in Bavaria, Schrezheim in Würtemberg, or Schriesheim in Baden.

termined to try his fortune in Virginia. He embarked at the head of Chesapeake Bay, and, coming to Williamsburg, he heard, presumably from the mouth of a "Knight of the Golden Horseshoe," of the wonderful country beyond the Blue Ridge. This he determined to see with his own eyes, and was so well pleased with it that he went back to Pennsylvania to fetch his family. He then settled near Swift Run Gap, his final abode being on the Shenandoah some few miles distant from his first location. Upon his representations, his former neighbors and friends in Pennsylvania joined him and became settlers at Elkton. Such were undoubtedly Abram Strickler, Mathias Selzer, Philip Lang (Long), Paul Lang (Long), Michael Rhinehart, Hans Rood, Michael Kaufman, and other Pennsylvania "Dutchmen" so-called, who with Adam Müller (Miller) in 1733 petitioned for a clear title to their lands at Massanutten (Indian name), which they claimed to have bought for a sum of money amounting to upwards of four hundred pounds (five thousand acres), from Jacob Stover.[1] The latter was a later settler, but more fortunate in securing a large land grant. Previous to that Müller and his associates had been squatters merely. The petitioners were located in the southeastern portion of what is now Rockingham County, or the southwestern part of Page County, along the Shenandoah River, near the Massanutten Mountain, and in that year (1733) counted fifty-one persons, young and old, on nine plantations.[2]

[1] They claimed that they had bought this land four years before (1729–1730). They were apparently granted their claims, and the suit of William Beverly was dismissed. Kemper gives convincing evidence from court orders that the settlement at Massanutten was the first permanent white settlement in the Valley of Virginia and that its date was 1730 or 1729. *Virginia Magazine*, vol. xiii, pp. 121 ff.

[2] The facts about the first settler in the Valley of Virginia have been set forth by a descendant of Adam Müller, Charles E. Kemper, of Washington,

Some distance above Harper's Ferry there is an ancient ford over the Potomac, once called "The Old Packhorse Ford," the link between the north country and the Shenandoah Valley. Indian hunters and warriors had passed and repassed before the packhorse forded the stream, and numerous encounters must have taken place there between the red-skinned warriors, of which the innumerable arrowheads found in the vicinity bear witness. Probably as early as 1726 or 1727 a number of Pennsylvania Germans crossed the ford, and near by, twelve miles above Harper's Ferry, founded a village which they called New Mecklenburg.[1] When the place was incorporated in 1762, it was named Shepherdstown, in honor of Thomas Shepherd (Schaefer), who had settled there in 1734. Many of the most respected families of Jefferson County, West Virginia, trace their descent from these original settlers, land grants dating as far back as 1729 being in possession of some of them. The settlers were generally at first squatters, but in course of time they were compelled to buy the lands they had cultivated, from some fortunate individual who had received a land grant. Thus in this settlement a number of settlers bought the lands they had improved from a Welshman, Richard A. Morgan, who received a large land grant about 1730.

In 1732 came Justus Heid (Joist or Yost Hite)[2] *via*

D. C. This family, like so many of the pre-revolutionary German Virginians, have been closely linked with the weal and woe of the state throughout its history and are looked upon with pride and respect no less than the descendants of the cavaliers. *Virginia Magazine*, vol. x, pp. 84–86; vol. ix, pp. 351–352. (James Lawson Kemper, governor of Virginia, 1873–78, was a member of this family.)

[1] Noted as the place where James Rumsey built the first steamboat in 1788.

[2] Joist Hite was born in Strassburg, and the town of that name in the Valley was probably named by him. He died in 1760, leaving a numerous

York, Pennsylvania, with his family, his three sons-in-law with their families, and a few others, among whom was Peter Stephan (Stephens), in all sixteen families. They crossed the "Cohongoronta" (a spelling used in the treaty of Lancaster, the Indian name for Potomac), and settled on the Opequon River. Joist Hite settled five miles below where Winchester now stands, his home being on the great Indian trail leading to the upper parts of the Valley, the same which is now transformed into the macadamized Valley turnpike. Jacob Chrisman (Christmann) selected for his location a spring, two miles further south on the same trail, the site being known as Chrisman's Spring. Another son-in-law, George Baumann (Bowman), settled still further up, on Cedar Creek, and the third, Paul Frohmann (Froman), several miles to the west of Bowman, also on Cedar Creek. Peter Stephan with others founded Stephansburg, which, after several changes in name, is now called Stephens City. About the same time the first house of Kernstown was built on the land of Adam Kern. One of the landmarks of that early period is a limestone house near Winchester (Fredericksburg) built in 1753, by Colonel John Hite (a son of Joist Hite), distinguished for bravery in the Indian wars. At that time it was considered one of the most elegant houses west of the Blue Ridge, and it is still standing in good preservation.

Joist Hite and his followers purchased their lands from a Dutchman, John Vanmeter, of whom the story is told that he accompanied a war-party of the Delawares against their old enemies, the Catawbas. A fierce battle was fought about where Franklin, the present county-seat of Pendle-

and highly respected posterity. Joist Hite was responsible himself for the confused spelling of his name. He is said to have signed it three different ways on the same day, in the execution of three different deeds.

ton County, West Virginia, now stands. The Delawares were defeated. On the retreat Vanmeter beheld the rich land of the Valley and obtained a large grant from Governor Gooch, forty thousand acres in the lower part of the Valley, which he sold later to Joist Hite. The Vanmeters settled on the southern branch of the Potomac in West Virginia, Hampshire and Hardy counties.

A large grant of land was obtained as early as 1729–30 by another prominent German settler, Jacob Stauffer (Stover), a shrewd man. It is said that, in order to procure a large quantity of land, he represented every head of horse or cattle that he possessed as the head of a family ready to settle on the land. His lands extended from the forks of the Shenandoah southwestwardly along the main branch to Page County, comprising portions of three counties as constituted at present. He chose as his own location the northern end of the Massanutten Range, where he founded Staufferstadt, later renamed Strasburg by two Germans from Alsace.

The German, Robert Harper, in 1734, settled at the Great Falls, the junction of the Shenandoah and Potomac, and founded the historical town of Harper's Ferry, named in his honor and describing his vocation. Many others settled near by: Winchester had settlers as early as 1738, Woodstock (Millerstown) was founded two years later by Jacob Müller (Miller), and "originally laid out upon a larger scale than any other of our ancient villages" (Kercheval).[1] Ruffner's Cave (near Luray Cave) commemorates the name of the settler Ruffner (1745), the son of a German baron who lived in Hannover.

[1] "Woodstock," Kercheval says, "like most of our towns, was settled exclusively by Germans, and German (Pennsylvania German) was the language heard on the streets up to 1850." The same is said to be true of Strasburg.

A tide[1] of immigration swept up the Valley as soon as its fertility became known. Most of the settlers came from Pennsylvania, an additional incentive being the growing hostility of the Indians on the Pennsylvania frontier. The settlers believed they would be better protected in the Valley, which was guarded by mountains on two sides. After Braddock's defeat in 1755, the migrations became still more numerous, reaching their height after the Revolution. Villages were founded and towns incorporated in large numbers by the inflowing population. Thus Harrisonburg, in Rockingham County, was established by law in 1780 and five years later had twenty persons owning lots. Front Royal (Warren County) was incorporated in 1788, and likewise received a strong German population. Keezletown (the German Keizell's Town) was established in 1791, near Harrisonburg in Rockingham County, and became the keen rival of the latter.[2] Mr. Keizell laid out one hundred acres of land in lots and streets — double the size of Harrisonburg — and offered inducements to purchasers who would build on these lots. During the years 1781–84 there appear to have been more deeds recorded for lots in Keizell's

[1] Some of the names of German settlers during the early half of the century were: William Millars, William Strope, Israel Friend, Edward Lucas, James Foreman, John Lemon, the Schmuckers, the Koiners, the Benders, Beckers (Bakers), Westerhoefers, Sauers (Sowers), Von Webers, Casselmanns, Finks, Funkhousers, Molers, Weiers. Bernhard Weier, a hunter, discovered the beautiful Weyer's Cave (1804). The commissioners who valued the lands of Rockingham County in 1782 found 860 landowners in the county. Among the largest landowners were the following Germans: the Bowmans, Conrads, Coffmans, Chrismans, Clicks, Crotzers, Fitzwaters, Bransbergers, Kisers, Kislings, Kooglers, Kaylors, Millers, Minnicks, Michaels, Messicks, Pences, Rollers, Rimels, Sheetses, Shumakers, Shavers, Shanks, Vanpelts, Wines, Wingers, and Weavers. Cf. Wayland, "The Germans of the Valley," *Virginia Magazine*, vols. ix, x.

[2] Wayland, "The Germans of the Valley," *Virginia Magazine*, vol. x, p. 43, etc.

Town than in Harrisonburg. The consideration for conveyance of a lot was that the purchaser should build a dwelling-house twenty by eighteen feet, with stone or brick chimneys, and make an annual payment of four shillings.

The Germans developed the country not alone in a material way, i. e., by making the Valley a garden; they were in the front rank also in every other form of activity. For example, among the prominent families of Shenandoah County were the German families the Neffs, the Kageys, and the Henkels, who settled in or near New Market. The Reverend Paul Henkel was the first of the family in Shenandoah, coming soon after the close of the Revolution. Born near the present city of Salisbury, North Carolina, he was the grandson of the Reverend Gerhard Henkel, who, previous to his coming to America, was a German court preacher. In 1806 the Reverend Ambrose Henkel, son of Paul Henkel, established a printing-house at New Market, which is still in the hands of the Henkel family. The oldest press of the Valley was distinguished also for the large amount of Lutheran theological works issued.[1] The Neffs, of Swiss German descent, came from Pennsylvania and many members of the family were distinguished in civil and military life.[2] The Kagey family likewise had their origin in German Switzerland. Hans Kagey settled in Pennsylvania in 1715. Henry Kagey removed from Lancaster County in 1768 and a few years later located two miles east of New Market. Others of the family fol-

[1] The Henkel Press supplied Bibles, hymn-books, catechisms, tracts, etc., for the North and South Carolina and Tennessee Lutheran synods, besides the less remote congregations of Virginia.

[2] Cf. Neff (Elizabeth Clifford), *A Chronicle, together with a little romance regarding Rudolf and Jacob Näf, of Frankfort, Pennsylvania, and their descendants including an account of the Neffs in Switzerland and America.* (Cincinnati, Ohio.)

lowed. John Kagey, eldest son of Henry, was a plain Dunker preacher, who led a pious and exemplary life. It is said that "almost as good as John Kagey" has been an adage in Rockingham and Shenandoah counties for the last three generations. "Nobody could make John Kagey do wrong, or break his word," was an article of faith in the generation in which he lived. It is likewise interesting to note that this family of strong virtue produced an abolitionist, in spite of its Southern environment, in the person of John Henry Kagi, John Brown's secretary of war, who was killed at Harper's Ferry in 1859. He was a great-grandson of Henry Kagey.

The tide[1] of immigration from Pennsylvania and Maryland that swept up the Valley before and at the close of the Revolution, produced a thickening of settlements and a pushing on farther up the Valley. There resulted also a crowding out through the gaps of the South Mountain into the neighboring counties of Virginia on the Piedmont Plateau.

The southern slope of the Valley of Virginia, below the line of Lexington, which was at first but sparsely settled by Germans, began to be invaded after the Revolution by the steadily flowing stream of Germans from Pennsylvania and Maryland. Representatives of all denominations, German Lutherans, and Reformed Mennonites, Dunkers, etc., forced their way up the Valley and down the other side, supplying with an agricultural population the counties of Augusta, Rockbridge, Botetourt, Roanoke,

[1] Names of settlers in Shenandoah County toward the close of the Revolution were: the Tirkles, Hesses, Garbers, Wines, Myerses, Pences, etc., located in the neighborhood of Forestville; the Faltzes, Halsleys, Coffelts, Clines, Kellers, Benders (Painters), Bowmans, Rinkers, Tysingers, Empschillers, Lantzes, Stouts, Wilkinses, Frys, Rosenbergers, and Lindamoods, settled in the vicinity of Hamburg.

Craig, Montgomery, Pulaski, and Wythe. In Wythe, Pulaski, Montgomery, and Craig counties the Germans probably met a number of Swiss who emigrated from North Carolina to Virginia. Captain R. B. Moorman, of Roanoke, says:[1] "Rockbridge, Botetourt, Roanoke, Craig, Montgomery, and Pulaski present a grateful field to the German American historian." The German Lutherans were for many years in almost exclusive possession of Salem, and it is supposed that many chapels and meeting-houses, at one time existing in the more remote valleys of the mountains, are now lost to history.

Concerning the settlements on the southern slope, Judge B. Simmons says:[2]

The earliest deeds to the German element in Botetourt County bear date from 1783. The first, or among the first German settlers were the Graybills, Simmons, Keplers, Gishs, Broughs, Sniders, Harshbergers, Bechmers, Amens, and others. The Amens now spell their name "Ammen." All came in the eighties. These Germans came into this county directly after the Revolutionary War, from Pennsylvania and Maryland,—mostly from Pennsylvania. The German element I think you will find came into Virginia about the same time all along up the Valley, a great many of them stopping in what are now Rockingham, Shenandoah, and Augusta, and the lower counties. I do not think many of them stopped in what is now Rockbridge. The Germans looked for good land, and have as a general rule held on to it. They *evidently had money* and seem to have *paid cash for their lands*, and paid as much for their lands then as the same lands are worth now. As a rule the German element are frugal, sturdy, honest folk. For many years they made the mistake of not educating[3] their children; but for some years

[1] Quoted by Schuricht, *History of the German Element in Virginia.*

[2] Quoted by Wayland, *Virginia Magazine*, vol. x, pp. 38–39.

[3] Wayland writes a note stating that the criticism pertains only to the Dunkards and Mennonites, and that most of the Botetourt Germans were

many of them have been educating their children, many of whom are filling the various professions with ability.

While the writer quoted is guilty of several inaccuracies, particularly that concerning the settlement of the entire Valley at about the same time, still he records another impression which is striking and of very great value. "The Germans did not stop in Rockbridge, they were looking for better lands," and secondly, "they had the money to pay for them." Their cash in hand furnishes an additional explanation of their ability to get a choice of lands, to dispossess former settlers on good lands and give to their own settlements greater stability. Coupled with that, on the road to success, was their skill and experience as farmers, which made of indifferent land good land, their economy, industry, and clean methods of conduct, which gave their settlements permanence and tone.

Fincastle, the county-seat of Botetourt County, was incorporated in 1772. A German, Israel Christian, at that time made a present of forty acres of land to the justices of the Botetourt court for the use of the county, an act worthy of commendation for its public spirit. Near Fincastle, and probably about the date of its settlement, the village of Amsterdam was founded by Pennsylvania German Dunkards.[1] The official survey of Amsterdam was made in 1796. Deeds of conveyance to certain lots are from George Stoner and wife "in Stonertown," but the

Dunkards. Moreover that now they have a college at Daleville, Botetourt County. It should also be added that the native population generally was not well educated when the Germans were not, and also that ignorance of the English language was regarded as tantamount to illiteracy. The frontiersmen, of whatever nationality, were never in the front rank in matters of education and religion; they should not be judged harshly, however, in view of their difficulty in getting either teachers or ministers to serve them.

[1] The same as Tunkers or Dunkers.

surveyor calls the plan of the town "A Map of Amsterdam." George Stoner was a German who bought his land on December 29, 1794, of John Snider, who had bought it two years before.[1]

In 1795 or thereabouts Dr. George Daniel Flohr was pastor among the German settlements on New River and primarily at the Swiss colony of New Berne, Pulaski County. In Wythe County, to the southwest adjoining, a German Lutheran church was established in 1792, on land donated by Stophel Zimmerman and John Davis, and owned jointly by the Lutherans and Reformed. The early Germans of Wythe County had some means, and were equally divided between Lutheran and Reformed. Costly Bibles were preserved by them as heirlooms.[2]

The above facts show that there was a larger percentage of Germans settled on the southern slope of the Valley than is generally supposed, and that the number constantly increased after the Revolution. This district is the one which was so important in the early settlements of Tennessee and Kentucky, which, Theodore Roosevelt explains,[3] was the germ-centre of the new life which was to flow into the great undeveloped territory of Indian fame, the dark and bloody ground. Neither the Indian tribes of the North nor of the South dared to claim that No Man's Land as their own, and as a result, the peerless hunting-grounds became the booty of the white man, — but not

[1] See Wayland, *Virginia Magazine*, vol. x, p. 42.

[2] Additional churches were St. John's Lutheran Church, one mile north of Wytheville, and twelve miles west, St. Paul's Church. In 1796 the Reverend Leonard Willy became pastor of Cedar Grove Church, in Smyth County, and of Kimberling, St. Paul's, and St. John's in Wythe County. In 1799 the Reverend Dr. Flohr was called and located in southwestern Virginia several miles north of Wytheville. *Virginia Magazine*, vol. x, p. 123. See also Schuricht, p. 93 (vol. i).

[3] *The Winning of the West*, vol. i, pp. 134 ff.

until after one of the fiercest struggles known to mankind, not one of pitched battles, but of daily combat between settler and savage. The part played by the German settler in this struggle has been underestimated. He was, if not the very first[1] in the land, — a distinction claimed by the Scotch-Irish and Huguenot elements, — at least closely on the heels of the first colonists, and very well represented among the first *permanent* settlers of Kentucky and the Southwest.

Customs and speech the Germans brought with them into the Valley, and for a time held to them tenaciously. When the Germans and Irish met, there was often friction, such as Kercheval describes, e. g., in the town of Winchester, the capital of Frederick County. Winchester had a mixed population of Germans, Irish, and a few Scotch and English. "It was customary for the Dutch on St. Patrick's Day," says Kercheval, "to exhibit the effigy of the saint, with a string of Irish potatoes around his neck, and his wife Sheeley, with her apron loaded also with potatoes. This was always followed by a riot. The Irish resented the indignity offered to their saint and his holy spouse, and a battle followed. On St. Michael's Day the Irish would retort, and exhibit the saint with a rope of sauerkraut about the neck. Then the Dutch, like the Yankee, 'felt chock full of fight,' and at it they went, pell-mell, and many a black eye, bloody nose, and broken head was the result. The practice was finally put down by the rigor with which the courts of justice punished the rioters." But as the two elements lived longer together, with common interests, they began to appreciate one

[1] In Chapter XII, below, it will be seen that the Germans sent quite a considerable number even among the first settlers, i. e., hunters, adventurers, and soldiers, into Kentucky.

another and frequently intermarried. The Revolutionary War cut down mightily the barriers of nationality.

As the Valley became more thickly settled, the current of immigration flowed not only southwestwardly between the mountain ranges, but also eastwardly through the gaps of the mountains, into the counties lying at the base of South Mountain. The counties that received a strong German element were Loudoun, Fauquier, Rappahannock, Madison, Greene, Albemarle, Louisa, Orange, Culpeper, and Prince William. Fairfax may have received some German immigrants from the port of Alexandria, where small accessions to the German population entered, coming directly from Germany. The counties Madison and Fauquier had been settled by Germans even earlier than those of the Valley, and no doubt possessed the largest German population of all the surrounding counties. One of the most important elements of the population in Madison County at this day is constituted by the descendants of the original colonists around Hebron Church from Germanna.[1] The same can be said of the descendants (fewer in number) of the other group of Germanna colonists who settled along the Licking Run in Fauquier County.[2]

Among the settlers in the present Culpeper County were the Waggener brothers, five in number. They joined Colonel Washington against Fort Duquesne in 1754, and were members of the First Virginia Regiment when Braddock met his defeat, Edward Waggener being among the slain. Andrew Waggener was commissioned captain and placed in command of Fort Pleasant, to defend the frontier against the Indians. He then settled in Berkeley County, West Virginia (Bunker Hill), where he remained until the Revolution, when he joined the army at once and served

[1] Cf. pp. 178 ff., 181–182, and 204.

[2] Cf. pp. 180–181, and 204.

from the beginning to the end of the war. In Louisa County Schuricht found a number of German names among the first entries in the land registers, such as Boesick, Hesler, Hehler, Arndt, Armistead (Armstaedt), Flemming, Kohler, Brockman, Buckner, and Spiller. Into Prince William County a number of Tunkers migrated from the Valley, there selling at high prices and buying at a low figure in Prince William, then "improving and making former waste fields to blossom."[1]

The statement is often repeated that the current of immigration from the mountains met, in Midland Virginia, another coming northward from the Carolinas. There seems so far to be no definite verification for this tradition. Apparently some North Carolina Germans settled on the southern line of Virginia, on the Dan and Roanoke rivers, in the counties of Pittsylvania, Halifax, and Mecklenburg.[2] The Moravian missionary, Schnell, met the Swiss settler, Zollikoffer, on the Roanoke, and concerning the same region we find a statement made, "there gained considerable wealth in a short time a few Swiss and some Frenchmen — by cultivating hemp and flax."[3] The Helvetian Society also made the record: "Many French reformists, representative people from Alsace and Lorraine (at present within the borders of Germany), owned large plantations along the James River, particularly above the James River Falls (Powhatan and Goochland counties),

[1] Thomas Whitehead, Commissioner of Agriculture in Virginia, *Report of the State Board of Agriculture of Virginia*, p. 142. (Richmond, Virginia, 1838.) The Commissioner encourages others to do the same.

[2] Some perhaps also settled in Wythe, Pulaski, Montgomery, and Craig counties, i. e., along the mountain ranges. Cf. above, pp. 196–198.

[3] *Neu gefundenes Eden, oder ausführlicher Bericht von Süd und Nord Carolina, Pennsylvania, Maryland und Virginia.* In Truck verfertigt durch, Befelch der Helvetischen Societaet, 1737. Republished in *Der Westen*, Chicago, Illinois, November 6, 1892, to January 29, 1893.

who had left France, fugitive on account of their religious faith."

Scattered German settlers appeared in a great many towns of Virginia at or near their period of foundation. In Richmond it seems that the first sale of land by Colonel Byrd was to a German and that the oldest building in the city, "the old stone house on Main Street," still standing,[1] was built by a German about 1737. The lot was sold by the son of Colonel Byrd to Samuel Sherer, who afterwards deeded it to Jacob Ege, the property remaining in the possession of this German family until a few years ago. The "stone house" is the oldest building in Richmond, and its erection probably antedates the laying-out of the town. There were a number of German names among the first settlers of Petersburg, Norfolk, and Portsmouth. Smithfield, in the county Isle of Wight, was founded by Germans who built a Lutheran church there in 1772. It is claimed that the first owner of the land upon which Lynchburg (Campbell County) was built was a German Quaker, who sold it to John Lynch, an Irishman, after whom the city received its name.

Such scattered details show that much remains to be done before the history of the Germans in Virginia can be finally written. One fact is very clear, viz., that the German settlements were far more numerous toward the west or higher portions of Virginia than elsewhere. The desirable German immigrant, a farmer, artisan, or day laborer, was repelled by the presence of negroes in Tidewater Virginia, and would not work by their side. Neither his worldly estate nor his natural inclination allowed the German to be idle. He did not therefore fit into the society of Eastern Virginia. Where the German settle-

[1] Schuricht (1898), vol. i, p. 80.

ments were numerous, there were very few negroes, a fact that remains true to the present time.[1]

There remain to be noticed a few settlements in the extreme west of the colony of Virginia, established before the Revolutionary War, at the very outposts of civilization. They were located within the present borders of West Virginia, within the Alleghany Mountains. Two of them were situated respectively on Patterson's Creek and on the South Branch of the Potomac, the third settlement was on the New River, which with the Greenbrier forms the Great Kanawha, tributary of the Ohio. These remote settlements are brought nearer to us by the diaries of the Moravian missionaries Schnell, Gottschalk, and Spangenberg (deposited in the Archives of the Moravian church at Bethlehem).[2] The Moravian missionaries made annual or sometimes semi-annual trips through the frontier settlements, in order to keep the spark of religious life from going out in the barren outposts of civilization. The earliest trip recorded is that of Schnell in 1743. The common route taken was from Bethlehem by way of Lebanon, Lancaster, and York in Pennsylvania, to Frederick and Hagerstown in Maryland. A stop was made with old Hager, who would probably take the missionaries for safety to Prathor or to Cresap, the latter, though reputed ferocious as an Indian, being gentle to the envoys of the "Lamb." They would cross the North Mountain, the last and highest ridge being called High Germany; thence they pro-

[1] According to statistical reports in 1877, the negro population in the Alleghany district amounted to nearly seven per cent, in the Valley sixteen per cent, but in the Piedmont and Coast districts from forty-seven to fifty-one per cent of the total population. Schuricht, vol. i, p. 97.

[2] Translated in the *Virginia Magazine*, vol. xi, pp. 113 ff., 370 ff.; vol. xii, pp. 55 ff., 62 ff., etc. All of the missionaries named above were of German or Swiss birth (not Moravian).

ceeded to the Potomac, sometimes stopping at the Hot Springs (now Berkeley Springs, Morgan County, West Virginia), and sometimes going upward by the Potomac toward Cumberland, Maryland, and then proceeding up Patterson's Creek, in West Virginia.

Brother Gottschalk in 1748 names as the German stations, where there was an open door for the Word of God, eleven German settlements: first, Patterson's Creek; second, the South Branch of the Potomac; third, Shenandoah; fourth, Cedar Creek (the settlement of Joist Hite); fifth, Massanutten; sixth, the Upper Germans (Madison County); seventh, the Great Fork of the Rappahannock (Germanna); eighth, the Little Fork of the Rappahannock (a branch of the Germantown settlement); ninth, Germantown (Licking Run, Fauquier County); tenth, Newfound River (Dunkards); eleventh, New River. If the whole round were made, namely, beginning with West Virginia, going southwestwardly through the mountains to the New River, and thence northeastwardly, through the Shenandoah Valley, back through Maryland and Pennsylvania, the whole distance was about one thousand miles.

Not all the settlements were visited on every tour. The remote New River settlement was sometimes omitted, and as the Reverend Mr. Klug in Madison County and the Lutherans at Shenandoah did not generally lend a willing ear, they also were often left unvisited by the missionaries. Opposition to the Moravians was increased by the proclamations of Governor Gooch against lay preachers, aimed primarily at the Whitefieldians and Methodists, the Episcopal and Lutheran churches uniting against their so-called heresies. The purpose of the missionaries, however, was never to separate Christians from their denominational affiliations: they preached no dogmas, but

desired merely to impress the spirit of Christianity in its most elemental forms. Everywhere they came upon people thirsting for an uplifting word and their preaching proved wonderfully inspiring because so simple, unselfish and pure.

Patterson's Creek flows into the North Branch of the Potomac about twelve miles below Cumberland, Maryland. On both sides of the Creek, Brother Gottschalk tells us, in 1748, there lived Germans interspersed with English, for a distance of twenty or thirty miles. He says there is in this district not only an opportunity to preach among the Germans, but the English seem even more eager for it than the Germans. Brother Schnell put down in his diary July, 1748: "We came to William Degart, whom I asked, whether I could preach in his stable, for the houses are all very small and poor. He sent out messages that evening to announce the service." High Germans, English, and Low Germans assembled for his sermon.

The settlements on the South Branch of the Potomac were next visited by the missionaries. The description which Gottschalk gives, holds good for to-day. "It is a large and long river extending over one hundred and fifty miles and rising high in the Alleghany Mountains. Most of the German people live along the river, but also many English settlers, because it is an extraordinarily beautiful and fertile country. This river, the South Branch, has above it a long fork called the South Fork. About forty-five miles below the South Fork, the country becomes thickly populated, and thus it continues upwards to the upper part of South Fork." Gottschalk preached along the South Branch at two places, below at the house of an Englishman named Collins, who requested more sermons

in English. Above, at the South Fork, he preached in English and German at the home of Matthias Joachim. Schnell and Spangenberg also stopped with Joachim, and Spangenberg with Urbanus Kraemer and the Dutchman Van Meter (from Esopus, New York). Gottschalk in 1748 was influenced to stay at least two weeks. "In all Virginia I did not find another place like the South Branch where I felt that the gospel had such free course among the people. They were exceedingly well satisfied with my sermon. They liked Brother Schnell very much" (he was there the year before, in 1747, and in 1749). The following is a typical entry in the diary of the missionary Schnell; he is speaking of the South Branch: —

July 17th (1747), a considerable number of people assembled towards noon, to whom I preached from John vii. 37, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." After the sermon the people complained about their poor condition, that they had no minister, while in Pennsylvania there were so many. They asked me to stay with them. Then they brought me about six children, whom I should baptize, but I had to refuse. [There was objection to baptizing by itinerant preachers.]

July 20th. At noon we stopped with an Englishman. He complained that for two years he had heard no sermon, although he had been compelled every year to pay for the county minister.

July 21st. Came to a place where they had just eaten the last bit of bread. We waited for a woman who baked some for us. [This was an uncommon experience; generally there was no bread to be had on the frontier.]

Brother Joseph (Bishop Spangenberg's name among the Brethren), in 1748 continued along the South Branch almost to the place where it rises and where the last settlements of the Germans are located, i. e., the extreme southern part of Pendleton County, West Virginia, near the

northern border of Highland County, Virginia.[1] They lodged with a German, Christian Evi, and there Brother Joseph preached in German, also in English because many English settlers lived there. These were the first sermons which "a mundo condito" had been preached in this locality. The missionaries (Spangenberg was accompanied by Mathew Reutz) lost their way, but, aided by an elk trail, they got out of the mountains at the settlement of Adam Rader in the vicinity of Timberville, Rockingham County, Virginia.

Brother Schnell, in 1749, visited the New River settlement, accompanied by Brandmueller. They had great difficulty in finding it, proceeding from the source of the South Fork of the South Branch of the Potomac. They were on the very outskirts of civilization, in dense forests infested by wolves. They slept on bear skins in settlers' huts, received plenty of bear meat, but no bread and cheese. The ministers entered the present Highland County, Virginia, followed the Cow Pasture River, and reached the James, through which they swam. They arrived at the Irish settlements not far from Fincastle, — in the words of the diary: "Then we came to a house where we had to lie on bear skins around the fire like the rest. The manner of living is rather poor in this district. The clothes of the people consist of deer skins, their food of Johnny-cakes, deer and bear meat. A kind of white people are found here, who live like savages. Hunting is their chief occupation."[2] The missionaries found no bread even at

[1] In the neighborhood was Seybert's Fort, the scene of an Indian massacre in 1758.

[2] *Virginia Magazine*, vol. xi, p. 123. Editor's note: Counties of Bath and Alleghany, Va. "The settlers were on the last outpost of civilization with the Indians as their only neighbors on the west. The wolves were numerous, a price was fixed upon their heads — 256 heads were presented in 1751."

Justice Robinson's, who owned a mill. Thirty miles more the missionaries journeyed onward without seeing a house until coming to the New River. There they found a number of Germans settled within the present limits of Montgomery and Augusta counties. The missionaries stayed at the house of Jacob Hermann, who was subsequently killed by the Indians, in 1756.[1]

Brother Schnell continues to say that they were only a few miles distant from the Seventh Day Baptists, who lived at that time on the New River. "But we had enough with the description which the people gave of them," meaning, no doubt, that their preaching would not change them. The people referred to were a part of the Ephrata Community, S. and I. Eckerlin, Alexander Mack and others who left Ephrata in 1745. According to the "Ephrata Chronicle," they "fled about four hundred English miles toward the setting sun — to the New River (which ran toward the Mississippi). They spent their time amid the dregs of human society, who spent their time hunting wild beasts." The Moravian diaries prove that the two colonies on the New River were distinct, with little or no intercourse between them. The Sabbatarian settlement was given up in 1750.

One of the bravest deeds in the history of the American frontier was the journey made by Brother Schnell, lasting from November 6, 1743, to April 10, 1744, and extending from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, through Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas to Georgia. It was a mission tour, for a long distance marking the frontier line of the

[1] Presumably many of the settlers were killed by the Indians in 1755–56, but the settlement may have risen again after the blow, as in most other places. Cf. Waddell's *Annals of Augusta County*, pp. 154–158 (1902). The editor of the *Virginia Magazine* surmises that these German colonists on the New River came from North Carolina.

American wilderness. Leonhard Schnell was accompanied by Robert Hussey (born in Wiltshire, England), a teacher of the Moravian school in Oley, Pennsylvania. They traveled on foot, except when occasionally a kind-hearted pioneer would lend them a horse to convey them to the next settler, and they went unarmed, except for the Indian hatchet that they used to cut a path through the dense brushwood. They took the regular road from Bethlehem to Maryland, there stopping at the Monocacy settlements with Abraham Mueller, among "plain people," and "felt very happy among them." The stalwart Schnell carried his companion over the Monocacy, the latter being very tired, for they had already walked forty miles. Perhaps the West Virginia settlements did not yet exist,[1] for the missionaries went up the Shenandoah Valley, stopping with Joist Hite on the Opequon, where they disclosed their purpose of going overland to Georgia. Joist Hite told them of a route through the Irish settlements, in the present Augusta and Rockbridge counties, but the missionaries did not wish to take that course. The German Catholic Schmidt directed them on another way, and as a result they left the Shenandoah Valley, going to Germantown, next to the German settlements of Madison County, and then directly southward almost in a straight line, taking the sun as a guide, through Louisa, Goochland, Powhatan, Amelia, and Brunswick counties, to the Roanoke River near where it intersects the state boundary. There they met Zollikoffer, the Swiss settler. Thence they went southeastwardly, crossing the Tar River, the Neuse, and entering Craven County, North Carolina. Striking the offshoots of the New Bern settlement, they

[1] This was in 1743. By 1747–48 the settlements were numerous and prosperous, as described above.

were feasted by Abraham Bossert. They heard many reports about new Swiss arrivals, and Germans were strewn all along their path. They made their way to Wilmington, North Carolina (called Williamstown), arriving December 17, and finding snow and ice. They crossed Cape Fear River, paying fifteen shillings for the passage (one shilling sixpence, sterling), which they could well afford, having been supplied with funds from the German settlers just visited. Then they passed over to South Carolina, December 20, and journeyed along the ocean over the sand of the beach at low tide. They had to hurry from station to station before the tide should return, otherwise their lives would be in danger. They made Winyal Bay on December 22, were taken across the Santee River, and on Christmas Day arrived at Charleston. Hearing that there were not many Germans in the city, they hurried on to Purysburg, and remained with Brother Beck at White Bluff, where the Germans lived on about forty plantations. Schnell preached and worked, though several had threatened to stone him if he did. Subsequently he visited Savannah and Ebenezer in Georgia, and on February 15, boarded a sloop for New York, arriving in Bethlehem April 10, 1744. The deeds of the Moravian missionaries have never been heralded as great achievements in American history, but in justice to them it must be admitted that in their exhibition of courage, endurance, and humanity they rank higher than many of the great feats of war.

The Germans in Virginia during the eighteenth century carried onward the work which the Pennsylvania Germans had been noted for. As agriculturists their main achievement was to make the Valley of Virginia and the adjacent lands to the east, at the base of the

mountains, the richest farming country in the state. They had settled on the western frontier, and were ready to take part, in the front rank, in the permanent settlement of Kentucky and the Southwest.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GERMANS IN NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

First settlement at Newbern, North Carolina, in 1710 — Indian war — Germans in Charleston, South Carolina — Purysburg, South Carolina, 1732 — Settlements in the Orangeburg and Lexington Districts (Saxe-Gotha), South Carolina, 1735 — The Giessendanners — Zauberbühler — Counties of South Carolina with early German settlers — The fifteen churches of South Carolina — German settlers from Pennsylvania in the interior of North Carolina, 1750 — The Reverend A. Nussmann — Moravian settlements in the "Wachovia" tract, North Carolina, 1753 — Bethabara, Bethany, Salem.

THE first German settlements[1] in the Carolinas were naturally along the seacoast. North Carolina received its first quota of German settlers from the mass of Palatines who arrived in England in 1710. Christoph Graffenried (also known as Baron Christopher de Graffenried) of Bern, Switzerland, arrived in London with some Swiss emigrants

[1] Much of the early history of the Germans in the Carolinas is still obscure, as in the case of Virginia, and undoubtedly a great deal is lost forever. The best available sources are Bernheim and Urlsperger. Bernheim's *History of the German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1872), gives a fairly complete account of the Germans in both North and South Carolina, based on facts gathered from the archives of the Lutheran churches, the church record books kept by Giessendanner, and other founders of congregations, and from *Journals* of the Council of the Province of South Carolina (in manuscript form in the office of the Secretary of State). The voluminous work edited by Urlsperger is described in its title: Samuel Urlsperger: *Amerikanisches Ackerwerk Gottes; oder Zuverlässige Nachrichten, den Zustand der Amerikanisch-englischen und von Salzburgischen Emigranten erbauten Pflanzstadt, Ebenezer in Georgien betreffend, aus dorther eingeschickten glaubwürdigen Diarien genommen, und mit Briefen der dasigen Herren Prediger noch weiter bestättigt.* (Augsburg, 1754–67, 5 vols.) Both of these works are reliable as sources of information.

just at the time when London was so much concerned about the disposal of the thirteen thousand Palatines. In London Graffenried met Louis Michel (frequently spelt Mitchell), also a Swiss, who had spent several years in America to examine the conditions of American colonists.[1] Graffenried and Michel thought the time opportune for planting a colony in the Carolinas. They accepted the liberal terms of the proprietors, paying twenty shillings sterling for each one hundred acres of land and binding themselves to a quitrent of sixpence yearly for every hundred acres. An additional one hundred thousand acres were to be laid off and reserved for twelve years. They induced about six hundred and fifty Palatines to go with them, filling two vessels. They received permission to locate in one body, on or between the Neuse and Cape Fear rivers or their tributaries, and arrived in December, 1710, at the confluence of the Neuse and Trent, North Carolina, where they founded New Bern (Newbern), named after the capital of Switzerland.

Their first year was calamitous, for in 1711, not many months after their arrival, an Indian war broke out. The white settlers had lived on friendly terms with the Indians, admitting them into their houses as friends, frequently as domestics, and all threatening troubles had been adjusted amicably. As usual the premeditated Indian massacre was concealed beneath a stratagem. At the appointed time many hundred Tuscaroras appeared, some in small divisions entering the houses of the colonists as often before, and others as night approached coming in larger numbers to the villages as if to gather provisions, —not numerous enough, however, to occasion alarm. They awaited the sunrise as a signal for attack. Then the In-

[1] He was an explorer. Cf. Chapter I, pp. 28–29.

dians, in the houses, and without, gave the war-whoop, awakening the response of the Indians lying out in the woods. The settlers were completely taken by surprise; an indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children followed. One hundred and thirty whites were butchered in the settlements of North Carolina; sixty or more Swiss and Palatines around Newbern were among the victims. The torch was applied to dwellings in which colonists had concealed themselves, and they were forced from their hiding-places to meet death or torture.

Graffenried, with no suspicion of coming hostilities, was absent on an exploring tour with the surveyor-general, Lawson. Expecting to spend their first night in an Indian village, they were taken captive instead of being hospitably received. Graffenried escaped by declaring he was a king of the German Palatines, demanding by what authority they could put a king to death, who had committed no offense against them. He was kept in custody, but spared, on the promise that the Palatines should be kept from waging war against the Indians. The promise was kept, in the subsequent war of revenge by the whites, much to the latter's displeasure. The Palatines, however, were of assistance in acquainting the whites as to the plans and movements of the Indians.[1]

As a result of the war of revenge, the Indians were reduced in numbers and removed to more remote parts, the Palatines being on the whole benefited by the war. Graffenried left the colonists,[2] serving them an ill turn by

[1] Lawson was tortured to death in the most savage manner, sharp splinters of pine being put into his flesh and set on fire. A land surveyor never received quarter on falling into the hands of the Indians, who always considered him the cause of the land robberies.

[2] Whether Graffenried returned to America is not known; descendants of his name still reside in various parts of the Carolinas.

withholding from them the titles of their lands, which the two Swiss leaders had sold to their own creditors. The victims of the speculation sent a petition to the Carolina Council, November 6, 1714, asking for a grant of four hundred acres for each family and two years' time to pay for it. The petition was granted, and the colonists undoubtedly spread over what is now Craven County, where they were found extending over a wide area by the missionary Schnell in 1743.[1]

In South Carolina the first German settlers are found in the city of Charleston, the immigrant port of the South. It is quite possible that there were some Germans among the Dutch Lutherans that settled on James Island, southwest of the Ashley River and opposite Charleston, in 1674. They had fled from the intolerance of their own countrymen of the Protestant Reformed Church, at New Amsterdam. Certain it is that there were some Germans at Charleston when Bolzius landed with his Salzburgers in 1734. They had settled at Charleston at a time when the lands inland, on the Congaree River, were not yet occupied, being too far west. When Mühlenberg visited Charleston in 1742 on his way to Ebenezer, and was detained waiting for a vessel, he labored for the spiritual welfare of the Germans at Charleston from October 20 to November 12, 1742. He lived with the family of a painter named Theus, the brother of the German Reformed minister in Saxe-Gotha, South Carolina, along the Congaree River. Charleston, however, was not at first favored as a place of settlement, serving more as a distributing centre for the inland counties, Saxe-Gotha and Orangeburg, a verification of which is found in the fact that the inland rural districts had a regular German pastor as early as 1737,

[1] See Chapter VII, pp. 209–210.

while Charleston did not until 1755. The Reverend Mr. Friedrichs built the first Lutheran church in Charleston in 1759.

Next in chronological order among the settlements in the Carolinas is Purysburg, 1732, in Beaufort County, South Carolina, some thirty miles inland from the seacoast, on the east bank of the Savannah River. The settlement was due largely to the enterprise of John Peter Pury (Purry) of Neufchatel, who received liberal inducements from the Carolina proprietors. In 1731 he closed a contract with the English government by which he received four hundred pounds sterling for every hundred able-bodied men that he might bring from Switzerland.[1] To make his harvest good, Pury advertised extensively in Switzerland, according to the methods employed for luring immigrants.[2] One hundred and seventy Switzers composed the first expedition, and forty thousand acres were assigned to them.[3] Not long afterwards two hundred more settlers arrived. They were described as "zealous workers, whose intention it was, besides the necessary husbandry, to plant the vine and rear and manufacture silk." The soil was considered good for the grape-vine and the white mulberry tree, on which the silkworm feeds. The manufacture of silk at Purysburg represents another industry which Germans inaugurated in America. Of their other activities we learn something from the journal of Bolzius, who says (May, 1734): "This town is built on the more elevated banks of the river, and has

[1] *South Carolina Resources and Population, Institutions and Industries*, p. 383. (Published by the State Board of Agriculture of South Carolina, Charleston, South Carolina, 1883.) Three hundred and seventy men came out of Switzerland to Purysburg in the first year.

[2] Cf. Chapter III, pp. 63 ff.

[3] The other leaders besides Pury were: James Richard, of Geneva, Abraham Meuron and Henry Raymond, both of St. Sulpy.

many wealthy people residing here; it is hoped that in a short time it will become a considerable town. The inhabitants labor industriously in their gardens and fields, and persons can already procure here fresh meats, eggs, garden vegetables, even more than in Savannah. We were shown all kindness, and several of the inhabitants besought us to return soon again, and administer the communion." They brought their own pastor with them, the Reverend Joseph Bügnion, a German Reformed minister, who later was induced to receive the Episcopal ordination. Purysburg played some part in the Savannah campaign in the American Revolution, and was taken by the British under Prevost. A large number of Swiss settlers of Purysburg sought homes in other parts of Carolina, both before and after the Revolution, leaving to Purysburg very little more than a name in history. The westward movement in South Carolina seems to have begun earlier than in most other colonies, the attractions of a higher country, a healthier climate, and abundant land proving irresistible.

As in other colonies, the Germans of South Carolina were defenders of the frontier. Their settlements began in the present Orangeburg and Lexington counties, extending along both sides of the Edisto and Congaree rivers, and spreading into neighboring counties to the westward, viz., Barnwell, Newberry, Abbeville, etc. The Germans were practically the first settlers in the Orangeburg district.[1] They did not all arrive at the same time. The

[1] The first white inhabitant was Henry Stirling, presumably a trader located at Lyon's Creek, where he received a grant of land in 1704. The next were three or four individuals who settled at the Cowpens, northwest of the white settlements in the Low Country. These and the Cherokee and Catawba Indians were all the inhabitants who had preceded the Germans. Cf. Bernheim, pp. 99–100. (Bernheim quotes Mills's *Statistics of South Carolina*, pp. 656–657.)

first colony came in 1735, another in 1736, and their first pastor, the Reverend John Ulrich Giessendanner, Senior, arrived with a third group of colonists in 1737.[1] They were tillers of the soil, and soon were blessed with the fruits of their labors in the fertile districts of South Carolina. A considerable number of mechanics were among them, a circumstance favoring the independence of their settlement. In comparison with these permanent colonists, Purysburg was merely a station, the residents of which soon removed to a more favorable location.

The Giessendanners, of Swiss nativity,[2] kept a church record[3] which is very valuable historically and genealogically. A neighboring German Lutheran settlement in Amelia Township, along Fourhole Swamp and Creek, was also served by Giessendanner. On the death of the elder Giessendanner in 1738, his nephew, John Giessendanner, succeeded him. The Journals of Council of the Province of South Carolina[4] give an interesting account of a church difficulty, in which an adroit young man by the name of Zauberbühler (Zuberbühler)[5] attempted to displace John Giessendanner. The latter was not a member of the established church in the province, and Zauberbühler hoped, by becoming an ordained minister of the Episco-

[1] Mills, in *Statistics of South Carolina*, tells us that immigrants arrived in Orangeburg district as late as 1769, only a few years before the Revolution.

[2] Bernheim argues that the Giessendanners were Lutherans, until they joined the Episcopal Church.

[3] This church record has been published in *The History of Orangeburg County, South Carolina*, chap. ii, pp. 91–216. By A. S. Salley, Jr. (Orangeburg, 1898.)

[4] Vol. x, pp. 395 ff.; xi, pp. 74–76, 139–143, 152. Quoted by Bernheim, pp. 110–119.

[5] The Reverend Bartholomew Zauberbühler should not be confused with Sebastian Zouberbühler (Zauberbühler) who was prominent in connection with the German colonies of Waldoboro (Maine) and Lunenburg (Nova Scotia).

pal Church, to gain an advantage over the Lutheran pastor. Accordingly, he addressed a petition to the Council of South Carolina, stating that many people at Orangeburg, feeling the need of instruction in the true religion, desired that he be ordained by the Bishop of London; wherefore he prayed for support and payment of the expenses of the voyage, in consideration of which he would bring back a large number of German settlers. He was asked to produce documents, showing that he was qualified to receive orders, and that the people of Orangeburg desired a preacher. He obtained a number of signatures, and the council was ready to grant the petition, voting five hundred pounds.[1]

A counter-petition was prepared (March 6, 1743) by the friends of John Giessendanner in the Orangeburg district. This testified that Giessendanner had visited Charleston to get orders, and had received advice to go to an Assembly of the Presbytery, who, after some time, presented him with orders to preach, —

which he has since done in German constantly for the space of five years, to the inexpressible satisfaction of the congregation at Orangeburg; and about two years ago your said English petitioners being fully sixty miles from any other place of divine worship, some of whom had not been favored with the opportunity of hearing a sermon in the space of seven years, observing the said Mr. John Giessendanner to be a man of learning, piety, and knowledge in the Holy Scriptures, prevailed with him to officiate in preaching once every fortnight in English, which he hath since performed very articulate and intelligible, to the entire satisfaction of the said English petitioners, and always behaves himself with sobriety, honesty and justice, encouraging

[1] Colonists sometimes left for other provinces, where they could get the services of a preacher. This fact undoubtedly weighed heavily with the council. Cf. Bernheim, p. 193.

virtue and reproving vice. And the said Mr. John Giessendanner, lately observing great irregularities and disorders being committed almost every Sabbath Day by some wicked persons in one part of the township, publicly reprimanded them for the same, which reproof so exasperated them, that they threatened to kick the said John Giessendanner out of the church if he offered to preach there any more and have lately sent for one Bartholomew Zauberbühler, a man who not long ago pretended to preach at Savannah town; but, as your said petitioners are informed was soon obliged to leave that place and a very indecent character behind him, etc., etc.

This was addressed to the governor, who was asked to interpose with authority, and signed by John Harn and above fourscore more subscribers, i. e., in all ninety names, some few being English names.

Certificates of good character for Zauberbühler were obtained from various places, among them from the Ebenezer pastors, whose judgment, beyond question, was fair in the matter. The bitterness of the quarrel had no doubt caused mutual criminations. The governor settled the trouble in a judicial manner, retaining Giessendanner at Orangeburg absolutely, and in an interview with Zauberbühler threatening to cut him down to one-half the five hundred pounds voted for his trip abroad, unless he would bring the foreign Protestants over with him. It seems Zauberbühler returned to Carolina after his trip to London, bringing colonists with him, but little is known definitely concerning him.[1]

Reverend J. G. Friedrichs, who was the first preacher of the Lutheran church in Charleston, subsequently became the pastor in the Orangeburg district. During his ministry there settled in Orangeburg a colony of Germans from Maine, accompanied by their pastor, the Reverend Mr.

[1] See *ante*, p. 218, note 5 ; also p. 225.

Silly. According to one account sixty-three families were there in 1763, but according to another most of these colonists returned to Maine.[1]

Giessendanner's congregation must have been large, since the petition written in his behalf was signed by ninety persons, heads of families. Their church was built in 1743, only a few years after the settlement began. Giessendanner[2] labored there for ten years, after which he went to London, in 1749, to receive Episcopal ordination, his church becoming Episcopalian in the same year (with one hundred and seven communicants ordinarily and on Whitsunday, twenty-one more).

The next German settlement in South Carolina began very soon after the founding of the Orangeburg colony, in the so-called Saxe-Gotha district, a name that originated in Queen Anne's time (before 1714). The benevolent queen had probably intended the Saxe-Gotha district as a place of refuge for German and other Protestant exiles in the South, as Schoharie had been in the North, but no colony was established there in her time, Saxe-Gotha being then still too far west for settlement.

The Journals of Council[3] of South Carolina fixed the

[1] See Chapter IX, p. 260.

[2] Giessendanner died in 1761 and was probably buried in the "Old Graveyard" near the Edisto River.

[3] Vol. viii, p. 69, May 26, 1742. A petition of J. J. Gallier and family, J. C. Gieger (Geiger) and family, J. Shalling and family, Abram Gieger and family, J. Liver and family, J. Gredig and family, Caspar Fry and family, Conrad and Caspar Küntzler (Kinsler), J. J. Bieman and family, H. Gieger and family, Elizabeth Shalling and family, shows that they had settled since 1737 in Saxe-Gotha township. Again under date of 1744, J. J. Gieger, arrived seven years ago, prays for one hundred acres of land over against the Santee River, opposite Saxe-Gotha, where he has already begun to clear ground and almost finished a house. The petition was granted. Cf. Bernheim, pp. 126–127; cf. also: A. S. Salley, *The History of Orangeburg County, South Carolina* (1898), pp. 70–71.

date of settlement of Saxe-Gotha by the Germans as 1737. This district was located farther west, and therefore colonized some time later than Orangeburg. It embraced the whole of the present Lexington County, a name which it received in 1872. It was one hundred English miles distant from Charleston, on the road which passed through Orangeburg, and was "settled by German people." [1] They were not from Saxe-Gotha but from the Rhine country, Baden, Würtemberg, and Switzerland. Their first minister was the Reverend Christian Theus, of the German Reformed Church. Interesting is the frank statement he made to the government of South Carolina, that if the latter desired to keep the colonists, they must be provided with churches and schools; otherwise the colonists would do what many had done before, migrate to Pennsylvania, where all those advantages existed.[2] The government gave five hundred pounds to assist in the erection of a church, which was built under the ministry of Theus, at a location a short distance below the confluence of the Saluda and Broad rivers (forming the Congaree River). It was St. John's Church,[3] a few miles from the present capital, Columbia, of the state of South Carolina. The church was probably destroyed during the Revolutionary War, since it was not mentioned in the incorporation act of the united German churches, passed by the legislature of South Carolina in 1788. About eight miles from Columbia, near Sandy Run, there is a tombstone bearing the inscription: "This stone points out where the remains of the Reverend Christian Theus lie. This faithful divine labored through a long life as a faithful servant in his Master's

[1] *Urlsperger Nachrichten*, vol. iii, p. 1791.

[2] This seems to support the tradition existing in Virginia, that there was an emigration northward from the Carolinas.

[3] Found on the map, *Carroll's Collections*, 1771–75.

vineyard and the reward which he received from many for his labor was ingratitude." The stone was erected by Abraham Geiger (Gieger), parishioner, at his own expense. We probably ought not to take the inscription too seriously, except for the statement regarding his long life and excellent service. Theus never labored for rewards. As an octogenarian he probably had to endure the consequences of old age, indifference and neglect, and the frequent separation of union congregations[1] into Lutheran and Reformed probably disturbed him greatly.

During the years 1744–50 Saxe-Gotha received a large influx of German settlers. *The St. Andrew*, Captain Brown, commander, was a good ship, on board of which passengers for the Carolinas were treated well,— when they paid their passage. Captain Ham was another of the sea-captains who brought over many new recruits for Orangeburg, some also for Saxe-Gotha.

From 1759–60 the people of Saxe-Gotha suffered greatly from the Cherokee War, instigated by the French. The German settlements were as far out as any. The Congaree and Fork settlements were greatly exposed to attacks, and, we are told by Bolzius, many settlers took refuge at Ebenezer, Savannah, Charleston, and Purysburg, until the Indian hostilities were over. The damage done, however, was merely temporary.

[1] The *Urlsperger Reports*, vol. iv, p. 672 (1750): "The Reformed church (a congregation of about two hundred and eighty souls) have received five hundred pounds, Carolina currency, from the government for this church, but no one is interested in the Lutheran, unless I would do something in their behalf. They live with the Reformed in great disunion, at which I showed my displeasure in my former letter. Several people have left us for other settlements, who might have obtained land here. They even built both a saw-mill and a grist-mill, and expected to build more of the kind. Here then should they be enabled to erect a house of worship if they were sincerely in earnest."

A number of other German settlements in South Carolina, mostly later than Orangeburg and Saxe-Gotha, were the following: First, the German Lutheran colony at Hard Labor Creek, 1763–64, in the present county of Abbeville, quite a little to the westward, bordering on Georgia. This colony had its own peculiar history. A German officer, named Stümpel, having applied to the British ministry for a tract of land in America, and having received some encouragement, returned to Germany and brought between five and six hundred people over to England. When they were there, Stümpel was unable to fulfill his promises. A German clergyman published the facts in a newspaper, and a bounty of three hundred pounds was given by the government. Tents were ordered from the Tower and money was sent for the relief of the immigrants. They were sent to South Carolina, an additional inducement being the bounty allowed to foreign Protestants by the Provincial Assembly, in consequence of which, when their source of relief from England would be exhausted, another would become available upon their arrival in America. Two ships were equipped, and one hundred and fifty stands of arms were ordered from the Tower for their defense, to be used after their arrival in South Carolina, which occurred in April, 1764. The government of South Carolina (under Governor Boone) voted five hundred pounds sterling to be distributed among the "Palatines." Captain Calhoun with a detachment of Rangers conducted them to their location, Londonderry Township, in Abbeville County, where the captain owned an estate. As usual these settlers brought their own (Lutheran) pastor with them, and built St. George's Church in 1788. What frequently happened on the frontier among Presbyterian, Reformed, and Lutheran congregations, occurred here,

viz.: they transferred[1] their allegiance to the Methodist, or to the Baptist Church, emotional preaching appealing more strongly to the frontiersmen.

A second county with German settlers was Barnwell. This settlement was doubtless formed, by the breaking-up of the Dutch colony on James Island (below Charleston), by gradual absorption of the German and Swiss colony at Purysburg, and by the influx of other German settlers from Orangeburg County on the northeast.

Third: settlements were made along the boundary-line of Richland and Fairfield counties on Cedar and Dutchman's creeks, probably from Saxe-Gotha and Orangeburg counties. On Cedar Creek there was once a German church, incorporated in 1738, the "German Protestant Church of Apii-Forum," later absorbed by the Methodist congregation.

Fourth: the Newberry County Germans, who were mostly descendants from the original Germans in Saxe-Gotha Township, with occasional additions from North Carolina and Virginia.

Fifth: the New Windsor colony, located in the southern part of Edgefield County along the Savannah River, opposite the city of Augusta, Georgia. A number of Germans located here, who were brought over under the leadership and perhaps at the solicitation of the Reverend Bartholomew Zauberbühler, once of Orangeburg County.[2] John Jacob Riemensperger brought over a later group, under commission of the provincial government of South Carolina, and also took some colonists to Saxe-Gotha. The

[1] The Lutheran missionary, R. J. Miller, visited the settlement at Hard Labor Creek in 1811, and preaching at what was once the German Meeting House, said: "Here the Methodists and Baptists have pulled each other out of the pulpit."

[2] See above, pp. 219–221. Cf. Bernheim, p. 169.

people of German descent now located in the central part of Edgefield County, came originally from New Windsor and from Saxe-Gotha Township.

A sixth settlement, Old Indian Swamp, was probably located in Barnwell County, where there are Lutheran churches at present. Philip Eisenmann said to Mühlenberg in 1774 that he was a resident of Old Indian Swamp, fifty miles from Charleston, where "he and his neighbors had accepted as a preacher a young man lately arrived from Germany and who might answer for a schoolmaster."[1] The church called the German Protestant Church of St. George on Indian Field Swamp was incorporated in 1788.

The extent and progress of the German settlements in South Carolina are well illustrated by the act of incorporation of the fifteen German churches of the interior of South Carolina in 1788. They formed a union, and the constitution of their "Corpus Evangelicum" was signed by nineteen ministers and candidates for the ministry.[2]

[1] Cf. Bernheim, pp. 169–170.

[2] The Reverend Frederick Daser was chosen senior of the ministry, the Reverend Wallberg, secretary. The seven German ministers were: F. Daser (Lutheran), Christian Theus (Reformed), J. G. Bamberg (Lutheran), F. A. Wallberg (Lutheran), C. F. Froelich (Reformed), F. J. Wallern (Lutheran), M. C. Binnicher (Lutheran).

The names of the churches were as follows:—

(1) Frederician Church of Cattel's Creek.
(2) The German Calvinistic Church of St. John, on the Fourhole.
(3) The German Lutheran Church of St. Matthew, in Amelia Township.
(4) The German Lutheran Church of Salem, on Sandy Run.
(5) The German Lutheran Church of Mt. Zion, on Twelve-Mile Creek.
(6) The German Lutheran Church of Bethel, on High-Hill Creek.
(7) The German Lutheran Church of St. Peter, on Eighteen-Mile Creek.
(8) The German Lutheran Church of St. Martin.
(9) The German Lutheran Church of Bethlehem, on Forest's (Fust's) Ford.
(10) The German Protestant Church of Bethany, on Green Creek.
(11) The German Protestant Church of Apii-Forum, on Cedar Creek.

These fifteen churches probably comprised the entire German element in the interior of South Carolina in 1788, i. e., five years after the close of the Revolutionary War. Since no large additions came during the war, we may suppose that the German population of South Carolina in 1775 was not much less than here represented.

It is curious to note that the German church of Charleston did not belong to this union, though it was by this time large and influential. The German population in Charleston had increased greatly and had immortalized itself by several coöperative foundations. The first, the "German Benevolent Society," Mühlenberg praises as the "flower and crown of the German nation in this place." It was founded in 1766, and in a little more than eight years had upwards of eighty members. The association had a funded capital, at first of four hundred pounds sterling, the interest of which was applied for the relief of every needy member (or of his widow or orphans), who had been connected with the society for seven years, and had paid his contributions. The other foundation was the German Fusileer Company, which served in the Revolutionary War.[1] The fact of Charleston's being excluded from the church organization of the interior of South Carolina furnishes an illustration of an interesting histor-

(12) The German Protestant Church, dedicated to Queen Charlotte, on Slippery Creek.

(13) The German Lutheran Church of St. George, on Hard Labor Creek.

(14) The German Lutheran Church of St. Jacob, on Wateree Creek.

(15) The German Protestant Church of St. George, on Indian Field Swamp.

Of these fifteen churches nine were Lutheran, and seven of the nine Lutheran churches are in existence at the present day. All of the Reformed churches ceased to exist, partly due to the fact that they were not cared for by ministers, the congregations then joining other churches; frequently also the record was lost. Bernheim, pp. 300 ff.

[1] See Chapter XI, p. 340.

ical fact, that the frontier chose to settle its own affairs, independent of and sometimes in opposition to the seacoast. Moreover the people at the sea knew very little about what was going on at the frontier. In the journal of the Reverend Arnold Roschen we find the statement: "We heard such dreadful reports of the people where my congregations are situated" (Rowan County, North Carolina), "which, however, God be praised, arose from the fact, that in Charleston the citizens are as badly informed as in Germany concerning this country."[1] The overland journey of the pastor to his flock lasted fourteen days.

There were also a large number of German colonists in the interior of North Carolina. They did not, however, as in South Carolina, come from the seacoast, that is, directly from Europe, but they had treked from Pennsylvania. They arranged themselves on vacant lands to the eastward and westward of the Yadkin River, while the Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania, who had lived on friendly terms with the Germans in that province, soon followed them southward and occupied vacant lands mostly to the westward or southward of the German settlers, along the Catawba River. The Germans on the Yadkin, in course of time, went westward and settled also on the Catawba, becoming quite as numerous as the Irish, and with them going westward again from there.

The Germans usually left their home, i. e., Pennsylvania, in autumn, after all the harvesting was over and the proceeds of the year's labor were in hand. They arrived at the new settlements just before the commencement of the winter season, bringing with them the means of passing through the winter without great hardship. The first of the pioneer trains came about 1745; the large migrations did not be-

[1] Bernheim, pp. 319–320.

gin until 1750. Their history is partly to be gleaned from tradition, partly from family records contained in old German Bibles; it is safely established in the records of land-purchases, which, however, always appear some years after actual settlement. The settlers were industrious, economical, and thrifty farmers, who generally avoided settling in towns. They were well informed in their own branch of industry, shrewd to recognize their own advantage; they despised the business of the merchant, barter and trade, as beneath them, though many of their descendants at later periods became very successful in mercantile pursuits. Like all Pennsylvania Germans they were religious, well read in the Bible and devotional books. Their German school-teachers, in the absence of ministers, read prayers to them and sermons on Sundays, buried the dead and baptized children. For a decade or more no regular pastors, occasionally only a missionary, appeared to preach among them and, if he would, baptize the children.

Since there came no increase from the seacoast, but from Pennsylvania alone, it took a score of years, or until the seventies, before the congregations became numerous enough to build churches. Then they seriously felt the need of ministers, but Mühlenberg in Pennsylvania had none to spare. Characteristic[1] it is, that the German settlers of the interior of North Carolina then decided to act for themselves. In 1772 Christopher Rintelmann from Organ Church in Rowan County, and Christopher Layrle from St. John's Church, Mecklenburg County (now Cabarrus), were sent as a delegation to Europe for the purpose of applying to the Consistory Council of Hanover for ministers and school-teachers to supply the various Lutheran congregations then organized in North Carolina.

[1] Showing again the independence of the frontier.

They applied at Hanover and not at Halle, because the American colonies were under the jurisdiction of the king of England, who was also the elector of Hanover. They succeeded in getting at least one minister, the Reverend Adolph Nussmann, and as their school-teacher, Gottfried Arndt. Both[1] arrived safely in North Carolina in 1773, and more would probably have come had not the Revolutionary War cut off all intercourse with Europe. Nussmann was the right man for the place. He served Organ Church (Salisbury, Rowan County), and St. John's in the present Cabarrus County, and made mission tours into Davidson, Guilford, Orange, Stokes, and Forsyth counties, "strengthening what remained." These tours tell us also where the German settlers were located. Schoolmaster Arndt was subsequently ordained and became an efficient helper. After the Revolution the Lutheran Church organization was strengthened and the number of settlers greatly increased.

The cause for the migration to North Carolina was mainly the difficulty of getting land in Pennsylvania. It could be bought from the Indians in small parcels only on the frontier, and these were quickly taken, while in the easterly sections no land could be got at all cheaply. Before the Revolution the settlers did not cross the Alleghany Mountains, but when seeking new land, they followed the mountain ranges to the south and west, keeping on their eastern slope.[2] Speaking of the interior of North Carolina, Bernheim says: "Had a traveller from Pennsylvania visited, about forty or fifty years ago (1820–1830), portions of the present counties of Alamance, Guilford,

[1] The names are spelled Nüszmann, and Arnd, in *Hallesche Nachrichten* (reprint), vol. i, p. 32.

[2] Cf. also Williamson's *History of North Carolina*, vol. ii, p. 71.

Davidson, Rowan, Cabarrus, Stanly, Iredell, Catawba, Lincoln, and some others in the State of North Carolina, he might have believed himself to have unexpectedly come upon some part of the old Keystone State." Pennsylvania German was still spoken about 1820–30.[1]

An interesting chapter in the history of the German settlements in North Carolina is that of the Moravian foundations in Forsyth and Stokes counties. In 1751 the Moravians purchased one hundred thousand acres of land in North Carolina from Lord Granville, president of the Privy Council of the government of Great Britain. Bishop Spangenberg was commissioned to locate and survey the land, and accordingly he journeyed with some friends, during the month of August, from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to Edenton, North Carolina. He first visited the head-waters of the Catawba, New, and Yadkin rivers, but after many hardships, decided to locate farther eastward, in Forsyth County, to the east of the Yadkin River. The deed was made out for 98,985 acres, signed and sealed August 7, 1753, and the land received the name "The Wachovia Tract," in honor of one of the titles of Count Zinzendorf, who was lord of the Wachau Valley in Austria. In the autumn of 1753, twelve single brethren with a wagon and six horses, some cattle and necessary household utensils for husbandry, made the long journey from Bethlehem through the Shenandoah Valley to North Carolina.[2] Seven new colonists arrived in 1754. They

[1] Many of the family names found in Montgomery, Berks, Lehigh, and Northampton counties, Pennsylvania, are also found in the North Carolina counties, e. g., Klein (Cline), Trexler, Schlough, Seitz (Sides), Reinhardt, Bibers (Beaver), Kohlman (Coleman), Derr (Dry), Berger (Barrier), Behringer (Barringer), etc. Schwartzwälder (Blackwelder), a family of seven sons, had four of them (two killed) in the battle of Camden, South Carolina. Bernheim, p. 247, etc.

[2] Their journey is described in a diary kept in the Archives of the Mora-

founded the town of Bethabara (the house of passage) which was to be a temporary abode until the central settlement should have been built. Bishop David Nitschman visited them in 1755 and consecrated the first meeting-house. In 1758 the Cherokee and Catawba Indians, who went to war against the Indians on the Ohio, marched through Bethabara in large companies, often several hundred. The Cherokee Indians seem to have been pleased with the treatment received, for they described Bethabara to their nation as "the Dutch Fort, where there are good people and much bread."

In 1759 the town of Bethany was laid out, three miles to the north of Bethabara, which in 1765 contained eighty-eight inhabitants, while Bethany had ten less. In 1766 the beginning was made in the building of Salem, the principal settlement of the "Unitas Fratrum" in North Carolina, five miles southward from Bethabara. Ten new colonists came over direct from Germany by way of London and Charleston, a sign of growing prominence. As at Herrnhut, Niesky, and Bethlehem, separate buildings were erected for men and women. Intermarriage was not permitted until some years after. Two other settlements followed in the Wachovia tract, one, Friesburg, in 1769–70, receiving a considerable number of settlers from Germany and Maine. The other, the Hope settlement, was founded in 1772 by colonists from Frederick, Maryland. During the Revolutionary War the Moravians

vian Congregation at Salem, North Carolina, translated in the *Virginia Magazine*, vol. xii, pp. 134 ff. The original is printed in *German American Annals*, vol. iii (*Americana Germanica*, vol. vii), pp. 342 ff. and 369 ff. The following is the list of Moravian brethren who located in Wachovia and founded the village of Bethabara: Grube, Meekly, Feldhausen, Lung, Pfeil, Beroth, all of Germany; Kalberlahn and Ingebretsen of Norway; Peterson of Denmark; Loesch of New York; Loesch of Pennsylvania, and Lischer of unknown origin. The last three have German names.

of Wachovia were exempted from military duty by the payment of a triple tax. In 1804 the Salem Female Academy was founded, which has educated the daughters of prominent families of North and South Carolina, Virginia, and other Southern States. The Moravian settlement at Salem-Winston is still the centre of the Moravian denomination in the South. Their quaint customs and beautiful music, particularly at Easter, attract a large number of admirers from all the surrounding country.

The Carolinas, as shown in the preceding pages, received a good share of early German settlers in the eighteenth century. Newbern in North Carolina was the earliest German colony, 1710, but Charleston, South Carolina, became the distributing centre of the German immigrants in the South. Germans became most numerous in the so-called Saxe-Gotha district, the present Orangeburg and Lexington counties of South Carolina, and thence spread to neighboring counties and to the westward. The interior of North Carolina likewise received an ever increasing number of German settlers, who came from Pennsylvania, beginning about 1750. The Moravians established a colony at Salem-Winston, which has flourished ever since its foundation.

CHAPTER IX

GERMAN SETTLEMENTS BEFORE THE REVOLUTION IN GEORGIA AND IN NEW ENGLAND

The Salzburgers in Georgia, 1734 — Founding of Ebenezer — The "great embarkation," 1736 — Storm at sea — John Wesley — The Moravians leave for Pennsylvania — The location for Ebenezer changed — Governor Oglethorpe's kindness — The Reverend J. M. Bolzius and the Reverend I. C. Gronau actual governors of the colony — The question of negro slavery — Industries: milling and silk manufacture — The building of churches — A church-quarrel arbitrated by the Reverend H. M. Mühlenberg — Prosperity of the colony.

Waldo's interest in German colonization in New England — The founding of Waldoburg (1741) in the Broad Bay district of Maine — Sufferings of the first colonists — The war with France, 1744 — The Indian massacre (1746) — Rebuilding of Waldoburg and accessions to colonists — Massachusetts attempts to encourage German immigration — Crellius and Luther as agents — Colonies in Massachusetts at Adamsdorf, Bernardsdorf, Leydensdorf — Nova Scotia — Colonies in Maine: Frankfort, Dresden, Bremen, etc. — Disputed land claims and migration to South Carolina — Germantown near Boston — Strength of the German element.

GEORGIA, the farthest south of the American colonies, became the home of the Salzburgers, immediately after the earliest settlement at Savannah. They were German Protestants[1] exiled in 1731 by a decree of Archbishop

[1] Among the Salzburgers there were descendants of the Waldensians, named after their founder Waldo, a citizen of Lyons in southern France. The sect was formed about 1170, and its chief seats were in the Alpine valleys of Piedmont, Dauphine, and Provence. They have often been included under the name Albigenses (from Albi, a district in Languedoc). These first Protestant sects in Europe, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, represented a purer form of Christianity than the dogmatic mother church. Wars of extermination were waged in their homes, and popes preached crusades against them (Pope Innocent III, in 1208). The Waldensians welcomed the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and as a result again suffered terrible persecutions. A portion of them were supposed to have settled in the Alpine district of Salzburg in the secluded glens and valleys of the Deferegger Mountains (now in the extreme eastern part of the Tyrol).

Leopold, Count of Firmian, who with fanatical zeal drove out from his domains all who were not Catholics. More than thirty thousand Protestants were forced to leave the Austrian archbishopric of Salzburg, but after many hardships they were welcomed in Protestant countries, notably in Prussia, where seventeen thousand of them found homes.

About the same time, in 1732, King George II of England empowered twenty-one gentlemen to colonize the southern part of the Carolinas, to be known as the colony of Georgia. They were to select only worthy immigrants, and under such a category were named Scotch Highlanders and German Salzburgers. In the same year General James Edward Oglethorpe sailed with the first transport of English colonists and on January 20, 1733, arrived at the Savannah River, where he founded the city of that name. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge[1] in London coöperated with the Georgia land company for the benefit of the Salzburg exiles. Liberal contributions were made by the land company, and the religious society undertook to pay the expenses of the immigrants to Rotterdam and support a minister for them. A first group of Salzburg immigrants destined for America was formed at Berchtesgaden,[2] and under the leadership of Baron von Reck they reached Rotterdam, November 27, 1733. There the ministers Bolzius and Gronau awaited them. The former had been the superintendent of the

[1] "Societas promovenda cognitione Christi." Influential friends of the Salzburgers were the Reverend Dr. F. M. Ziegenhagen, Lutheran chaplain of the court of St. James London; the Reverend Dr. G. A. Francke, son of the founder of the orphan asylum in Halle (Prussian Province of Saxony); and the Reverend Dr. Samuel Urlsperger, pastor of St. Anna Lutheran Church in Augsburg (Bavaria).

[2] Then included in the archbishopric of Salzburg.

Lutheran orphan asylum in Halle, and the latter a teacher in the same institution. The immigrants celebrated their Christmas in England, and set sail a few days after under the guidance of their two ministers and Baron von Reck. They arrived at Charlestown (Charleston, South Carolina), in March, 1734, and soon after at Savannah, where the entire population, among them a number of Germans, awaited them at the landing, while cannons booming bade them welcome. General Oglethorpe allowed the Salzburgers to select the site for their colony. Von Reck and several others, after a tour of inspection, chose land on the right bank of the river, about twenty-five miles from the settlement of Savannah. It was at the mouth of a small river flowing into the Savannah, about forty miles distant from the sea. The devout colonists, "after singing a psalm[1] set up a rock which they found upon the spot, and in the spirit of the pious Samuel named the place Ebenezer (the stone of help), for 'hitherto hath the Lord helped us.'"[2] The usual difficulties of early colonists were increased by the absence of carpenters and mechanics, until this deficiency was removed by the second shipload of immigrants, bringing fifty-seven additional Salzburgers. The Georgia company was liberal in every respect, furnishing boards for houses and other colonists' supplies. Von Reck returned to Germany with the purpose of bringing a still larger number of immigrants. This resulted in what has been called the "great embarkation," bringing eighty Salzburgers, twenty-seven Moravians[3]

[1] P. A. Strobel, *The Salzburgers and their Descendants*, p. 63. (Baltimore, 1855.) Strobel's work is authoritative on the subject.

[2] 1 Samuel, vii, 12.

[3] The Moravians made no permanent settlement in Georgia. Those that came with the Salzburgers (who were Lutherans), remained but a short time until the troubles with Spain forced the colonists to armed resistance.

(under the leadership of Nitschmann), and a number of English and Scotch Protestants.

They arrived at Savannah in the beginning of February, 1736, after a voyage that has become memorable for an occurrence of great importance. On board the ship were John Wesley, founder of Methodism, and his brother Charles. The former, on the invitation of General Oglethorpe, was on his way to Georgia with the twofold purpose of preaching the Gospel to the Indians, and improving the religious condition of the colony. The German passengers on board had attracted John Wesley's attention by evidences of their strong faith and humble piety. On the Sabbath day, about noon, while the Salzburgers and other Germans were assembled in religious worship, a storm suddenly arose, greater in violence than any other that they had experienced even on that tempestuous voyage. Amid the commotion of the elements every heart trembled with fear, and even Mr. Wesley was confessedly alarmed. But it was very different with the Salzburgers and Moravians. While the raging waters threatened to carry the worshipers to an instant doom, they calmly sang praises of their Creator, exhibiting perfect self-control, and utter absence of fear for themselves. When the storm had spent its fury, Mr. Wesley inquired of one of the Germans, "Were you not afraid?" He replied, "I thank God, no." "But were not your women and children afraid?" He replied mildly, "No, our women and children are not afraid to die."[1] The impression made upon Mr. Wesley by the conduct of these people, so great in

Bearing arms being contrary to their religion, they withdrew from Georgia and founded Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1741. Bancroft, in his history of the United States, erroneously calls the Salzburgers Moravians.

[1] Quoted from the *Journal of the Reverend John Wesley*, under date of Sunday, January 25, 1736.

faith, was strengthened upon his arrival at Savannah. There he was introduced to the Reverend Mr. Spangenberg, later bishop of the Moravian Church, and to the Moravian pastor, Boehler, from whom, John Wesley subsequently declared, he had derived more light than from any other man with whom he had ever conversed. "I was ignorant of the nature of saving faith, apprehended it to mean no more than a firm assent to all the propositions contained in the Old and New Testaments," remarked John Wesley. Two years after his first visit to Georgia, having returned to England, he wrote the following note in his journal: "It is now two years and nearly four months, since I went to America to teach the Georgia Indians the nature of Christianity; but what have I learned of myself in the meanwhile? Why (what of all I least expected) that I, who went to America to convert[1] others, was never myself converted to God." The voyage to America, with the impressions received from the pious Salzburgers and from interviews with the Moravian pastors, became to John Wesley one of the important epochs of his life, and this fact is worthy of record, as one of the influences of colonial America upon ancient Europe.

Governor Oglethorpe wished to plant a new colony farther to the south, for the defense of the older settlements against Spanish America. A fort was therefore projected on St. Simon Island, and some newly arriving Salzburgers were asked to become its defenders. Most of

[1] John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist churches, was converted ("felt my heart strangely warmed") at a meeting which he attended among the Moravians in Aldersgate Street, London, during the reading of Luther's preface to Paul's Epistles to the Romans, in which the great reformer has given such a clear exegesis of the doctrine of justification by faith. Cf. Strobel, pp. 79, 81, 82. Also C. T. Winchester, *John Wesley*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906.)

them, however, believing that their religion forbade the use of arms, preferred to locate at Ebenezer, and Oglethorpe did not force his will upon them. Nevertheless a goodly number of others among the arriving German immigrants agreed to go to the projected fort under their captain, Hermsdorf. Their settlement was called Frederica, a German church was founded there, and the colony was prosperous in 1743, when a traveler spoke of it as "a quiet village of the Salzburgers, rurally charming, the improvements everywhere evincing the greatest skill and industry, considering its late settlement." The village declined, however, after 1749, and in 1751 it presented "the melancholy prospect of homes without inhabitants, barracks without soldiers."[1]

Two years after the foundation of Ebenezer the Salzburgers found that its site was very badly chosen. Strobel says, "it was a region which is composed of hills and plains that are sterile, and upon which no one, having a correct knowledge of the character of the soil, would ever think of settling a farm."[2] The location was about four miles below Springfield, the present seat of justice for Effingham County. To add to their disappointment came diseases incident to exposure and excessive fatigue in a warm climate. The mortality which existed at Ebenezer was heart-rending.[3]

At this time there seem to have been about two hundred Salzburgers settled at Ebenezer. These expressed their dissatisfaction with the location of the colony before Governor Oglethorpe, who counseled them to remain, since

[1] Strobel, p. 119. The name St. Simon Island is still used for the coast section of Glynn County, Georgia. Brunswick is the largest city near by.

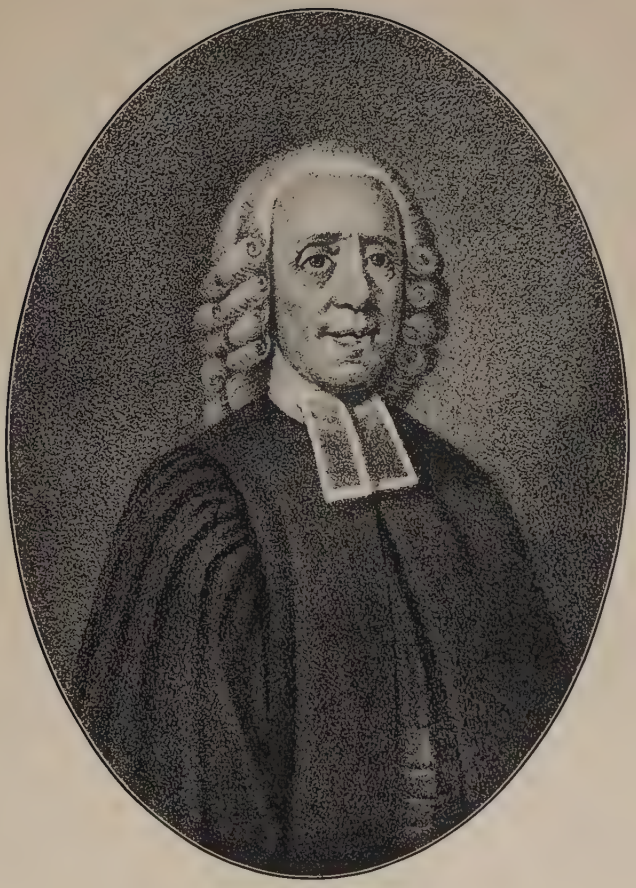
[2] Strobel, p. 67.

[3] Characteristic in the reports of the Reverend Mr. Bolzius were the records, that disease and death were endured with Christian resignation, and earthly pilgrimages were closed with joy and triumph.

their troubles were such as befell all new colonists when the ground had just been cleared of forests, and since the good work already done, in case of removal, would all be lost. The governor allowed them to act according to their choice, however, and the result was that they changed their abode to another, about eight miles distant, lower on the Savannah River. The site of New Ebenezer was located on a high ridge within a short distance of the river, and because of the peculiar color of the soil, called Red Bluff.[1] The Savannah River was on the east, Little (Lockner's) Creek and a lake (Neidlinger's Sea) on the south, and on the north the meandering course of Ebenezer Creek. The surrounding country was covered with a fine growth of forest trees, but unfortunately for the permanent prosperity of the town, there were low swamps on three sides of it, that at times became generators of disease.

The town was not laid out like Germantown in Pennsylvania on two sides of one long street, but in the checkerboard style, with streets at right angles, three from east to west crossed by four from north to south. City lots were portioned out and market-places measured off.[2] Spaces for a church, parsonage, school-house, public storehouse, and orphan asylum were laid out. Pastures were on the outskirts of the town, and beyond Little Creek were the farms, each of fifty acres. The country to the north beyond Ebenezer Creek was occupied by the Uchee Indians, with whom the settlers seem always to have lived in peace. New Ebenezer was on the opposite side of the river from Purysburg, an earlier settlement,[3] whence some Germans came over to join the Salzburgers. Some

[1] In the present Effingham County.
[2] Strobel, pp. 91 ff.
[3] See Chapter VIII, pp. 216 ff.



JOHN MARTIN BOLZIUS

of the newcomers were growers of silk. At a time when silk manufacture in all other colonies had been abandoned (i. e., 1750) the Salzburgers still persevered, and every year they became more skilled in this industry.[1] In 1751 they sent over to England a thousand pounds of cocoons and seventy-four pounds two ounces of raw silk, yielding them the sum of one hundred and ten pounds sterling.

A traveler[2] described the settlement in the following way: "The people live in the greatest harmony with their ministers and with one another, as one family. They have no drunken, idle, or profligate people among them, but are industrious, and many have grown wealthy. Their industry has been blessed with remarkable and uncommon success, to the envy of their neighbors, having great plenty of all the necessary conveniences for life (except clothing) within themselves; and supply this town (Savannah) with bread-kind, as also beef, veal, pork, poultry, etc." Up to the year 1741 over twelve hundred[3] German Protestants had arrived in Georgia, most of them becoming landowners at once, receiving support from friends for the journey and for a start in the New World, in fewer cases coming as redemptioners.

The colony was governed by its pastors, the Reverend John Martin Bolzius, and the Reverend Israel Christian Gronau, who in turn were under the superintendency and advisorship of the English trustees for the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany. The church council of

[1] Cf. Strobel, pp. 129–130. The Salzburgers began to plant mulberry trees in 1736. See below.

[2] In a letter by Thomas Jones, dated Savannah, 1740. See Strobel, pp. 111–112.

[3] According to a statement made by Mr. Benjamin Martyn, Secretary of the Trustees. Cf. Strobel, p. 115.

Ebenezer subscribed to a code of regulations[1] drawn up by the European Lutheran ministers, Urlsperger, Ziegenhagen, and Francke. One of the regulations required the support of school-teachers as well as ministers, another the care of those in need, such as widows and orphans. For the latter an orphan asylum[2] was built after the model of the Halle institution, and strangely enough was completed earlier than the church. It served as a church for the many years before a house of worship could be erected. The two pastors formed a tribunal governing matters spiritual as well as temporal, and were most unselfish and just in their rulings. Their judgments seem always to have been satisfactory, and no appeals were ever taken from their decisions.

The Salzburgers of Ebenezer, like the German Quakers of Germantown, proved their high moral standard by their opposition to slavery. The trustees of the colony as well as the ministers were opposed to the introduction of negro slaves, and their determined stand through many years threatened to cause difficulties with the larger landowners of the province, who, as elsewhere in the South, were interested in the extension of the slave-trade. The two reasons assigned by the citizens of Ebenezer against African slavery were firstly, that the colony was an asylum for the oppressed, and secondly, that negro slaves starved the poor laborer. Another argument used against the purchase of negroes was the danger of a servile war, aggravated by the proximity of the Spaniards.[3] Pastor Bolzius was one

[1] Strobel, pp. 167–180.

[2] About 1738 there were seventeen children and a widow in the orphan-house. George Whitefield on his visit was very much pleased by the "little lambs that came and shook me by the hand one by one." Strobel, pp. 110–111.

[3] These arguments were stated by Baron von Reck. Cf. Strobel, p. 103.

of the very last to yield his opposition, and reproved Mr. George Whitefield for his complacent policy, expressed in Alexander Pope's maxim: "Whatever is, is right." To relieve themselves of their embarrassment, the Salzburgers referred the slavery question to the Reverend Mr. Urlsperger of the parent church in Augsburg. The latter very diplomatically advised the Salzburgers to yield: "If you take slaves in faith, and with the intent of conducting them to Christ, the action will not be sin, but it may prove a 'benediction.'" The Reverend Mr. Bolzius thereupon, on behalf of himself and the Salzburgers, withdrew his opposition to the repeal of the law prohibiting negro slavery.[1]

Pastor Gronau died in 1745, mourned by the whole colony, but by no one more sincerely than by his colleague, the Reverend Mr. Bolzius. The latter's ministerial labors were thereby increased, causing his numerous other burdens to be felt all the more heavily. These duties were administrative, including the trusteeship of the funds that had been collected in Europe for the benefit of the congregation at Ebenezer. He invested the sums received in lands and mills, which he superintended himself for the benefit of the colony. The necessary building stones and other equipments were imported from Germany or received from General Oglethorpe. There were erected two grist-mills, a saw-mill, and a rice stamping-mill, all the property of the church, the income from which was devoted to the payment of ministers and charities. Bolzius was also interested in the manufacture of silk. In 1733 Mr. Nicolas Amatis of Piedmont was induced to remove to Georgia to instruct the colonists in the rearing of silkworms and the manufacture of silk.[2] Mulberry trees were planted in 1736

[1] Strobel, p. 105.

[2] Stevens's *History of Georgia*, quoted by Strobel, p. 129.

under the direction of the pastor, and his people became very successful in the culture of the silkworm. In 1742 five hundred trees were sent to Ebenezer and a machine was erected for the preparation of silk. To encourage the Germans to persevere in their efforts, the trustees (for the settlement of Georgia) gave a reeling-machine to each woman who would master the art of spinning, and in addition two pounds in money.[1] The Salzburgers, as above mentioned, persevered longer in the production of silk than any other colony.

The successor to Pastor Gronau was the Reverend Hermann H. Lembke, sent over from Germany at the request of Pastor Bolzius for assistance. The choice was a judicious one, and the church interests prospered. Four churches besides the one at Savannah were now included in the "Parish of St. Matthew," viz.: Jerusalem, Zion, Bethany, and Goshen. It was a large territory for two pastors to serve, extending over more than thirty miles, in part through a difficult country. The German settlements covered even a wider area, their farms being located on both sides of the road leading from Savannah to Augusta, a distance of about one hundred miles, and were spread out on the banks of the Savannah River, and on Lockner, Ebenezer, and Mill creeks. The patron of the Georgia churches in Germany, the Reverend Mr. Urlsperger, sent over an additional minister in 1752, making an excellent choice in the Reverend Christian Rabenhorst. With him came a colony of immigrants from Würtemberg, whom Bolzius was more inclined to welcome than a third minister. He very soon con-

[1] "Many mulberry trees are still standing at Ebenezer, which no doubt have sprung from the original stock; many of the descendants of the Salzburgers continue to raise silk, which they manufacture into fishing-lines and sell very readily in Savannah." Strobel, p. 130. (Published 1855.)

fessed his error, however, when his strength began to show signs of declining, and the three pastors lived in great harmony for twelve succeeding years. Mr. Rabenhorst brought with him a capital of six hundred and forty-nine pounds, sixteen shillings and fivepence, from the interest of which he was to derive his support. The trust funds and the mill properties in which they were invested were in 1757 given over by the Reverend Mr. Bolzius to his brother-in-law, the Reverend Mr. Lembke, the former fearing his advancing age and wishing to introduce his colleague into the routine connected with the management of the properties. Ten years after, or two years after the death of the Reverend Mr. Bolzius, Pastor Lembke acted in accordance with his predecessor's example, assigning the trust to Rabenhorst. The most notable event under the Reverend Mr. Lembke's administration was the building of Jerusalem Church, a brick structure erected at Ebenezer in 1767.[1]

The successor of Lembke, Christopher F. Triebner, proved to be not well selected; a young man of "fine talents, but very impetuous in his character, and possessed of a very small share of the humility and piety which characterized his predecessors."[2] A church quarrel arose, which, like that in New Jersey,[3] was finally settled by the patriarch of the Lutheran church, the Reverend H. M. Mühlenberg. The latter arrived at Ebenezer in November, 1774, and at once proceeded with characteristic tact and wisdom. He called on each of the pastors personally, and after a friendly interview requested each to furnish in writing a statement of his grievances. Mr. Rabenhorst, the senior pastor, complained mainly of the charges and in-

[1] A picture of the church is found in Strobel, after p. 148.

[2] Strobel, p. 151.

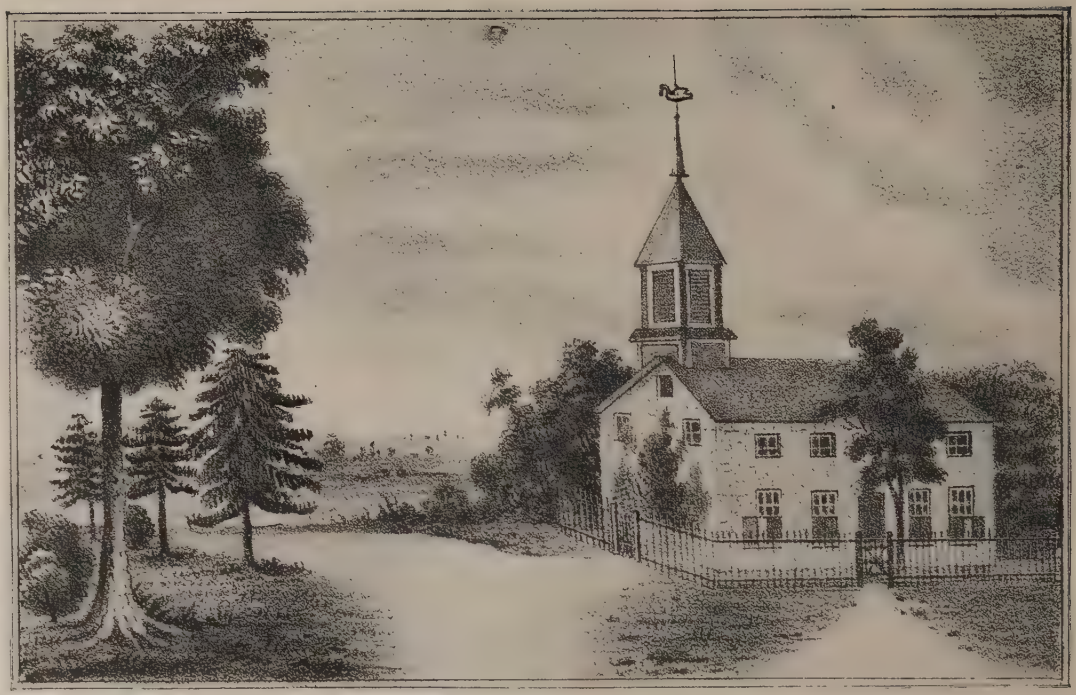
[3] Cf. Chapter IV, pp. 156–158.

trigues of his brother in office. Mr. Triebner made accusations of a more bitter kind, assailing the ability and character of the Reverend Mr. Rabenhorst. Mühlenberg decided virtually in favor of Rabenhorst, of whom he wrote in his diary, "most heartily would I have regarded myself as fortunate, if the Lord had lent us in Pennsylvania a laborer like Mr. Rabenhorst, and I would rejoice even in my last days to be the adjunct of such a man. . . . Although he was most grossly wronged he was the first to extend his hand to the offender."[1] The result of the Reverend Mr. Mühlenberg's arbitration was to exonerate Mr. Rabenhorst completely from all charges, to place him at the head of the parish of St. Matthew, and Mr. Triebner in a more subordinate position, with the latter's prerogatives very narrowly defined.

The restoration of peace in the church was not the only service of the Lutheran patriarch. He took an inventory of the properties of the church,[2] and examined carefully the deeds and grants. He found that the property had not been ceded definitely to the Lutheran church, but that under the conditions of the deed the established church of the colony (which was the Church of England) might claim the property. Mühlenberg succeeded in having the matter rectified in the courts of Savannah. He preached in all five churches, Savannah, Jerusalem, Bethany, Goshen, and Zion, and drew up a discipline of church government and conduct, which was signed by one hundred and twenty-four male members of the Jerusalem

[1] Of the Reverend Mr. Triebner Mühlenberg said: "A young man who, although well-meaning and gifted, was nevertheless inexperienced, passionate, and a dangerous novice."

[2] Strobel, pp. 190–191, gives eight items which made up the valuable property of the church. He estimates that the value could not have been less than twenty thousand dollars.



JERUSALEM CHURCH, EBENEZER, GA., ERECTED 1767

Church.[1] Mühlenberg remained in Georgia about four months to complete his important work in behalf of the parish of St. Matthew.

The Reverend Mr. Triebner was an ardent Tory during the Revolutionary War, and invited the British, after they had captured Savannah, to take possession of Ebenezer, which lay on the turnpike between Savannah and Augusta. Triebner probably carried a portion of his small congregation with him, but by far the majority of the Salzburgers joined the patriotic cause and were vigorous supporters of the party that advocated independence. This will receive comment in a later chapter.

The town of Ebenezer, at about the period of Mühlenberg's visit (1774–75), had attained the height of its importance. The population numbered about five hundred, live intercourse was maintained with Savannah and other towns, an export and import trade of limited extent was carried on with Europe, silk being exported to Europe and drugs and medical supplies being received from Germany. The population increased rapidly throughout the parish, spreading westward to the Ogeechee River, and remaining most numerous along the Savannah River between Savannah and Augusta.

The German settlements of the eighteenth century in New England were not numerous, yet their history, though not of the same importance as elsewhere, is nevertheless of interest. The beginnings of German colonies in New England are associated with the name of Waldo. Jonathan Waldo, of Swedish Pomeranian nobility, came to

[1] Cf. Strobel, p. 180, where their names are given. For a list of the names of the principal residents of Ebenezer in 1741 (i. e., thirty years earlier, at the beginning of the colony's history), see Strobel, p. 112.

Boston at the close of the seventeenth century as the agent of a Hamburg house. He rose to be one of the leading merchants of the city, and his business often took him to Germany and England. On one of these trips a son, Samuel Waldo,[1] was born in London. Samuel Waldo when a young man was sent to Harvard College, and afterwards to Germany, to complete his education. Like Peter Mühlenberg, a generation later, he was fascinated by the soldier's career, and entered the Hanoverian service. He was a member of the elector's body-guard when the latter ascended the English throne as George I, and advanced to the rank of major in the English service, remaining in London until 1724, when his father's death called him to Boston to take charge of the paternal estate. On his departure from England he was made a colonel of militia of Massachusetts Bay, and, residing in Boston, he soon gained the repute of energy and enterprise in business affairs.

Samuel Waldo became interested in a land speculation within the present state of Maine, which then was a part of the colony of Massachusetts. Ten proprietors — to whom later twenty associates were added — purchased lands on the Muscongus River, a tract situated in the present counties of Knox, Lincoln, and Waldo (Maine). They could not get a clear title from the crown, and therefore commissioned Waldo, *persona grata* at St. James's, to represent their interests in London. By "untiring application at court" Waldo was successful in adjusting the case, and as a reward the Thirty Proprietors surrendered to him one half of the Muscongus Patent.[2]

[1] His mother was also German. See *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, series 1, vol. ix, p. 75, "General Samuel Waldo," by Joseph Williamson. Cf. also, Eaton's *Annals of Warren*, p. 109, and *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xiv, pp. 7–9.

[2] Cf. *Collections of Maine Historical Society*, series 1, vol. vi, pp. 321–322.

Waldo had his land surveyed in 1732, and prepared to colonize it at once. The first settlement was made in 1736, principally by Scotch-Irishmen on St. George's River, but he wished to secure a larger agricultural population. In 1738 the enterprising merchant went to Germany to secure colonists. Circulars[1] were distributed and arrangements made for transportation. In 1740 he succeeded in inducing forty German families from Brunswick and Saxony to accept his imposing offers to settle in the Broad Bay district of Maine.[2] They founded Waldoborough (Waldoburg) on both sides of the Medomak River, but led a wretched existence until larger numbers of German settlers joined them. They did not understand the art of fishing, which might have saved many of them, and they complained much of disappointment in their expectations; for even if the promises were "kept to the ear, they were broken to the hope."[3]

Waldo found his business affairs too engrossing to allow him much time for the colonists. He therefore employed an agent named Sebastian Zauberbühler (Zuberbühler), who had had some experience in other colonies. The

[1] A book was printed subsequently describing the new land, entitled: *Kurtze Beschreibung derer Landtschafft Massachusetts-Bay, in Neu Engellandt. Absonderlich des Landstrichs an der Breyten Bay, so dem Königlichen Britischen Obersten, Samuel Waldo, Erbherrn des Breyten Bay, zugehörig, sampt denen Hauptbedingungen nach welchen sich fremde Protestanten daselbsten ansiedeln mögen.* Speyer, 1741. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xiv, p. 10.

[2] The most valuable contribution to the history of the Germans in Maine has been made by H. A. Rattermann, who visited the sites of the old colonies and studied their documentary history; published in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vols. xiv, xv, and xvi: "Geschichte des deutschen Elements im Staate Maine, deren Ursprung, Entwickelung u. Verfall, vom Jahre 1739 bis zur Gegenwart." The writer is deeply indebted also, for suggestions and corrections, to the Reverend Henry O. Thayer, A.M., former secretary of the Maine Historical Society and author of *The Sagadahoc Colony*, to whom the manuscript was submitted for revision.

[3] Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, p. 62.

agent succeeded in inducing from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty Germans, all that remained after exasperating and costly delays, to cross the Atlantic with him in August, 1742, with the object of settling on Waldo's land in Maine. They were well received at Marblehead near Boston, and Waldo accompanied them to the Scotch-Irish settlement on St. George's River. Then they sailed into the mouth of the Medomak River, where, on the bay-like harbor called Broad Bay, a few log huts or sheds marked the site of their new homes. Zauberbühler remained with them until December, to help them in the selection of their lands, then went to Boston never to be seen by them again.[1] Waldoborough [2] (Waldoburg) remained the name by which the settlement was known. Schoolmaster John Ulmer acted as preacher and faithful leader of the colonists. The time of year for their arrival was badly chosen, for, though they saw the Maine forests in all the beauty of their autumnal foliage, and rejoiced in the experience of an Indian summer, a severe winter stood before them, destined to bring untold suffering. They could not sow until spring, and supplies, long awaited, had to be sent from Boston. Log huts were rudely constructed without windows or chimneys; unfamiliar hardships had to be endured before the settlement could become habitable. The few German colonists already located there could not give much assistance, needing help themselves and suffering from the fevers so common among first settlers.

[1] Sebastian Zauberbühler (in Massachusetts official documents spelt Suberbuhler and Zouberbuhler) was of Swiss birth, and probably came over with John Pury, founder of Purysburg, in 1732. The latter's example inspired him to similar ventures. After leaving Maine, Zauberbühler reappeared in Nova Scotia as magistrate of Lunenburg. He should not be confounded with the Reverend Bartholomew Zauberbühler of Orangeburg, South Carolina.

[2] The present spelling is Waldoboro.

When the spring came, the colonists were in such straits that it was impossible for them either to better their condition or migrate. They therefore petitioned Governor Shirley and the assembly of Massachusetts, setting forth their sufferings and begging that they be taken out of the country and be "employed in such business as they are capable of for the support of themselves, their wives and children." [1] The General Court Assembled had the matter investigated, and their commission reported that the complainants (Dr. Kast in behalf of himself and his Palatine brethren) had suffered greatly, and that, if not soon relieved, they might "stand in need of the Compassion of this Government." But since Waldo was absent from Boston, a settlement of the matter was deferred until the next meeting of the court. The committee of investigation then reported that each party had violated the contract, the Palatines in not paying the passage-money, Zauberbühler in not providing shipping in due time, Waldo in not paying the officers' wages, etc.; and recommended that some suitable person or persons be appointed to settle their accounts, and that "a sum of money be granted to be laid out in provisions and clothing to help them (the Palatines) thro' the winter." The report was read before the House and Council September 17, 1743, but was voted down, and the colonists were left to shift for themselves. The second winter must have been one of even greater trials, since the supplies of Waldo failed them after October, his contract requiring him to serve them only the first winter. But this was only the beginning of their troubles, and it was shown here even more than elsewhere that the lot of early colonists was not a happy one.

[1] May 25, 1743. See *Massachusetts Records* (MS.), vol. 15 A, pp. 33 ff. Printed in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xiv, pp. 95–98 (Rattermann).

In the following year (1744) war broke out between France and England, which drew into its vortex the colonies of the Western Hemisphere and threatened also the insecure foundations of the German settlement in Maine. In the spring of 1745 an expedition was made against the French fort, Louisbourg, the "Gibraltar of America," on Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia. The force was under the command of William Pepperell. Samuel Waldo, brigadier-general, was third in command of the New England forces, and rendered conspicuous service.[1] A large German contingent was enlisted under the captaincy of Johannes Ulmer, "priest, prince, and military commander."[2] Those of Waldoboro who did not accompany the expedition went for protection to the forts on the Pemaquid and St. George's rivers, and after the successful termination of the campaign returned to their settlements.

The Indians, heretofore peaceable, had become dissatisfied because of the increase in the number of colonists and their taking possession of territory above the Falls of St. George. For a time they were bought off with presents, and it seemed as if the German settlements, friendly to the red men, would be spared. But the quiet proved to be only the lull before the storm. The new war had changed conditions entirely, and the Indians were planning the extermination of the white settlers. On the morning of the twenty-first of May, 1746, they surprised the peaceful settlement of Waldoboro and destroyed it entirely, only a few of the colonists escaping, making their way to neighboring blockhouse forts or to Louisbourg, where they remained until the end of the war. In spite of this terrible setback, the survivors returned in

[1] *Collections, Maine Historical Society*, series 1, vol. ix, p. 82.
[2] Eaton's *Warren*, p. 175.

1748, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in order to build up their village again. Waldo made strenuous efforts to get new colonists. He succeeded in bringing about twenty or thirty families of German immigrants from Philadelphia, and thus infused new life into Waldoboro. Grist-mills and saw-mills were erected, and soon also a church spire pointed skyward to mark the progress of the colony.

About the same time the government of Massachusetts became cognizant of the advantages which other colonies, particularly Pennsylvania, had gained through German immigration. When Joseph Crellius[1] in 1750 presented a memorial to the General Court of Massachusetts, proposing to bring over German Protestants, providing they could be given sufficient inducements, Lieutenant-Governor Spencer Phips used his influence in support of the plan, urging that "they [the Protestants] would introduce many useful manufactures and arts."[2] In 1749 the General Court of Massachusetts appropriated four townships for the accommodation of foreign Protestants, two in the eastern and two in the western part of the province. Two of the townships were located in the extreme northwestern part, near Fort Massachusetts, west of the Connecticut River, in what is now Franklin County, and extending into Vermont. The area included the present

[1] Crellius (or Crell, born in Franconia) came from Philadelphia, where for a time he had published the second German newspaper in America, *Das hochdeutsche Pennsylvania Journal* (1743), and translated into German Benjamin Franklin's *Plain Truth*. Through his journalistic work he probably became acquainted with the publishing house of Luther in Frankfort-on-the-Main. He was also interested in immigration schemes, and in 1748 induced a shipload of immigrants, that he had conducted to Philadelphia, to accept Waldo's offers to settle in Maine. Seeing great profits in the venture, he then decided to deal directly with the Massachusetts government, and offered his services. See *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xiv, pp. 142 ff.

[2] Williamson, *History of Maine*, vol. ii, p. 285.

towns of Adamsville, Beaver Meadow, Bernardstown, Coleraine, Leyden, West Northfield, and Shattuckville. Adamsdorf, Bernardsdorf, and Leyden are names that date back to the German settlements.

The other two townships were to be located far east (in the extreme western part of Maine, the present Cumberland County), from "Sebago Pond to the head of Benirck." Crellius was to be granted a reserve of two hundred acres in each township, provided he imported and settled one hundred and twenty Protestants in each township within three years.[1] He was not able to carry out the conditions, and therefore the grants were revoked, but he succeeded in bringing over a number of families who settled in various localities. None went to the Sebago Lake region, and not until after three years had elapsed did some settle around Fort Massachusetts. It is probable that Crellius had previously sold his claims in Maine to the Plymouth Company ("The Company of the Kennebec Purchase").

Crellius, in his numerous advertisements, not only declared himself to be the authorized agent of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, but also implied that the British government was supporting his ventures. This called out a denial, and antagonized a host of other agents, interested in the immigrations to Pennsylvania, Carolina, and Nova Scotia. Mutual criminations and recriminations resulted, which could not but discredit all parties and open the eyes of the rulers of German principalities to the nefarious practices of the "newlanders." To Crellius belongs the credit of advocating an act passed by the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1750, the first of its kind,

[1] *Massachusetts Records* (MS.), vol. 15 A, pp. 49–51; January 25, 1749. Printed in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xiv, p. 177 (Rattermann).

"regulating the Importation of German and other Passengers," preventing crowding and other abuses.[1] Crellius thought to gain an advantage thereby, but the result was that the ship-companies, their profits being interfered with, refused to let their vessels go to the Massachusetts colony. A most valiant battle for reform was fought by Hofrat Heinrich Ehrenfried Luther, of Frankfort-on-the-Main, who sought to legitimize German emigration by getting the several American colonial governments to control the transportation and settlement of colonists, and to assume responsibility for their safety.[2] Thereby the emigrants would have been rescued from the clutch of the newlanders and ship-companies. The latter saw their danger, and fought successfully against the ruin of their profitable trade. Luther for some time supported Crellius, until the latter proved to be engaged in the emigrant traffic solely for his own pecuniary advantage, no better than other newlanders.[3]

Crellius succeeded by the spring of 1751, with the aid of Luther, in getting together twenty or thirty families in two transports and taking them down the Rhine to Rotterdam. There and in London his enemies did all they could to prevent his procuring ships, but he finally succeeded, after many delays, in carrying his people across the Atlantic. They stopped two weeks in Boston, and in December, 1751, some proceeded on the frigate of the province to new homes on the Kennebec River. On the left bank of the river, about twenty miles from its mouth, they founded Frankfort (now Dresden). Their land lay

[1] *Massachusetts Records* (MS.), vol. 15 A, pp. 52–55. Printed in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xiv, pp. 177–179 (Rattermann).

[2] See, e. g., the letter of Luther to Lieutenant-Governor Phips of Massachusetts, *MS. Records*, pp. 67–80; *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xiv, pp. 179–187.

[3] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xiv, pp. 428–429.

twelve to fifteen miles directly west of Waldoboro, having for its eastern border the Sheepscott River, and being a part of the territory held by the Plymouth Company. A large number of the settlers of Frankfort were from the borderland of Germany and France, and French Protestants were accordingly numerous among the original settlers. The settlement, though German in name, seems not to have been purely German like Waldoboro.[1]

A portion of the German colonists whom Crellius brought over, in 1753 located on the western frontier of Massachusetts, near Fort Massachusetts. The later date is explained by their coming over as redemptioners, therefore being obliged to serve several years to pay off the cost of their transportation. When this period was over, they settled in the region described above, and others following them, they founded several villages, among them Leydensdorf, to commemorate the trials of their passage over the sea and their servitude on land.[2]

Nova Scotia had received a large number of German immigrants through the activity of John Dick of Rotterdam and his sub-agent Köhler in Frankfort. They succeeded in deflecting a strong current of German settlers who would otherwise have gone to Pennsylvania and Carolina. Almost an entire brigade of Brunswick-Luneburg troops, who had come to America in the English service, settled in Nova Scotia on government invitation and liberal offers of land.[3] Lunenburg (in the earliest

[1] Cf. *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, series 1, vol. viii, pp. 213, 214 (William Gould); also *ibid.*, series 2, vol. i, pp. 313 ff. and vol. iii, pp. 351 ff. (Charles P. Allen).

[2] Another explanation of the name Leydensdorf or Leyden would be that there were some Dutch settlers among them, who named the town after the Dutch city of Leyden.

[3] The plan of offering land in Nova Scotia to soldiers was originated by Lord Halifax, in 1749. See *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xiv, pp. 148–149 (Rattermann).

church records appearing with the German spelling, Lüneburg), the second oldest county of Nova Scotia, bordering on Halifax (the oldest), was settled by them and many shiploads of Germans and "foreign Protestants." The first group, of one hundred and thirty persons, embarked at Rotterdam in the good ship *Anne*, John Spurrier, master, and arrived at Halifax in 1750. Between this first date and 1753 large accessions were brought over in the *Pearl*, *Gale*, *Sally*, *Betty*, *Murdoch*, *Swan*, and other ships, bringing the total number of immigrants to 1615,[1] mainly Germans, with a sprinkling of French and Scotch Protestants. Prominent men in the earliest days of the town of Lunenburg were the Germans Leonard Christoph Rudolf (judge and assemblyman), Dettlieb Christoph Jessen (justice of the peace), Sebastian Zouberbühler (magistrate),[2] Captain John Rouse (whose name lives in Rouse's Buckel, the "Plymouth Rock of Lunenburg"), and Caspar Wollenhaupt (whose name appears as a signer of the mortgage upon the town of Lunenburg exacted by American privateersmen, when they *brand-schatzed* the town in 1782).[3] In the list of land grants of 1761 more than nine tenths of about two hundred names appear to be German.[4] A contemporary local historian[5] estimates that the German

[1] M. B. Des Brisay, *History of the County of Lunenburg*, p. 23. (Toronto, 1895.)

[2] He had been Waldo's first agent. When Zouberbühler died, in 1773, he seems to have been quite wealthy. His estate and the effects of his daughter, on her death, are inventoried in Des Brisay, pp. 57–59.

[3] Cf. Agnes Creighton : "Relics of the History of Lunenburg" (paper read before the Canadian Historical Society); also by the same author : "A Plea for Remembrance," *Acadiensis*, vol. vii, no. 1, January, 1907 (containing copies of inscriptions on tombstones of old Lunenburg settlers, church records, etc.).

[4] They are published in Des Brisay, pp. 69–72.

[5] The author of "Relics of the History of Lunenburg," to whom and to Professor Archibald MacMechan of Dalhousie College, Nova Scotia, I am deeply indebted for suggestions, and answers to my queries.

element of the present day in Lunenburg County is about one half, in the city of Halifax about one tenth of the total population. The latter is a conservative estimate and perhaps disregards the fact that a large number of Germans took a prominent part in the early settlement of Halifax. In 1753 the immigration to Nova Scotia was checked by the English government, after an investigation which showed that more immigrants had been sent there than the country could support, and that therefore undesirable conditions of poverty and disease resulted, giving good cause for complaint on the part of the colonists. The testimony of greatest influence was that given by Colonel Edward Cornwallis, up to that time governor of the province.

The checking of the immigration to Nova Scotia was advantageous for the New England settlements. Waldo now strained his efforts to make the best of the opportunity, advertising in England, Scotland, and Germany.[1] Exactly how far he was successful, we do not know. He went to Germany in person, accompanied by his son. The father was received as a distinguished man at many of the small German courts, and from some of them he gained permission to advertise for immigrants. In other principalities such privileges were withdrawn by legal action, the result, perhaps, of the controversies among the newlanders. Waldo left his son in charge of an immigration bureau in Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he lived at the house of Luther. Count Nassau was one who favored the plans of Waldo and even appointed an agent, Karl Leistner, who should accompany the colonists to America and see to their wants. Leistner, reported to be a man of edu-

[1] Waldo's circular is published in an English translation : *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, series 1, vol. vi, pp. 325–332.

cation, gathered together about sixty families in the mountainous districts of the Taunus, and brought them to the Broad Bay settlements. This was in all probability a later group than that reported by the "Annals of Warren" (1753)[1] to have been housed in a shed unfit for habitation, many freezing to death, or dying of diseases induced by privations, many of the newcomers being "fain to work for a quart of buttermilk a day," or "considered it a boon when they could gain a quart of meal for a day's labor." Certainly under Leistner's magistracy conditions changed, and many families of local distinction sprang from the immigration of 1753. Joseph Ludwig was a prosperous agriculturist, Peter Mühler (Miller) built a house "distinguished among its neighbors," and George Varner (Werner) built a grist-mill partly in his own, partly in Waldo's interest.[2] A meeting-house was built in 1760, dedicated in 1763 (Eaton). A church fifty by seventy feet, with a gallery, probably dating from 1790, still stands in good preservation, and a commemorative service is held in it every summer (Thayer).

As a result of natural growth and the work of recruiting colonists abroad, the settlements in Maine, at Broad Bay and on the Kennebec, spread over a wider area, the village later known as Bremen being an offshoot of Waldoboro, and Fort Frankfort (also called Fort Shirley) spreading over the settlement Dresden and later taking that name.[3] After the death of Waldo the rights of the settlers on his own estate (not the claims of the colonists of Frankfort) and on the lower Kennebec became a matter of dispute. About fifty to sixty families in the year

[1] See Eaton's *Annals of Warren*, p. 82.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[3] The fact that the final name, adopted in 1794, was Dresden, again seems to indicate a strong German population.

1763 bought their land a second time from the supposed rightful owners ; then it was found that still another party had older claims. Wearied of these experiences, a number of the German colonists sold their land and claims at a low figure, about 1770–73, and migrated to the settlements of their countrymen in the Orangeburg district, South Carolina, whence had come enthusiastic reports. Some returned subsequently, making a settlement with the proprietors, and " were received with open hearts and arms." [1]

One other settlement in Massachusetts, little known, but of much interest, was caused indirectly by the others. Germans who were destined for the Massachusetts colonies, in the east or west, frequently remained in Boston, serving their time as redemptioners, or tarrying for good reasons before selecting a permanent abode. In this way, quite a number had in course of time settled down as gardeners or truck-farmers in the neighborhood of Boston. There were some merchants also, commonly North Germans from Hamburg, who remained in or near Boston, and like the farmers were industrious, thrifty people, who gained the respect of the English population. The good impression the German settlers had made matured a plan in the minds of some Boston promoters, to establish a German town near Boston ; others interested were Waldo and the Kennebec proprietors, who welcomed a station from which they might draw settlers for their colonies. The result was the foundation of (New) Germantown about ten miles south of Boston (in the present neighborhood of Braintree, Quincy). On August 21, 1750, the ship *Thomas* brought a great

[1] *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, series 1, vol. v, pp. 403–406, "Germans in Waldoborough," by the Reverend Mr. Starman. He estimates that about fifteen hundred German immigrants settled at Broad Bay (p. 404). He gives an account also of the churches and ministers of Waldoboro.

number of Germans to settle in New Germantown.[1] Some immigrants arrived in 1757, and twelve families engaged to go to the Germantown glassworks, for the settlement distinguished itself by establishing various manufactures. Undoubtedly some of the families brought over by Crellius, in 1751, settled there, and it was reported that in the following year over one hundred houses had been built.[2] Benjamin Franklin, then a printer of Philadelphia, bought eight building lots in the village, in 1751, proving that he had considerable faith in the future of New Germantown.[3] In 1757 twenty names represent those liable to military duty, and in many ways Germantown seemed a rival of Waldoboro. But by 1760 the manufacturing enterprises of Germantown seem to have declined or failed, the colony broke up, and a large part went to the Broad Bay settlements in Maine.

It has frequently been affirmed that the inhabitants of Waldoboro and the parts where the old German settlements of Maine were located, have preserved many traits distinct from the surrounding Yankee element. That would be a surprising phenomenon in a locality where intermarriages have been so very frequent. A correspondent,[4] well acquainted with Waldoboro, judges, however, that by conservative estimate ninety per cent of the population are of German descent. Very common names are such as: Schenck, Schwartz, Benner, Kaler, Waltz, Bornheimer, Ludwig, Creamer (Krämer), Kuhn, Hahn, Hoffses, Schuman. As late as 1840 sermons in German were occa-

[1] *Frankfurter Ober-Post-Amts-Zg.* no. 140, August 31, 1751, quoted in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xv, pp. 208–210. See also *Frankfurter Ober-Post-Amts-Zg.*, no. 98, June 19, 1752, etc.

[2] This statement is contained in an advertisement in a German paper, and is probably extravagant.

[3] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xv, p. 209.

[4] For this information I am indebted to the Reverend Henry O. Thayer.

sionally heard in the church of Waldoboro.[1] During the Revolutionary War the Maine Germans were heartily patriotic. When to their great indignation their Tory minister refused to read the Declaration of Independence, a layman, A. Schenck, translated and read it to the people.

The foregoing chapter intended to show that even at the extremities of the American colonies, Georgia and Maine (Massachusetts), the Germans took firm root early in the eighteenth century, almost at the time of the formation of those colonies. Geographically Ebenezer and Waldoboro are the Alpha and Omega in the history of the German element before the period of the Revolution.

[1] Judge Groton's statement, *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, series 1, vol. v, pp. 403–411.

CHAPTER X

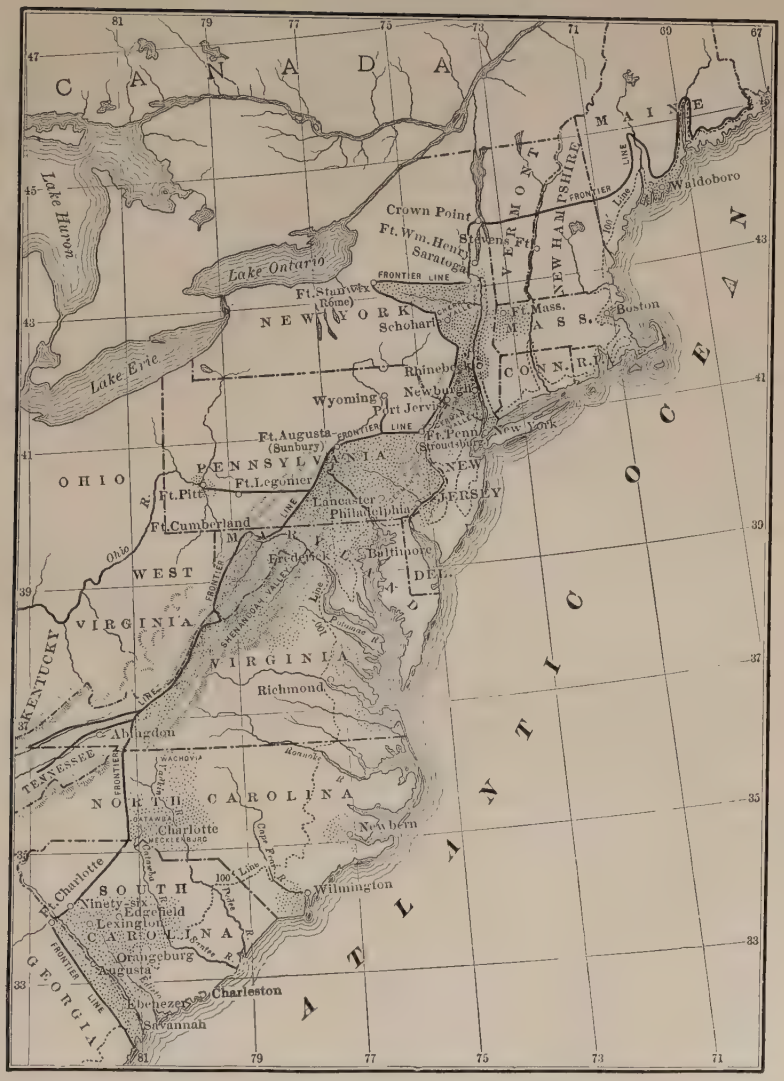
THE LOCATION OF THE GERMAN SETTLERS BEFORE 1775; THEIR DEFENSE OF THE FRONTIER; AND AN ESTIMATE OF THEIR NUMBERS

The location of the Germans before the Revolution marked by counties (present boundaries) — Two facts impress themselves: (1) that the Germans occupied the best farming-lands and (2) that they were almost directly on the frontier from Maine to Georgia — Their defense of the frontier; on the Mohawk; and during the French and Indian War — The services of Conrad Weiser and Christian Frederick Post, as envoys to the Indians, etc. — An estimate of the number of settlers of German blood in the thirteen colonies in 1775.

To see at a glance the location of the German settlements before the Revolution, a map has been prepared (following this page), based upon a study of the population by counties, according to their present boundaries, that were inhabited by Germans.[1] As far as our present sources of information tell us, the counties inhabited by Germans were as follows: In the province of Massachusetts, the counties of Lincoln, Knox, Waldo, of the present state of Maine; and the county of Franklin, in the northwestern part of the state of Massachusetts. In the province of New York the Germans inhabited portions of Dutchess, Ulster, Columbia, and Greene counties along the Hudson; Schoharie, and the counties along the Mohawk, Montgomery, Fulton, Herkimer, and portions of Oneida, Saratoga,

[1] Where the population was about one half (or more) German, the shading is dark; where about one third, a lighter shade appears. If a German population existed less than one third, but still of importance and influence, the shading is faint.

and Schenectady. The German counties of Pennsylvania, exclusive of Philadelphia, were Montgomery, Berks, Lancaster, Lehigh, Lebanon, Dauphin, York, Chester, Northampton, Monroe, Cumberland, and Adams; of Maryland they were Baltimore, Frederick, Washington, and (in part) Carroll counties. New Jersey was thickly settled by Germans in Hunterdon, Somerset, Morris, less so in Sussex, Passaic, Essex, and (in the southern part) Salem counties. All the counties of the Valley of Virginia had strong German populations; in West Virginia, Jefferson, Berkeley, and Morgan counties; in Virginia, Clarke, Frederick, Warren, Shenandoah, Page, Rockingham; also, though fewer in number, Augusta, Rockbridge, Bath, Botetourt, Montgomery, Wythe, and others. East of the mountains in Virginia the following counties: Madison, Fauquier, Rappahannock, Loudoun, Prince William, Albemarle, Greene, Louisa, and Orange; scattered settlements existed in the Isle of Wight and Henrico counties, and elsewhere. In the Alleghanies Germans had located in the counties of Hampshire, Mineral, Hardy, Grant, Pendleton, all in West Virginia, along Patterson Creek, and the South Branch of the Potomac. In North Carolina the westerly counties, then on the frontier, along the Yadkin and Catawba rivers, viz., Davidson, Stanly, Cabarrus, Rowan, Iredell, Catawba, and Lincoln were populated by Germans from Pennsylvania; the counties of Forsyth and Stokes were settled by German Moravians; earlier settlements existed on the seacoast, in Craven (Newbern) and Brunswick (Wilmington) counties. German settlers in South Carolina filled the counties of Orangeburg and Lexington; portions of Barnwell, Newberry, Abbeville, Fairfield, Richland, Edgefield, Beaufort (Purysburg), and Charleston. In Georgia the Germans were most numerous in



GERMAN SETTLEMENTS AND FRONTIER LINE IN 1775

Effingham County, spreading along the Savannah River into Screven, Burke, and Chatham counties, i. e., between Savannah and Augusta.

As we study on the map the location of the Germans before the Revolution, two facts impress themselves. In the first place, the Germans were in possession of most of the best land for farming purposes. They had cultivated the great limestone areas reaching from northeast to southwest, the most fertile lands in the colonies. The middle sections of Pennsylvania were in their possession, those which became the granary of the colonies in the coming Revolutionary War, and subsequently the foundation of the financial prosperity of the new nation. The Shenandoah and Mohawk valleys were the rivals of the farm-lands of Pennsylvania, while the German counties of North and South Carolina pushed them hard for agricultural honors. The Germans in these sections supplanted all other nationalities through their superior industry, skill, and material resources acquired through habits of economy.

Even before the Revolution the value of the midland Pennsylvania counties as provision-houses for armies was recognized by the following incident. In 1758 an army was raised for the taking of Fort Duquesne, near which Braddock had met disaster three years before. The question arose whether the army starting from Pennsylvania should go straight through the woods, hewing a new road, or should march thirty-four miles southwestwardly to Fort Cumberland in Maryland and thence follow the road made by Braddock. It was in accordance with the interests of Pennsylvania that the new road be made, while Virginia was unwilling to see a highway cut for her rival that would lead into the rich lands of the Ohio, claimed by Virginia. Washington, who was then at Fort Cumberland with a

part of his regiment, earnestly advocated taking the old road, while the quartermaster-general, Sir William Sinclair, advised in favor of the Pennsylvania route. The generals in command, Forbes and Bouquet, decided for a particular reason to take the straight course. "It was shorter and when once made *would furnish readier and more abundant supplies of food and forage;* but to make it would consume a vast amount of time and labor."[1] As later events proved, it was not British success in battle, but mainly the advantage of position, the possibility of getting supplies and holding out longer, advantages beyond the reach of the French, that forced the latter to evacuate Fort Duquesne.[2]

The second striking fact which impresses itself in a study of the map is the occupancy by the German settlers of almost the entire frontier area from Maine to Georgia. On the accompanying map the frontier has been indicated by a line representing the farthest points of settlement toward the west. Sometimes forts aided in determining the position of the line.[3] The farms of settlers generally

[1] Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. ii, p. 134. (Boston, 1901.) Bouquet did justice to Colonel Washington, writing to Forbes: "Colonel Washington is filled with a sincere zeal to aid the expedition, and is ready to march with equal activity by whatever way you choose."

[2] In actual fighting the French and Indians had the better of it, — witness the defeat of Grant and his Scotch Highlanders.

[3] The task of drawing the frontier line was one of considerable difficulty. Contemporary maps were used to determine its position, such as those found in William Russell, *The History of America* (London, 1778); and Thomas Jeffreys (geographer to the king), *The American Atlas; or a Geographical Description of the whole Continent of America* (London, 1778). The frontier line, as drawn on the map, follows the one hundred-foot line (U. S. Map, Geological Survey) of the coast of Maine, extending with it up the Penobscot and Kennebec rivers, and retreating again toward the coast; when the present boundary of Maine and New Hampshire is reached, it is made to extend due west to Stevens's Fort on the Connecticut (about midway between the forty-third and forty-fourth parallels); then northwestward on the path

did not reach the forts; the forts, therefore, represent outposts beyond which the settlements did not go.

The credit for defending the American frontier has very commonly been accorded to the Scotch and Irish settlers.[1] From the map here presented, based upon a careful study of the location of the German settlers, it appears that the Scotch and Irish could not have had a larger share in the defense of the frontier than the Germans, when the whole extent of the frontier line is considered. In New England the English element no doubt stood the brunt of the Indian attacks. In New York the Mohawk and Schoharie regions, so largely inhabited by Germans, were pushed out farthest into the territory of the Six Nations. In Pennsylvania the Germans shared with the Scotch and Irish the distinction of defending the permanent settlements of the midland counties. In Maryland there were no Scotch and Irish farther west than the German settlers of Washington County, except perhaps in isolated instances (as that of Cresap). In Virginia the Germans were more numerous than any other element, in

to Crown Point at the southern end of Lake Champlain; then southward to Fort George (Fort William Henry) and to Saratoga; from that point westward to the farthest limit, Fort Stanwix (now Rome); then the line retreats to Cherry Valley and farther eastward some distance; then southwestward to Port Jervis; southwestward again to Fort Penn (Stroudsburg), and westward to Fort Augusta (Sunbury) on the Susquehanna; then extending along the edge of the Blue Ridge (Tuscarora Mountains) to the Potomac, following this river to Fort Cumberland; thence the line runs southwestward along the Alleghany mountain-range to a little east of the point where the present boundaries of North Carolina and Tennessee meet Virginia; from that point the line passes southwestward to the point where the Catawba River cuts the boundary of North and South Carolina (at the western boundary of Mecklenburg County, N. C.); thence southwestward to Fort Charlotte (opposite the entrance of the Broad into the Savannah River); from there the line runs parallel to the Savannah River to the sea.

[1] Cf. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish, or the Scotch in North Britain, North Ireland, and North America.*

the Valley, from the Potomac to Rockingham County; beyond that the Irish and Scotch-Irish outnumbered them; far in the southwest, even before the French and Indian War, there were for a time German settlements on the New River, and Germans appeared among the earliest settlers at the headwaters of the Great Kanawha. In West Virginia along Patterson Creek and the South Branch of the Potomac, the Germans were mingled for the most part with English settlers in about equal numbers, according to the diaries of the Moravian missionaries. In North Carolina the Scotch and Irish were farther to the southwest for at least half of the frontier line, although the Germans were close at their heels. In South Carolina the Germans occupied the larger part of the frontier area; in Georgia they formed a large portion of the population between Savannah and Augusta.

There were certain reasons why so large a percentage of the German immigration settled on the frontier, similar causes operating for the bulk of the Scotch, Irish, and Huguenot immigrants. They were poor, and were obliged to go where land was cheap or where squatters could maintain their independence. Redemptioners were commonly placed as far out on the frontier as possible, as for instance in the province of Massachusetts, where the German settlers that could pay for their land were sent to the Kennebec and Waldo districts in Maine, considered more desirable, and the others, after completion of their service-period, were sent to Fort Massachusetts on the northwestern frontier of the province. The Germans, being commonly of the permanent class of settlers who made the best of their land,[1] suffered greatly from the

[1] They frequently combined in one generation the three classes of settlers, the hunter, the squatter, and the permanent settler. Cf. Chapter v, p. 132.

attacks of hostile Indian tribes. Being at work in the fields they could easily be taken unawares, and their abundant cattle and crops tempted the predatory invader. The Indians rarely attacked the forts, well protected by stockades; even when the forts were badly equipped, "the enemy rarely molested even the feeblest of them, preferring to ravage the lonely and unprotected farms."[1] The Mohawk Valley Germans suffered as frequently and as terribly as any pioneers on the American frontier. In 1746 the French and Indians, led by a Jesuit, Peter Cœur, traversed the valley, reaching Schenectady, and even Albany. This war-party was in search of bigger game and did not seriously molest the farms of the Mohawk, giving them merely a foreboding of coming events. The German Flats (the present Herkimer) were surprised in 1757 by the French captain Belêtre. Sir William Johnson,[2] the defender of the Mohawk settlers, and of great influence among the Indians, was incapacitated at the time by illness. Belêtre fell upon the defenseless farms north of the Mohawk, killing about forty men, women, and children, and taking about one hundred prisoners. He did not dare

[1] Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. i, p. 423 ; *Ibid.* p. 422 : "Meanwhile the western borders were still ravaged by the tomahawk. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia all writhed under the infliction. Each had made a chain of blockhouses and wooden forts to cover its frontier, and manned them with disorderly bands, lawless, and almost beyond control."

[2] Sir William Johnson was born in Ireland. He married a German woman, a Palatine, who was the mother of two sons, who figured subsequently as Tories. The second wife of Johnson was a sister of the Indian chief Brant. Sir William Johnson was the leader of the forces against Crown Point, and was created a baronet for his services in that campaign. The distinguished honors which the family received and the wealth acquired under the protection of the crown, undoubtedly made them loyal to the English government. The family became ardent Tories and with their great influence over the Indians became the worst possible enemies of the Mohawk settlers during the Revolution, as they had been their best friends during the French and Indian and the preceding wars.

to attack the house of Herkimer (Herckheimer), on the south side of the Mohawk, because it was reported to be in a condition for defense. An extravagant report was sent by Vaudreuil to the Ministry of France, in which it was pretended that three thousand head of cattle, three thousand sheep, fifteen hundred horses, and personal property amounting to more than one million five hundred thousand livres were carried away from the German Flats.[1]

Although the population on the German Flats numbered only about three hundred at that time, and their wealth could not have been so enormous, nevertheless the report probably would not have been so extravagant if the booty taken had not been large. The exaggerated account illustrates the fact that the Mohawk Germans were prosperous and owned fine herds of live stock. The next year (1758) the enemy came in greater numbers and attacked the southern side of the Mohawk. Captain Nicholas Herkimer was in command of the defenders, and acquitted himself honorably, as he did subsequently also in the Revolutionary War. According to custom, when attacked by greater numbers, the colonists gathered in a protected palisade fort, whence the Indians could not dislodge them. The farms and produce, however, had to be abandoned, a prey to the robbers, while settlers living in remote localities were left to their fate. Men, women, and children were killed and scalped, the men often tortured to death and the women taken to Canada as prisoners, while their houses and crops were burned before their eyes. The Indians never tarried long, but after inflicting severe damage to life and property, escaped as rapidly as they had come, suffering but slight loss themselves.

[1] Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. ii, p. 7, note; and Kapp, *Geschichte der Deutschen im Staate New York*, p. 162.

In the province of Pennsylvania the troubles between governor and assembly occasioned neglect of measures for the defense of the frontier. The spirit of vacillation and non-resistance which characterized the Quaker government at Philadelphia resulted in untold hardships for the frontiersmen. After Braddock's defeat in 1755 the whole country was open to Indian attacks. News came that the settlement of Tulpehocken, only sixty miles distant, had been destroyed, that the Moravian settlement, Gnadenhütten, was burned and nearly all its inhabitants massacred. Bodies of men, gathered together from many places, appeared in Philadelphia to compel the governor and the assembly to defend the province. Among them four hundred Germans marched in procession to demand measures of defense. A band of frontiersmen presently arrived, bringing in a wagon the bodies of friends and relatives lately murdered, displaying them at the doors of the assembly, amid curses and threats of vengeance.[1] Tardy measures were taken for defense. The province of Pennsylvania, aided by the home government, in control of William Pitt, adopted the plan of taking Fort Duquesne, and fitted out the expedition already referred to, under the command of General Forbes and Colonel Bouquet. Washington commanded a division of Virginia troops, among whom there were Virginia Germans of the Valley. Another division was that under the command of Henry Bouquet, a native of Switzerland. It was called the Royal American Regiment, and was a new corps raised in defense of the colonies, largely composed of Germans of Pennsylvania.[2]

On the southern frontiers, in the Carolinas, the Chero-

[1] Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. i, p. 348.

[2] Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. ii, pp. 132–133.

kees began hostilities, though more serious ravages occurred farther northward in the New River and Great Kanawha districts where the settlements were, for a time at least, totally destroyed.

During these Indian wars there were two Germans who rendered conspicuous service. Their names were Conrad Weiser, the son of Johann Conrad Weiser, the Palatine leader,[1] and Christian Frederick Post, the Moravian missionary. Weiser, who had lived among the Mohawk Indians when a boy, acquiring their language and also kindred dialects, was famous as an interpreter. The Indians reposed confidence in him, and his presence in council insured justice, they thought. He addressed them in the oratorical manner that gave them delight, and the story of his youth made his personality pleasing to them. His services brought him into contact with all the tribes of the Iroquois Nation and even with the distant Indians of the Ohio Valley. In the year 1737 he undertook a long journey to Onondaga in New York, under commission from Governors Logan of Pennsylvania and Gooch of Virginia, with the purpose of inducing the chiefs of the Six Nations to make a truce and then an alliance with the Cherokees and Catawbas. The Indians at the North and South had waged destructive wars against one another, disturbing the peace also of the pioneer settlements. The mission was completely successful and was carried out in the severity of winter. In the summer of 1742, Weiser was again one of the principal figures, when seventy chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations met in council with Governor Thomas of Pennsylvania. The parley lasted ten days, July 2 to 12. The two difficult objects to be attained were, firstly, to appease the Indians for land robberies

[1] See Chapter IV, pp. 94–95, etc.

committed, and secondly, to get their help against the threatened French invasion. Contemporaries reported that without Weiser's tactful mediation the matter would not have been so quickly and happily brought to a conclusion. In 1745 the Six Nations threatened to overrun the Mohawk Valley settlements. Land robberies again had incensed them, and French agents had kindled their revengeful spirit. Governor Clinton of New York sent Weiser, accompanied by several friendly Indian chiefs, to Onondaga, and from there to Oswego, with the result of not only pacifying the Indians but of regaining their friendship. In 1748, under orders from the governor of Pennsylvania, Weiser traveled through the mountains of Pennsylvania to the Ohio, and on the Ohio to Logstown,[1] bringing presents to the Indians to keep them from an alliance with the French. At the same time he observed closely the character of the French settlements in the Ohio Valley, the location and strength of their forts, and gathered information concerning the intentions of the enemy. This experience served him in good stead in 1754, when representatives of seven colonies met in council with the chiefs of the Six Nations, to form a common plan of resistance against the French. That was an important moment in colonial history. It was altogether necessary to retain the friendship and to secure the alliance of the Six Nations against the French and their allies, the hostile Indians of the Ohio. Weiser was able to repeat in the language of the Mohawks his experiences with the French and the haughty Indians of the Ohio Valley, and he roused the animosity of the Six Nations against them, taking advantage of the Indians' greed for land.

[1] Directly west of Pittsburg, near the Ohio state line.

When the French and Indian War broke out, Weiser was already an old man. Nevertheless he served as a lieutenant-colonel of the militia, and as Mühlenberg, his son-in-law, reports, he was absent much on consultation in Philadelphia with European soldiers concerning Indian affairs. Conrad Weiser died during the war, in 1760.[1]

The other German who nobly served the colonies during the Indian troubles was the missionary Christian Frederick Post, a member of the Moravian Brotherhood.

Post [2] spoke the Delaware language, knew the Indians well, for he had lived among them and married a converted squaw. He was a plain German, upheld by a sense of duty and a single-hearted trust in God; alone, with no great disciplined organization to impel and support him, and no visions and illusions such as kindled and sustained the splendid heroism of the early Jesuit martyrs; yet his errand was no whit less perilous.[3]

The Moravian envoy made his way to the Delaware town of

[1] Conrad Weiser's autobiography, already referred to, is one of the most curious documents of its kind, not only valuable for the life-history which it gives, but interesting also for the many sidelights on religion and politics. Cf. also J. H. Walton, *Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania.* (Philadelphia, Jacobs & Co., 1908.)

[2] This whole passage, containing the thrilling narrative of Post's mission to the Indians, resulting in their breaking their alliance with the French, is quoted from Francis Parkman's authoritative work, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. ii, pp. 144–150.

[3] "Here we may notice the contrast between the mission settlements of the Moravians in Pennsylvania and those the later Jesuits and Sulpitians had established at Caughnawaga, St. Francis, La Présentation, and other places. The Moravians were apostles of peace and they succeeded to a surprising degree in weaning their converts from their ferocious instincts and warlike habits, while the mission Indians of Canada retained all their native fierceness and were systematically impelled to use their tomahawks against the enemies of the church. Their wigwams were hung with scalps, male and female, adult and infant; and these so-called missions were but nests of baptized savages, who wore the crucifix instead of the medicine-bag, and were encouraged by the government for purposes of war." Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. ii, pp. 144–145.

Kushkushkee, on Beaver Creek, northwest of Fort Duquesne, where the three chiefs known as King Beaver, Shingas, and Delaware George, received him kindly and conducted him to another town on the same stream. Here his reception was different. A crowd of warriors, their faces distorted with rage, surrounded him, brandishing knives and threatening to kill him; but others took his part, and order being at last restored, he read them his message from the governor, which seemed to please them. They insisted, however, that he should go with them to Fort Duquesne in order that the Indians assembled there might hear it also. Against this dangerous proposal he protested in vain. On arriving near the fort the French demanded that he should be given up to them, and being refused, offered a great reward for his scalp; on which his friends advised him to keep close by the camp-fire, as parties were out with intent to kill him. "Accordingly," says Post, "I stuck to the fire as if I had been chained there. On the next day the Indians with a great many French officers came to hear what I had to say. The officers brought with them a table, pens, ink, and paper. I spoke in the midst of them with a free conscience,[1] and perceived by their looks that they were not pleased with what I said." The substance of his message was an invitation to the Indians to renew the old chain of friendship, joined with a warning that an English army was on its way to drive off the French, and that they would do well to stand neutral.

He addressed an audience filled with an inordinate sense of their own power and importance, believing themselves greater and braver than either of the European nations and yet deeply jealous of both. "We have heard," they said, "that the French and English mean to kill all the Indians and divide the lands among themselves," and on this string they harped continually.[2]

After waiting some days the three tribes of the Delawares

[1] Parkman quotes from the journal of Christian Frederick Post here and elsewhere, dated July, August, September, October, November, 1758.

[2] Parkman says that if they had known their true interest they would not have made peace with the English, but would have all united to form a barrier of fire against their farther progress.

met in council, and made their answer to the message brought by Post. It was worthy of a proud and warlike race, and was to the effect that since their brothers of Pennsylvania wished to renew the old peace-chain, they on their part were willing to do so, provided that the wampum belt should be sent them in the name, not of Pennsylvania alone, but of the rest of the provinces also.

Having now accomplished his errand, Post wished to return home; but the Indians were seized with an access of distrust, and would not let him go. This jealousy redoubled when they saw him writing in his notebook. "It is a troublesome cross and heavy yoke to draw this people," he says; "they can punish and squeeze a body's heart to the utmost. There came some together and examined me about what I had wrote yesterday. I told them I writ what was my duty. 'Brothers, I tell you, I am not afraid of you. I have a good conscience before God and man. I tell you, brothers, there is a bad spirit in your hearts which breeds jealousy and will keep you ever in fear.'" At last they let him go; and eluding a party that lay in wait for his scalp, he journeyed twelve days through the forest and reached Fort Augusta with the report of his mission.

As the result of it, a great convention of white men and red was held at Easton in October. The neighboring provinces had been asked to send their delegates, and some of them did so; while belts of invitation were sent to the Indians far and near. Sir William Johnson, for reasons best known to himself, at first opposed the plan; but was afterwards led to favor it and to induce tribes under his influence to join in the grand pacification. The Five Nations, with the smaller tribes lately admitted into their conference, the Delawares of the Susquehanna, the Mohegans, and several kindred bands, all had their representatives at the meeting. The conferences lasted nineteen days, with the inevitable formalities of such occasions and the weary repetition of conventional metaphors and long-winded speeches.

When their difficulty was settled, the governor of Pennsylvania addressed the assembled Indians and gave them the wampum belt, with the request that they would

send it to their friends and allies and invite them to take hold also of the chain of friendship. Accordingly all present agreed on the joint message of peace to the tribes of the Ohio.

Frederick Post, with several white and Indian companions, was chosen to bear it. A small escort of soldiers that attended him as far as the Alleghany was cut to pieces on its return by a band of the very warriors to whom he was carrying his offers of friendship; and other tenants of the grim and frowning wilderness met the invaders of their domain with inhospitable greetings. The young warriors said: "Anybody can see with half an eye that the English only mean to cheat us; let us knock the messengers in the head." I said: "As God has stopped the mouths of the lions, that they could not devour Daniel, so he will preserve us from their fury." The chiefs and elders were of a different mind from their fierce and capricious young men. They met during the evening in the log house where Post was to be lodged; and here a French officer presently arrived with a string of wampum from the commandant, inviting them to help him drive back the army of Forbes. The string was scornfully rejected. "They kicked it from one to another as if it were a snake." . . . There was a grand council at which the French officer was present; and Post delivered the peace message from the council at Easton with another with which Forbes had charged him. The messages pleased all the hearers except the French captain. He shook his head in bitter grief and often changed countenance. . . . After the Indians began to mock him, he went out. The overtures of peace were accepted, and the Delawares, Shawanoes, and Mingoes were no longer enemies of the English.

The loss was all the more disheartening to the French, since a few weeks before they had won a victory over a part of the army of Forbes, because of which they hoped to hold their wavering allies. Major Grant, in command of the Highlanders, had prevailed upon Colonel Bouquet to allow him to detach eight hundred men from the advancing army, in order to reconnoitre Fort Duquesne.

The troops, consisting of Highlanders (Scotchmen), Royal Americans (Germans of Pennsylvania), and Provincials (Virginians), started together from the camp at Loyalhannon, but, owing to the bad generalship of Grant, who divided his forces so that they could not support one another, the expedition met with disaster. The enemy outnumbered them even when united; Grant's force was completely routed, five hundred and forty, however, out of the eight hundred and thirteen returning safely. In spite of this defeat, which had happened a few weeks before, the mission of Post was successful. He was *persona grata* among the Indians, beloved and respected by many, and no better messenger could have been chosen for this dangerous embassy. The selection of Post, as well as the plan of the meeting at Easton, was the work of General Forbes, as the next in command, the tactful Colonel Bouquet explained in a private letter.[1] Fort Duquesne was evacuated by the French, after they were left in the lurch by their Indian allies and by the troops from Louisiana and the Southwest. These desertions becoming known, the army of Forbes made forced marches over the mountains, and took the fort without opposition shortly after its evacuation.

In the defense of the frontier during the French and Indian War, the Royal Americans made a glorious record.

[1] Bouquet to Chief Justice Allen, 25 November, 1758. Quoted by Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. ii, p. 161: "After God, the success of this expedition is entirely due to the general, who by bringing about the treaty with the Indians at Easton struck the French a stunning blow, wisely delayed our advance to wait the effects of that treaty, secured all our posts, and left nothing to chance, and resisted the urgent solicitation to take Braddock's road, which would have been our destruction. In all his measures he has shown the greatest prudence, firmness, and ability." General Forbes was a martyr to this work. He suffered from a severe illness during the whole campaign, and died shortly after its completion.

This regiment consisted of four battalions, of one thousand men each. Fifty of the officers were to be foreign Protestants, while the enlisted men were to be raised principally from among the German settlers in America. The immediate commander was Colonel (later General) Bouquet, a Swiss by birth, an English officer by adoption, and a Pennsylvanian by naturalization, the last a distinction conferred upon him for his campaign in Western Pennsylvania, where he with Forbes wiped out the disgrace of Braddock's defeat.[1] The rank and file of the regiment were German and Swiss settlers of Pennsylvania, young men enlisted for three years, and they saw service in all parts of the colonies. A list of their campaigns is as follows:[2]

1757. First Battalion in Indian wars.
Five companies under Stanwix in Pennsylvania.
Third Battalion at Fort Hunter and Fort William Henry.
Second and Fourth at Louisbourg.
First Battalion under Bouquet in South Carolina.
First and Fourth at Crown Point and Ticonderoga.

1758. Second and Third Battalions at Louisbourg.
First and Fourth under Bouquet and Forbes at Fort Duquesne.

1759. Fourth Battalion under Prideaux at Fort Niagara.
Second and Third under Wolfe at Quebec.
Fourth under Haldiman at Oswego.
First under Amherst at Lake Champlain.
Fourth under Sir William Johnson, Bouquet, Stanwix, and Wolfe at Quebec.

1760. First, Second, and Third at Quebec.

[1] Cf. Rosengarten, *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States*, pp. 16–22. (Philadelphia, 1890.) A history of the Royal American Regiment is found in *A Regimental Chronicle, and List of Officers of the Sixtieth, formerly the Sixty-second, or the Royal American Regiment of Foot.* By N. W. Wallace. (London, 1879.)

[2] Rosengarten, *supra*, pp. 19–20.

1761. First in Virginia.
1762. Third at Martinique and Havana.
1763. First under Bouquet at Bushy Run and Pittsburg.

These campaigns made veterans of the Pennsylvania boys and prepared a nucleus of self-reliant soldiers for the coming war of the Revolution.

The story of the sufferings of pioneer settlers, who were constantly exposed to the inroads of savages during more than "half a century of conflict," is too distressing a narrative for detailed depiction. History repeated itself during the Revolutionary War, and therefore instances of heroism on the part of German frontiersmen will be cited in the following chapter (XI). The Germans of Pennsylvania, until the Revolutionary War, were left more at peace than many of the other frontier settlers, a circumstance probably due to the missionary work of the Moravians and to the pacific policy adopted toward the Indians by the Quaker government. The Virginians, the "Long Knives," would never admit this to be the fact, claiming that the reason of the Indian preference was that the Virginians were settlers and the Pennsylvanians only traders. Such a view, however, contradicts the facts, the Pennsylvanians being preëminently settlers.

The question as to how large was the total number of German settlers in the colonies before the Revolutionary War is one which cannot be determined with accuracy. There are no exact statistics extant concerning the population of the thirteen colonies. The Continental Congress of 1776 made an estimate of the population as a basis from which to apportion the expenses of the war.[1] The figures of this congressional conjectural census are as follows:—

[1] Pitkin's *Statistics*, p. 583 ; *Harper's Magazine*, vol. li, p. 399.

New Hampshire	102,000
Massachusetts (including Maine)	352,000
Rhode Island	58,000
Connecticut	202,000
New York (including Vermont)	238,000
New Jersey	138,000
Pennsylvania	341,000
Delaware	37,000
Maryland	174,000
Virginia (including Kentucky)	300,000
North Carolina (including Tennessee)	181,000
South Carolina	93,000
Georgia	27,000
Total white population	2,243,000
Slave population	500,000
Grand total	2,743,000

This estimate is generally considered too large, since the census of 1790 showed a total white population of only 3,172,006. New Hampshire took a state census in 1782 to lessen its proportion of the general taxes, and as a result of that census reported its population at 82,000, which figure was probably as far below the true number as the congressional estimate was above it. Bancroft estimated the total white population of the colonies in 1775 at 2,100,000.[1]

For the Scotch and Irish, Hanna[2] makes an estimate of 385,000, which he derives in the following way: Leaving New England out of consideration (assigning to it one third of the population, viz., 700,000), since its population was almost purely English, he takes Bancroft's figures for

[1] *History of the United States*, vol. iv, p. 62. (1888.)

[2] See Charles A. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish, or the Scotch in North Britain, North Ireland, and North America*, vol. i, pp. 82–84. (New York and London, Putnam, 1902.)

the territory west of the Hudson and south of the St. Lawrence district, which are as follows: —

New York (excluding Vermont)	202,000
New Jersey	109,000
Pennsylvania	273,000 [1]
Delaware	30,000
Maryland	134,000
Virginia (including Kentucky)	325,000
North Carolina (including Tennessee)	206,000
South Carolina	90,000
Georgia	34,000
	1,403,000

Hanna estimates the inhabitants of Scotch and Irish blood or descent to have been one eighth of the whole white population in New York; one fifth to one fourth in the states of New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia; more than one third in Pennsylvania, Delaware, North Carolina, and Georgia; and one half in South Carolina, resulting as follows: —

New York	25,000
New Jersey	25,000
Pennsylvania	100,000
Delaware	10,000
Maryland	30,000
Virginia	75,000
North Carolina	65,000
South Carolina	45,000
Georgia	10,000
	385,000

To get at the approximate number of inhabitants in 1775 who were of German blood is just as difficult. In

[1] This estimate for Pennsylvania is extremely low, as compared with the congressional census, viz., 341,000.

New England the settlements of Maine, those around Fort Massachusetts, and near Boston, probably together contained about fifteen hundred Germans. For New York State we can get nearer a correct estimate. The census made by the Reverend Mr. Kocherthal of the Palatines in New York State in 1718 estimated the Germans at about two thousand. This, as we have seen, was a low estimate, and corrected, as explained in Chapter IV,[1] would in 1720 make about twenty-five hundred. The natural increase, doubling in about twenty-three years (three per cent a year), added to the new arrivals at the port of New York, would make about twenty-five thousand. Pennsylvania's German population, as has been explained in Chapter V,[2] was about one hundred and ten thousand. Judging by the numerous German churches in the northern counties of New Jersey, by the proximity to the seaports of Philadelphia and New York, the German population in New Jersey must have been no less than fifteen thousand. Maryland was thickly settled by Germans in the western counties of Frederick and Washington, and in the neighborhood of Baltimore; giving Delaware five hundred, the German population of the two states together can be estimated at about 20,500. More numerous was the German population of Virginia and West Virginia. The German colonies visited by the Moravian missionaries in the Valley and on the South Branch, about 1744–50, represented about three to five thousand settlers. The natural increase and the German settlements in other counties, enumerated in Chapter VII, probably made a total of twenty-five thousand. South Carolina's German population can be estimated in the following way: In the year 1788 fifteen German churches were incorporated under

[1] See p. 92. [2] See p. 128.

the laws of the state (Chapter VIII, see pages 226–227). These churches were in existence before the Revolution, and probably were more numerous at that time, many being burned and pillaged and their congregations scattered during the war, by Tory raids. The question arises, how large a population does a single church represent? Some light on that subject is afforded by the estimate of Schlatter. He counted the number of the German Reformed in Pennsylvania as thirty thousand, distributed among forty-six congregations, sixteen parishes, to be served by as many pastors.[1] If forty-six congregations represent thirty thousand people, fifteen churches would represent at least ten thousand people, since congregations were frequently not large enough to build churches. The fifteen churches did not include the church in Charleston nor numerous other smaller settlements, nor the non-church-going Germans scattered beyond the interior, i. e., on the frontier where no ministers were available. The estimate of fifteen thousand is therefore not excessive. North Carolina had quite a large German population before 1775, as has been seen in the account of settlements in the central part of the state (Chapter VIII), and as is also evident from the tradition that there were immigrations of Germans from North Carolina into Virginia. We may estimate the population at about one half that of South Carolina, viz., eight thousand. Georgia had twelve hundred Salzburgers in 1741 according to documentary evidence. The natural increase up to 1775, added to the new arrivals, could not have been less than five thousand. This is a very small estimate in view of the political importance of the Salzburgers during the Revolutionary War. A summary of estimates will appear as follows:—

[1] *Hallesche Nachrichten* (Reprint), vol. i, p. 411.

New England	1,500
New York	25,000
Pennsylvania	110,000
New Jersey	15,000
Maryland and Delaware	20,500
Virginia and West Virginia	25,000
North Carolina	8,000
South Carolina	15,000
Georgia	5,000
Total	225,000

This estimate is very conservative, being based upon estimates of the numbers in known German colonies. The number of scattered German settlers in the large cities, and the number of settlements of which there is no record, must have been quite large. An estimate of two hundred and twenty-five thousand inhabitants of German blood at the outbreak of the Revolution must therefore be regarded as a minimum. It would mean that a little more than one tenth of the total white population at the beginning of the war of independence was of German blood. In certain localities, of course, the German population was much larger in proportion to the total population, notably in Pennsylvania, where it was one third of the total number. Future researches in the colonial history of the Germans will undoubtedly reveal larger numbers than have been given above, but the attempt has been made here to confine the estimate within limits that are clearly incontestable.

CHAPTER XI

THE GERMANS AS PATRIOTS AND SOLDIERS DURING THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION, 1775–1783

Activity of Germans at the beginning of the Revolutionary agitation — Services of sectarians in the war — The Tories — Resolutions of the Virginia Valley Germans — The Salzburgers as patriots — The German regiments — Armand's Legion — Washington's body-guard — Two types of German patriots: Peter Mühlenberg and the baker, Ludwig — The Mohawk Germans — Battle of Oriskany — Herkimer — Results of the battle — Heroism on the frontier — German officers in the American army: Baron Steuben, his services; John Kalb; F. H. Weissenfels; Ziegler; Lutterloh; Schott, etc. — The Hiester and Mühlenberg families — German families of Charleston, etc. — Individuals, Dohrmann, etc. — Germans in the French service — Siege of Yorktown — The Hessians.

The French and Indian War was the training-school for the Revolutionary struggle. The extensive service of the Royal American Regiment, described in the foregoing chapter, laid the foundation of military experience among the German settlers of Pennsylvania. In the Mohawk Valley Herkimer gathered the people together, and in the Valley of Virginia German military companies were quickly organized. There existed in the colonies a large number of German sectarians, Mennonites, Quakers, Dunkards, Seventh-Day Baptists, and others, whose religion forbade the use of arms. They, like the English Quakers, represented the spirit of non-resistance, which inflicted much suffering upon the frontier settlers during the French and Indian War. The newspaper of Sauer gave expression to this pacific attitude, which should not, however, be mistaken for Toryism. The Mennonites and other

religious sects, though they did not bear arms, furnished in supplies and taxes the equivalent of trained eyes and limbs. They would not at any time have been unwilling to lay down their lives for their country. The Moravians of North Carolina submitted cheerfully to a triple tax levied upon them by the province, in lieu of military service.

The more vigorous and manly virtues of the Germans, who as a race from the beginning of their history proved themselves good warriors, were represented by such men as Mühlenberg and Schlatter. The latter was the army chaplain of the Royal Americans in the French and Indian War, and served in a similar capacity during the Revolution. The Reverend H. M. Mühlenberg was proud of the military achievements of his son Peter (to be noted below), and his directing hand was evident from the very beginning. In 1775 the vestries of the German Lutheran and Reformed churches in Philadelphia sent a pamphlet of forty pages to the Germans of New York and North Carolina, stating that the Germans in the near and remote parts of Pennsylvania had formed not only militia companies, but a select corps of sharpshooters ready to march wherever they were required, while those who could not do military service were willing to contribute according to their abilities.[1] An earnest appeal was made to the Germans in other colonies for armed resistance against the "oppression and despotism" of the English government. With the sanction of Mühlenberg back of it, this appeal must have produced a thrill of enthusiasm among the German population. The volunteers of Pennsylvania were called "Associators"; those who were Germans had their headquarters at the Lutheran schoolhouse in Philadelphia.

[1] Rosengarten, *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States*, p. 29. (Second edition, Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1890.)

There were very few German Tories in Pennsylvania, though there were many sectarians. One notable exception was, not the printer Sauer himself, but his two sons, who during the occupation of Philadelphia by General Howe published a newspaper voicing Tory sentiments. It was the only case on record of a German Tory paper printed in the colonies. Its influence could not have been of any importance at all, and its pages were perused more seriously abroad than on this side of the water. Schlözer prints a complete copy of one of the issues of the paper (May 6, 1778); it is a curious jumble of local items, advertisements, misstatements, and flamboyant verses.[1] The social condition of the Germans in the colonies forced them as a necessary consequence into the Democratic party. They were not members of families that had been in favor at court for generations; they were not owners of estates

[1] August Ludwig Schlözer's *Professors in Göttingen*, etc. *Briefwechsel, meisthistorischen u. politischen Inhalts*, Dritter Theil, Heft XVII, pp. 260–263. (Göttingen, 1778.) The paper is called a weekly: *Der Pennsylvanische Staats-Courier oder Einlaufende Wöchentliche Nachrichten.* Alle Wochen herausgegeben von Christoph Saur jun. und Peter Saur. Of curious interest are the verses describing a caricature of King George bending one knee before Washington and directed to bend the other, followed by an exhortation to loyalists: —

Der König liegt vor ihm (Washington), auf einem Knie gebogen.
Ist dieses würklich wahr? Herr, es ist nicht gelogen?
Und was noch ärger ist, er soll mit Fingern zeigen
Der König möge doch das andre Knie auch beigen.
Ist das nicht unverschämt? den Frevel muss man strafen,
Heiszt das ein freies Volk? Nein — Sie sind Congresz Sklaven.
Auf! Auf! ihr Britten auf! Ihr Hessen frischen Mut!
Marschirt nur hurtig vor; des Königs Sach steht gut! etc.

An amusing couplet found in the same issue, written by some aspiring poetaster, called "Eine Satire," is as follows: —

Ich will — ich mag — ich kann nicht schweigen!
(Wiewohl ich weisz, die Thoren wollen mich nicht *gleichen.*)

(These verses are quoted as specimens, recommending the book of verse.)

that were gifts of the crown; they felt no national sentiments binding them to a British prince. They were men who had hewn their own farms out of the wild forest, had maintained their independence against its savage inhabitants, and now claimed as their own the soil on which their battles had been won. Frontiersmen — and most of the Germans were or had been such — gained from their mode of life a degree of independence which often set them in opposition to the policies of the seaboard. The conservative easterly settlements were better satisfied with the *status quo*, the frontiersmen looked beyond, aspired to new conditions, and were ready to make a bold venture. The frontier turned the balance toward independence.

In the opinion of John Adams, the people of New York and Pennsylvania were very equally divided between the Tory and Democratic parties, and nearly one third of the whole population of the colonies, at the time of the Revolution, were Tories. "New York and Pennsylvania were so nearly divided, if their propensity was not against us, that if New England on one side and Virginia on the other had not kept them in awe, they would have joined the British."[1] This opinion was affirmed in a letter to Thomas McKean, chief justice of Pennsylvania, sometime president of Congress, and signer of the Declaration of Independence, who wrote in reply: "You say that about one third of the people of the colonies were against the Revolution. It required much reflection, before I could fix my opinion on this subject; but on mature deliberation I conclude you are right, and that more than one third of influential characters were against it."[2] In subse-

[1] *Works of John Adams*, vol. x, p. 63. The letter is dated, "Quincy, 31 August, 1813."

[2] *Adams's Works*, vol. x, p. 110. (Letter to James Lloyd dated, "Quincy, January, 1815.")

quent letters (1780) he speaks of the Tories as constituting not a twentieth of the population, which may mean that the Tories decreased in numbers as the war progressed. At the outbreak of the Revolution the Tories were undoubtedly more numerous; it would be no exaggeration to assume that, at the beginning, in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware one third of the population were opposed to the war; in New York, Georgia, and the Carolinas, two fifths; in Maryland and Virginia, one sixth.[1] Moses Coit Tyler[2] says: "In Virginia, especially after hostilities began, the Tories were decidedly less in number than the Whigs. In North Carolina, the two parties were about evenly divided. In South Carolina, the Tories were the numerous party; while in Georgia their majority was so great that, in 1781, they were preparing to detach that colony from the general movement of the rebellion." A Hessian officer,[3] writing from New Hampshire, estimated that the population was one sixth loyal, one sixth neutral, and two thirds rebel, agreeing with the estimate of Adams and McKean.

All contemporary accounts and sources of information seem to indicate that in the German population the proportion of Tories was by no means as great as the averages mentioned. There were a few loyal Germans serving under the Hessian colonel, Knyphausen, during his New Jersey campaign, but they would by no means represent

[1] Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish, or the Scotch in North Britain, North Ireland, and North America*, vol. i, p. 84.

[2] *American Historical Review*, vol. i, p. 28, "The Loyalists in the American Revolution" (pp. 24–45).

[3] He wrote from Castle Town, New Hampshire (now probably Castleton, Vermont), July 20, 1777. The style of the letter is such as to inspire confidence in the writer's statements. Printed in Schlözer's *Briefwechsel*, vol. iii, pp. 275–282. Schlözer's *Briefwechsel*, 1777–1782, contains many letters from Hessian officers serving in the American colonies during the Revolution.

one third or even one sixth of the German population. Benjamin Franklin, when queried before the English Parliament concerning the dissatisfaction of the Americans with the Stamp Act, was asked how many Germans there were in Pennsylvania. His answer was: "About one third of the whole population, but I cannot tell with certainty." Again the question was put whether a part of them had seen service in Europe. He answered, "Many, as well in Europe as in America." When asked whether they were as dissatisfied with the Stamp Tax as the native population, he said: "Yes, even more, and they are justified, because in many cases they must pay double for their stamp paper and parchments."

The German newspaper in Philadelphia called the "Staatsbote," published by Henry Miller, later the printer of Congress, was one of the papers that fanned the flames of rebellion.[1] In the conventions held in Philadelphia in June and July, 1774, and January, 1775, to adopt measures of sympathy and union with Massachusetts, the Germans were represented by Christopher Ludwig, Schlosser, Engel, and Hillegas; by Hubley, Barge, Rosz, Ferree, Slough (Schlauch), Erwin, Schultz, Potts, Küchlein, Arndt, Weitzel, Hasenclever, Melcher, Wagner, Graf, Kuhn, Eichelberger, Smyser, Levan, and Gehr, who were residents of Philadelphia and of the Pennsylvania German counties of Lancaster, Berks, Northampton, Northumberland, York, etc.[2] This representation shows that the

[1] His paper was read as far as the Valley of Virginia. Heinrich Ringer, at Winchester, and Jacob Nicolas at Peaked Mountain, Augusta County, were the agents of the paper. The edition of March 19, 1776, contains an appeal to the Germans beginning: "Remember that your forefathers immigrated to America to escape bondage and to enjoy liberty." *Virginia Magazine* vol. x, pp. 45 ff.

[2] Cf. Seidensticker, *Bilder aus der deutsch-Pennsylvanischen Geschichte*, p. 259. (New York, 1886.)

Germans were aggressive patriots at the very beginning of the Revolutionary movement.

Among the merchants of Philadelphia who fixed their signatures to the document bidding them to refrain from importing English goods, there were the Germans, Keppele (senior and junior), Steinmetz, Deschler, Wister (Daniel and John). "In the Valley of the Blue Ridge the German congregations, quickened by the preaching of Mühlenberg, were eager to take up arms."[1] Even before the outbreak of hostilities the Germans of the Valley of Virginia were among the first to adopt resolutions which smacked of treason to the British king. On June 16, 1774, a meeting took place at Woodstock, Virginia, in which initial revolutionary steps were taken. The Reverend Peter Mühlenberg was chosen moderator of the meeting, and afterwards chairman of the committee on resolutions. The resolutions were bolder than public opinion at that time was prepared to sanction. The following extracts show the spirit pervading them:—

That we will pay due submission to such acts of government as His Majesty has a right by law to exercise over his subjects, and to such only.

That it is the inherent right of British subjects to be governed and taxed by representatives chosen by themselves only, and that every act of the British Parliament respecting the internal policy of America is a dangerous and unconstitutional invasion of our rights and privileges.

That the enforcing the execution of said acts of Parliament by a military power will have a necessary tendency to cause a civil war, thereby dissolving that union, which has so long happily subsisted between the mother country and her colonies;

[1] George Bancroft, *History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent*, vol. iv, p. 318. The author's last revision. (N. Y. Appleton, 1884.)

and that we will most heartily and unanimously concur with our suffering brethren in Boston and every other part of North America, who are the immediate victims of tyranny, in promoting all proper measures to avert such dreadful calamities, to procure redress of our grievances, and to secure our common liberties.

The lovers of liberty closed by "pledging themselves to each other, to our country," and promising "inviolably to adhere to the votes of this day." The committee of safety and correspondence appointed for the county consisted of Peter Mühlenberg, chairman, Francis Slaughter, Abraham Bird, T. Beale, J. Tipton, and Abraham Bowman, at least half of whom were Germans.[1]

The British traveler Smyth,[2] while in Fredericktown, Maryland, in 1775, had some trouble with the armed "Associators." He had been invited before the Revolutionary committee, but preferred to leave town, going by way of Middletown and Funkstown to Hagerstown. Everywhere he found Germans, and he describes in a grotesque manner, how, after his first escape, he was seized again. "One said, 'Got tamn you, how darsht you make an exshkape from this honorable committish?' 'Fer flucht der dyvel,' cried another, 'how can you shtand so shtyff for King Shorsh akainst dish Koontery?' 'Sacramenter,' roars out another, 'dish committish will make

[1] These resolutions are printed in the *Virginia Magazine*, vol. x, p. 46. The editor of the magazine states that similar resolutions were adopted in meetings in Virginia, as follows: Fredericksburg, June 1; Prince William County, June 6; Frederick County, June 8; and then very shortly after occurred the meeting at Woodstock, June 16, 1774. The proceedings of the meeting are published in full in the *Virginia Gazette* for August 4, 1774 (Library of Congress). The spurious Mecklenburg (N. C.) declaration, it was claimed, occurred in May, 1775 (one year later).

[2] Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. ii, chapter lxv, pp. 274 ff. (London, 1784.)

Shorsh know how to behave himself'; and the butcher exclaimed, 'I would kill all de English tieves as soon as Ich would kill van ox or van cow.'" Smyth's experience, though his imitation of Pennsylvania German does not quite meet the rigorous demands of modern philology, proves at least that the Frederick County Germans were patriotic. The farmers and small tradesmen in the western counties were almost without exception favorable to the Revolutionary cause, a few exceptions to the contrary notwithstanding. What matters it if John Brake, an old German of considerable wealth on the South Fork of the South Branch, who had no friends but his gold-pieces, became a Tory from selfish interests? General Morgan soon took Brake prisoner and quartered his German sharpshooters at the old gentleman's house, to live on the best that his farm, mill, and distillery afforded. A few Germans in this section, who had become Tories, drawn over by the Scotchman, John Claypole, repented, and are known to have fought subsequently against Cornwallis at Yorktown.[1]

In North and South Carolina, where the Tories in many places outnumbered the Revolutionists, to be a patriot meant a greater risk or sacrifice. Many Germans in the central or western districts of those states suffered greatly from Tory raids.[2] Among the few Germans loyal to the crown probably the most noted was the Reverend John Joachim Zubly, for many years the most prominent Reformed minister in the South. He was educated in Switzerland and followed his father to America in 1774. In September, 1775, he was elected a member of the Con-

[1] *Virginia Magazine*, vol. x, p. 113.

[2] Cf. Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements, etc., in North and South Carolina*, pp. 269–273.

tinental Congress, but he turned Royalist, was expelled, and lost to memory.[1]

Concerning the Germans of Georgia we can say with assurance that by far the majority of them were patriotic, the German Tories amounting by no means to two fifths of the German population.[2] When in 1775 the provincials assembled in Savannah, to adopt measures to protect the province against the arbitrary legislation of the mother country, St. Matthew's parish was represented in that congress by the Salzburgers, — John Stirk, John Adam Treutlen, Jacob Waldhauer, John Flerl, and Christopher Cramer. An evidence of the prominence of the Salzburgers among the patriots of Georgia was the election of John Adam Treutlen to the office of provincial governor. In his youth Treutlen had been instructed by the worthy minister of the Salzburgers, the Reverend Mr. Bolzius, in Latin, French, English, and mathematics, and by virtue of his broad education and natural abilities he became the centre of influence in the German congregation. He was an opponent of the mischief-maker, the Reverend Mr. Triebner, and the most ardent supporter of the minister Rabenhorst in the church quarrel which the Reverend H. M. Mühlenberg arbitrated and settled. Among his own people and beyond he took a strong initiative for the party of liberty. In a commonwealth where there was much Toryism and neutrality he soon became the leading patriot. In May, 1777, the first legislative body of the state met in Savannah and under the new constitution Treutlen was elected the first governor. In the following year dictatorial powers were conferred upon him by act

[1] *Virginia Magazine*, vol. xi, p. 392, note.

[2] As estimated above, two fifths to one half the population of Georgia were Tories.

of the Georgia Council.[1] One of his appointees, Colonel Elbert, took possession of the fortress Frederica in April, 1778, a brilliant victory whereby two English warships and a large amount of supplies fell into the hands of the captors. The most prominent German Tory in this section, the Reverend Mr. Triebner, an old enemy of the governor, welcomed the British to Savannah and advised them to garrison Ebenezer. The home and farm of Treutlen were made a special object of vengeance, his movable property was confiscated, and his dwelling and stores were burned to the ground. He fled to Elbert County, and though fifty-three years of age[2] joined the army of General Wayne, and served throughout the war as quartermaster-general. Other Salzburgers prominent were Samuel Stirk, rebel secretary; William Holsendorf (Holzendorf), rebel councilor; John Stirk, rebel colonel; and many others who served under General Wayne in the war for independence. Among those notorious on the royalist side, for marauding parties, were the Germans Eischel and Dasher, whose evil work, however, was counterbalanced by the military services of the sons of Frederick Helfenstein, and of George Wysche, John Schneider, and other "proscribed rebels."

A number of German regiments were raised at the very beginning of the war for service wherever needed. Congress decided on May 22, 1776, to raise a German regiment, consisting of four companies levied in Pennsylvania and four in Maryland, to which, by resolution of July 9, 1777, was added a ninth company recruited from Pennsylvania. The officers and men were entirely German or of German

[1] Stevens's *History of Georgia*, vol. ii, pp. 300–301, 304.

[2] Treutlen was born, in 1726, at Berchtesgaden, in the Salzburg district.

descent.[1] The colonel of the regiment was originally Nicholas Haussegger, who was succeeded by Ludwig Weltner. The regiment was engaged in Sullivan's division during the New Jersey campaign and took part also in the latter's campaign against the Indians. The German regiment served also to protect the city of Philadelphia against the enemy and the disaffected during Howe's campaign in New Jersey; subsequently it joined Washington's army, taking part in the battle of Trenton that so revived the hopes of the patriotic party. The regiment took part also in the battles of Princeton and Brandywine, and spent the winter of 1777–78 at Valley Forge, suffering privations with the rest of the American army.

The regiment called Armand's Legion was originally recruited by Baron von Ottendorff as a troop of light infantry, but on account of the need of well-disciplined cavalry, it was changed into a dragoon corps. Ottendorff was from Saxony and had served in the Seven Years' War under Frederick the Great. He was directed by Congress December 5, 1776, to raise an independent corps of one hundred and fifty, of which he was put in command with the rank of major. His command was filled in Pennsylvania and remained in service from 1777 to 1780, when it was merged into Armand's Legion, while Ottendorff is supposed to have returned to Europe.[2] This happened after the battle of Savannah, in which Pulaski suffered death, and in which Ottendorff's company also met many losses in the

[1] Cf. Rosengarten, pp. 100–101. Also *Pennsylvania in the Revolution, 1775–1783*, 2 vols. (Harrisburg, 1880.) Edited by Linn and Engle. Full lists of officers and men serving in Continental forces are there given. For a list of the captains and lieutenants see Seidensticker, pp. 263-264. The first, third, fifth, seventh, and ninth companies were Pennsylvanians. Maryland deserves great credit for furnishing so large a proportion, four ninths of the regiment.

[2] Rosengarten, pp. 103–104.

attack. Schott's dragoons, recruited in the Pennsylvania-German districts, were also for a time in Armand's Legion. The regiment did gallant service in the South, at Yorktown, and at the siege of New York. Several hundred names of officers and men belonging to this regiment are given in "Der deutsche Pionier."[1] The same source-book for German-American history gives the names of hundreds of soldiers who served during the Revolution in the Continental regiments I to XIII of Pennsylvania.[2]

One of the interesting facts concerning the military history of the Revolution is that Washington's body-guard was largely made up of Germans. There had been Tories, or at least suspects, in the first body-guard appointed, and plots were revealed by which the person of the commander-in-chief was to be seized. On the advice of Washington's private secretary and adjutant, Reed, who was of German descent,[3] a troop was formed consisting entirely of Germans, called the Independent Troop of Horse, and placed under the command of Major Barth. Van Heer, a Prussian, who had served as cavalry lieutenant under Frederick the Great in the Seven Years' War. Of Washington's good opinion of German soldiers we find a proof in his letter to the president of Congress, dated June 30, 1776:[4] "The battalion of Germans which Congress has ordered to be raised will be a corps of much service, and I am hopeful that such per-

[1] Vol. viii, pp. 450–456.

[2] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. viii, pp. 133–142, 181–187, 275–282, 333–336 (Seventh Continental Regiment of Pennsylvania, formerly the Sixth Battalion, Dr. William Irvine, commander, under whom served Rose, mentioned below), 496–499; vol. ix, pp. 276–278, 329–333; vol. x, pp. 158–161. The lists were verified by comparison with the statistics of the Pension Bureau at Washington. The investigation was made by H. A. Rattermann, editor of *Der deutsche Pionier*.

[3] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. vii, p. 217.

[4] *American Archives*, series ix, vol. vi, p. 1142.

sons will be appointed officers as will complete their enlistment with all possible expedition."

Van Heer recruited most of his men in the Pennsylvania German counties, Berks and Lancaster. They began to serve in the spring of 1778, and were honorably discharged at the end of the war, twelve of them serving longer than any other American soldiers, having the honor of escorting the commander-in-chief to his home at Mount Vernon. These twelve men each received presents of arms, accoutrements, and a horse, as we learn from a written record in the possession of the family of one of the twelve, Ludwig Boyer, discharged December 10, 1783.[1] Washington's mounted body-guard consisted of fourteen officers and fifty-three men, nearly all Germans,[2] — exclusively Germans, according to the testimony of Colonel John Johnson, sometime president of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, and personal friend of Washington.[3] In the pension lists of 1828 a number of names of soldiers belonging to Van Heer's troop are given. Boyer was granted a pension, one hundred pounds annually; Jacob Fox (Fuchs), who had lost his discharge, brought as witnesses two former comrades, Burckhardt and Trischer,

[1] The descendants of Boyer lived in Piqua, Ohio. The discharge of Boyer was in the handwriting of Washington's aide-de-camp, David Cobb. Most discharges were printed formulas. A facsimile of the original is found in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. vii, p. 469. The father of Ludwig Boyer (or Beyer) was a Palatine or Rhine Hessian, who landed in Philadelphia in 1752 and settled in Berks County.

[2] Rosengarten, p. 139.

[3] Colonel John Johnson was by birth an Irishman, who came to the United States after the Revolution. He seems to have had no reason for a prejudiced view. His acquaintance with Washington and distinguished men of the Revolutionary period gives his statements some weight. He said that not a single officer or soldier of this troop understood a word of English, and that it was commanded by Major Van Heer, a Prussian. For a discussion of the whole subject, see *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. vii, pp. 215–221, and 469–485 (Rattermann).

who both swore that they had belonged to Van Heer's corps and that that troop was the body-guard of Washington.

As representatives of two classes of German patriots, differing as to origin and social position, but one in motive and enthusiasm, there may be selected the two men, Peter Mühlenberg and Christopher Ludwig (Ludwick). The former, born in America, educated in Germany, the eldest son of the patriarch of the Lutheran Church, Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, was destined to hold high offices in military and civil affairs; the other, born in Germany, without the advantages of scholarly training, but beaten about in the world until matured and ripened, was a representative of the sturdy middle-class element among the Germans, that sometimes causes amusement by its foreign smack, but has frequently inspired admiration for its old-fashioned virtue and power.

Peter Mühlenberg was destined by his father for the ministry, and was sent to Halle as a student of theology. But there flowed in Peter's veins the blood not only of the ministerial Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, but that also of the adventure-loving Conrad Weiser.[1] In Mühlenberg's family there were also some soldier ancestors. The inclinations of Peter therefore swerved between the serious purpose of the preacher and the danger-haunted life of the soldier. Being born under a lucky star, it happened that he was able to gratify his tastes for both vocations. His father had misgivings when the young man preached his first sermon, and well he might, for Peter had not been an ideal student, — but the elders of the church grouped about his father afterwards, congratulating him upon the initial achievement of his son. Peter accepted

[1] His mother was a daughter of Conrad Weiser.

a call in 1772 to the Lutheran church at Woodstock, in the Shenandoah Valley. His frank and manly bearing made friends within the congregation and without. An intimacy arose with Patrick Henry and Colonel George Washington. With the former he laid deep plans of sedition, with the latter he shot bucks in the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Peter Mühlenberg was made the chairman of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence in Dunmore County, within which Woodstock was located. In the state's convention of 1774 at Williamsburg, and in the next session at Richmond in March, 1775, he supported Patrick Henry eloquently and gave assurance of the support of his large constituency in the Valley. Patrick Henry renewed his motion of arming the province of Virginia, and Mühlenberg seconded him. In accordance with the wishes of Washington and Patrick Henry, Mühlenberg was put in command of the Eighth Virginia Regiment. The German-Americans, Abraham Bowman and Peter Helfenstein, were his lieutenant-colonel and major respectively. Quite typical of Peter Mühlenberg was the little romance connected with his last sermon. The news that the favorite minister was to preach his last sermon brought crowds of hearers from far and near, filling not only the church, but also the churchyard roundabout. It was in January, 1776, when the atmosphere was charged with potentialities. At the close of his sermon the minister spoke of the duties we owe our country, saying with a fervor born of conviction that "there was a time for preaching and praying, but also a time for battle, and that such a time had now arrived." He pronounced the benediction, then threw off his clerical robe, and behold, minister no more, he stood in the uniform of a colonel of the Continental Army. As

he slowly descended from the pulpit the drums were beaten outside the church, for the mustering of soldiers in the cause of freedom. Enthusiasm blazed up spontaneously, carrying men away to a step before which they had long hesitated and trembled. Three hundred recruits were at once taken into the regiment of Mühlenberg, and on the following day the numbers increased to over four hundred.

The regiment of Mühlenberg was always more numerous than others, and its colonel was chosen several times to restore the numbers of other colonial regiments. His regiment was first used in South Carolina, then brought to the North. On February 21, 1777, Congress raised Colonel Mühlenberg to the rank of brigadier-general, in command of the First, Fifth, Ninth, and Thirteenth Virginia regiments. Mühlenberg's and Weedon's (Wieden's) brigade formed General Greene's division, distinguished for bravery and discipline in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. At Brandywine Mühlenberg's brigade was used by General Greene in his famous manœuvre, covering the retreat of the American army, and preventing its annihilation by Cornwallis. It was a difficult position to hold, against picked Hessian troops and the Guard regiments of the British. At the battle of Germantown Mühlenberg's division divided the right wing of the enemy in a brilliant bayonet attack; the errors of that unfortunate battle were made in other quarters. The regiment was at Valley Forge during the winter, and subsequently sustained its good reputation in the battle of Monmouth.[1]

Christopher Ludwig was an aggressive advocate of the Revolution. From the very first he maintained, in popular meetings, that no compromise measures would be effective,

[1] Mühlenberg's operations in the South will be mentioned below.

and spoke for war with England even if it be one of long duration. When Governor Mifflin made a motion that a collection be made for the purchase of arms and ammunition, and several voices were heard in opposition, Ludwig rose and said in badly accented but very plain English: "Mr. President, I am of course only a poor gingerbread baker, but write me down for two hundred pounds." Ludwig's move closed the debate and the proposition was adopted unanimously. In the summer of 1776, though fifty-five years of age, Ludwig became a volunteer in the militia. He was well acquainted with the soldier's and sailor's life, for he had served against the Turks in Austria, had been in the army of Frederick the Great, then with the English in the East Indies, and from 1745 on, he had been for seven years at sea. He had settled in Philadelphia since 1754 and had followed the trade of a baker, which he had learned in his native city of Giessen: He was tall in stature, erect in carriage and of commanding presence, so that he was nick-named the "Governor of Laetitia Court" (where his Philadelphia bakery was located). He impressed his fellow men at once with his capacity for managing affairs. He was a member of the "Powder Committee," as we know from his advertisement for a man "skilled in the art of manufacturing powder." In May, 1777, Congress appointed Ludwig superintendent of bakers and director of baking for the entire army.[1] It was demanded of him to furnish one hundred pounds of bread for every one hundred pounds of flour. "No," said he, "Christopher Ludwig does not wish to become rich by the war. He has enough. Out of one hundred pounds of flour one gets one hundred and thirty-five pounds of

[1] With the salary of seventy-five dollars a month and a daily supply of two rations. Two rations presumably for himself and his wife.

bread,[1] and so many will I give." His predecessors, grafters of an early day, had always given themselves the benefit of the ignorance of the legislators. General Washington was in the habit of referring to Ludwig as his "honest friend." Meeting difficulties in securing men to help him, Ludwig was sent to Philadelphia by order of the commander-in-chief to apply to the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania to furnish him with such number of journeymen bakers out of the militia as he might want. One of Ludwig's notable achievements was the prompt execution of Washington's order, immediately after the surrender at Yorktown, to bake bread for the army of Cornwallis; Ludwig baked six thousand pounds of bread in one day. In the company of officers Ludwig showed good humor and wit. A beautiful punch-bowl of porcelain, which he had brought from Canton, China, served the officers on festive occasions. Washington is said to have drunk many a toast from it, and was fond of closing with the couplet, "Health and long life, to Christopher Ludwig and his wife."

The occupation of Philadelphia by the British inflicted heavy losses upon Ludwig, as also upon the printer Miller and other "notorious" rebels.[2] Ludwig recovered, however, after the war, and when he died in 1809, eighty-one years of age, he left several bequests, — not large, to be sure, according to modern standards, but very well be-

[1] The added water increases the weight.

[2] The printing-press and property of Heinrich Miller (printer of Congress) were confiscated. The British robbed the house of Jacob Schreiner, a member of the Revolutionary Committee, destroyed the sugar refinery of David Schäffer (senior and junior, father-in-law and brother-in-law respectively of F. A. Mühlenberg), plundered the house of the Reverend Mr. Schlatter in Chestnut Hill, and damaged the property of the following Germans: Keppele, Kuhn, Hogner, Zantzinger, Bärtch, Sprögel, Eckert, Graff, Gressler, and Knorr, most of whom were well-to-do merchants of Philadelphia.

stowed. His benefactions were extended to the Deutsche Gesellschaft, the University of Pennsylvania, and to two churches that were to award the income to poor children. The residue of his estate, three thousand pounds, was given to found a free school, which in 1872 was named in his honor Ludwick's Institute.[1]

The German settlements in the Mohawk Valley and the Schoharie district suffered more from Indian attacks during the Revolution than any other frontier area. They were the outposts of American civilization in the territory of the Six Nations, the most warlike of all the Indian tribes. The Six Nations had for the most part been friendly during the French and Indian War; now the English had succeeded in persuading them that their king across the water was the stronger master, and in consequence they served the English. An additional incentive was the great opportunity for rewards from the British, combined with the certainty of plunder from the colonists. The English at one time placed a price of eight dollars upon every scalp brought in. The rich farms and fat herds of the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys were their legitimate prey, if the Indians chose to join in the war against the American colonies.

The family of Sir William Johnson, in Tryon County, who had been so influential in keeping the Indians loyal during the French and Indian War, now became Tories, and carried the Indians of their section with them. Sir William Johnson had married the sister of the Indian chief Brant, whom he had given a good school education.[2]

[1] Dr. Benjamin Rush thought Ludwig worthy of a biography by his own distinguished pen: *Life of Ludwick.* (Philadelphia, 1801; reprinted, 1831.) Cf. also *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. viii, pp. 18–25; and Seidensticker, *Bilder aus der deutsch-pennsylvanischen Geschichte*, pp. 261–262.

[2] Brant was sent to the school of Dr. Wheelock, of Lebanon, Connecticut.

Captain Joseph Brant became the scourge of the Mohawk Valley, and the Schoharie district. He was superior in intelligence to his own tribe and to a large portion of the frontiersmen, and was one of the most terrible foes the frontiersmen at any time or place had the ill fortune to encounter.

The Germans of the Mohawk Valley could not wait until they might receive aid from the New York state government. The Committee of Safety in Tryon County organized four battalions in the summer of 1775. All four of the colonels were Germans, Nicholas Herkimer (Herckheimer), commanding the first battalion (Canajoharie), Jacob Klock the second (Palatine district), Frederick Fisher the third (Mohawk), and Hanjost Herckheimer the fourth (German Flats and Kingsland).[1] The whole force was put under the command of Nicholas Herkimer, who by pressure and persuasion made the whole district loyal to the American cause.

In the middle of June, 1777, General Burgoyne began his march from Canada. He wished to cut off the New England states from the rest of the colonies by establishing a line from Lake Champlain down the Hudson to New York. He was to be aided by a British expedition up the Hudson from New York. Colonel St. Leger was to come from the westward, joining Burgoyne at Albany, after having subdued the whole of the Mohawk Valley and robbed it of its rich harvests, which were to supply Burgoyne's army with food. St. Leger left Montreal about the end of July, and on the third of August ar-

His Indian name was Thay-en-da-ne-gea, signifying a bundle of sticks, the symbol of strength.

[1] Kapp, *Geschichte der Deutschen im Staate New York*, pp. 239 ff. (New York, 1867), furnishes a list of all the staff and company officers; almost all were Germans.

rived in the neighborhood of the present city of Rome, on the narrow plateau which forms the watershed between the Hudson and St. Lawrence.

In the mean time General Herkimer had summoned to arms all the men, between sixteen and sixty years of age, in Tryon County; even the members of the Committee of Safety were not excused from service in the ranks. Four battalions, about eight hundred men, under the commanders named, advanced in the direction of Fort Stanwix (its location was near what is now Rome), where a garrison had been stationed under Colonel Gansevoort. The latter had with him about six to seven hundred men, and had put the fort into a condition of defense. General St. Leger, after surrounding Fort Stanwix, demanded its surrender, and was greatly surprised when he met a stern refusal. The militia under Herkimer crossed the Mohawk at Fort Schuyler (the present Utica), and on the evening of the fifth of August encamped near the confluence of the Oriska and the Mohawk, where Oriskany is now located. The inexperienced troops were aflame with eager desire to meet the enemy. The general, who had experienced the dangers of border fighting in the French and Indian War, wisely advised caution, and wished to select a secure position in which to wait for an attack. Just as Daniel Boone's advice a few years later was scorned before the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks,[1] and the Kentucky militia, inflamed by Major McGarry's taunts, advanced contrary to Boone's wishes, so here the undisciplined bravado of the raw militia could not be restrained. The brave commander was denounced as a coward and Tory by his brother officers, Fischer (Visscher), Cox, and Paris,

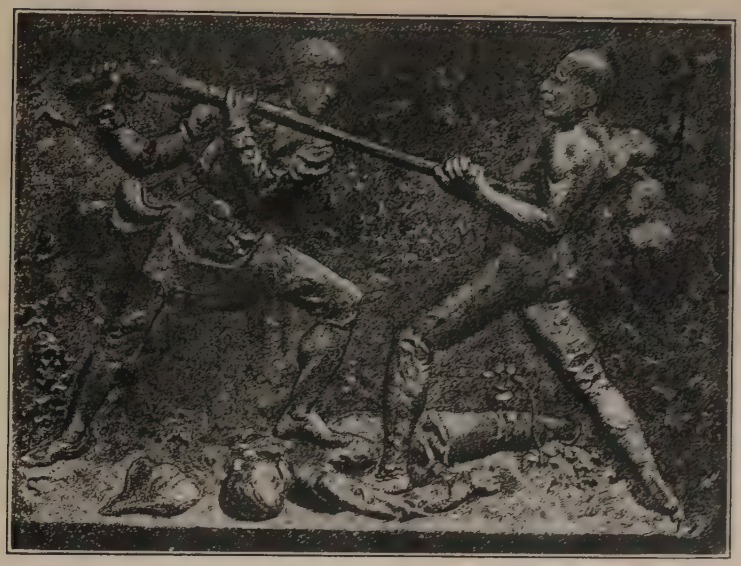
[1] Cf. Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. ii, pp. 200–201. The battle was fought August 19, 1782.

who carried the eager masses with them. "I am placed over you as a father and guardian," said Herkimer calmly, "and I will not lead you into difficulties from which I may not be able to extricate you." But the confusion and dissatisfaction becoming unbearable, Herkimer exclaimed, "If you will have it so, the blood be upon your heads," and yielding, he gave the command to move on.[1]

Colonel St. Leger had received information concerning the approach of General Herkimer and preferred to meet him in the field rather than await him. He detached eighty men of Sir John Johnson's Royal Greens under Major Watts (Sir John's brother-in-law), and the entire body of Indians under Joseph Brant, the whole under the command of Johnson, to intercept Herkimer's approach. On the advice of Brant the plan followed was to draw the Americans into an ambuscade. A position was selected, admirably adapted for this purpose, about two miles west from Oriskany, and about six miles distant from Fort Stanwix. The road led through a ravine, and sloped to a swamp bottom, that was made passable only by a corduroy road, constructed for the benefit of supply-wagons going to Fort Stanwix. On the other side the road sloped upward and opened toward the west. The country on either side was wooded and afforded good opportunities for observing the corduroy road. About eleven o'clock in the morning, Herkimer, riding at the head of his column on a white horse, reached the ravine. His people followed him slowly, going into the ravine and deliberately ascending the western height where Herkimer waited for them.

The small force had in part ascended the western slope,

[1] Cf. W. M. Reid, *The Mohawk Valley, Its Legends and its History* (The Knickerbocker Press, N. Y. 1901), p. 418. A good description of the battle follows, pp. 419–429.



THE HAND TO HAND CONFLICT

HERKIMER DIRECTING THE ORISKANY BATTLE

BAS-RELIEFS FROM THE ORISKANY MONUMENT

a greater part was still in the ravine, while the baggage-train had just entered. Only the rear guard, consisting of Colonel Fischer's regiment, was still on the eastern slope. Suddenly at a given signal the Tories and Indians broke forth from the forests and thick brushwood, and with tremendous noise and hideous yells fell upon the unsuspecting militiamen. As Herkimer had predicted, Colonel Fischer and his men were seized with a panic and made a hasty retreat, deserting the baggage-train and the rest of the force of Herkimer, whom they had so loudly denounced as cowards.

Though taken by surprise, Herkimer's men rallied under his noble example, and after firing their guns, met the onslaught of the Indians with their knives and the butts of their guns. Noticing that the firing from along the eastern slopes of the ravine was irregular, the commander ordered Colonel Bellinger and the soldiers who had not yet crossed the causeway to retake the hill. Dashing through the hail of lead on both flanks the stalwart Palatine Germans stormed the hillside, firing to kill as they went. Regaining the hilltop they formed into circular squads, leaving the bottom of the fatal ravine to the dead and dying and the prowling savages with painted skins, who were in search of scalps and plunder. It was about noon, after Herkimer had succeeded in getting the regiment stationed in some sort of order on the plateau, when he was hit below the knee by a bullet which shattered his leg and killed his horse. Immediately he had his saddle brought to the foot of a large beech tree, and taking his seat upon it, directed the fight from that position. He lighted his pipe and continued to order the progress of the battle with firmness and composure, until the final retreat of the enemy. The tactics on either side varied, in forma-

tion and style, from fighting under cover to bayonet attacks in mass. The Palatines grouped around their leader at the vantage-point on the plateau, and resisted every charge with dauntless courage.

The day had been hot and sultry, the distant rumblings, indications of a coming storm, had not been heard amid the roar of battle. So intent were the contestants upon the struggle that they did not take notice of the thunderstorm until it broke forth with great violence. The heavy downpour of rain, the swaying of the trees in the wind, and the great darkness arrested the work of death for about an hour. But hardly had the skies become clear again when the rage of battle once more rivaled the fury of the elements. The pause was of advantage to the Palatines. They recovered their composure completely, had kept their powder dry and reloaded their guns. Herkimer again showed his skill in tactics. He had noticed that the Indians always watched the tree from which a shot came and immediately afterwards leaped toward it in order to tomahawk the marksman before he could reload. Herkimer now placed two men behind each tree. As soon as one had shot his gun, the other was ready with his, giving the first man time to reload. The second man regularly shot the approaching Indian. In this manner the Indians began to suffer severe losses, causing their courage to droop and dwindle. Heavy punishment the Indians could never endure, and as soon as it occurred they became disheartened.

Johnson's Royal Greens now hastened to repair the losses sustained. A large number of the Royalists were recognized as former residents of the Mohawk Valley, former neighbors now met face to face as enemies. The contest grew in bitterness and stubbornness. The rage of the patriots increased to white heat as they recalled what

they had suffered from Tory treachery. The terrible hand-to-hand struggle lasted longer than half an hour, until the Royalists were gradually pushed backward. Colonel Cox fell during this close fighting; his clear commanding voice had long overtopped the hissing of the rifle-balls, and the wild battle-cry of the Indians. His loss was balanced by the loss of Major Watts and many others of the Royal Greens. Suddenly the thundering of cannons was heard from the direction of Fort Stanwix, and the British, fearing to be attacked in the rear, left the battle-field in possession of the brave peasants of Tryon County. The sortie from the fort was due to a plan of Herkimer's. He had sent a messenger to Gansevoort, directing him to attack the British force in the rear at the same moment when he himself should meet the enemy in the front. The messenger, however, did not arrive at the fort until one o'clock in the afternoon, having with difficulty eluded capture. Gansevoort at once sent Lieutenant-Colonel Willet forward with two hundred and fifty men. They attacked the camp of General Johnson, took possession of his baggage and papers, captured five British flags, and all the presents which had been intended for the Indians. Hearing that Herkimer's advance had been arrested, they retreated to the fort without loss.

The effect of this sortie was of great importance. In the first place it decided the retreat of the British force, and in the second it increased the discontent of the Indians. They had sustained the loss of a large number of their chiefs and best warriors, and now, on returning to camp, they found themselves deprived of all their comforts. Being accustomed to go into battle naked, and finding no blankets, they suffered severely from cold during the night, and even the tortures of their prisoners could not

comfort them in their misery. To revenge themselves they plundered the baggage of English officers and took possession of the boats on Wood Creek. The battle of Oriskany thoroughly discouraged and demoralized the Indians and made them unfit as allies. When they returned to their villages they mourned the loss of their chiefs, and whatever presents they had received did not appear to them an adequate compensation.

The losses of the Palatines were great also, to be sure. About two hundred, one fourth of the number that had gone into battle, had been slain or were severely wounded. Colonels F. Bellinger and Cox, Majors Eisenlord, Klappsattel, and Van Slyck, Captain Helmer, and Lieutenant Petrie were among the dead. Most of the subaltern officers were killed, some captured with Colonel Bellinger and Major Frey. There was hardly a house in the Valley which was not put into mourning by the death of a father, brother, or son.

The English force retreated toward Fort Stanwix, to which they laid siege. On the day after the battle Willet and Stockwell stole through the besieging force and brought news to General Schuyler. Arnold was sent to the assistance of Gansevoort with a handful of regulars and a number of volunteers collected in the Mohawk Valley. Extravagant reports being spread about in the camp of the British, concerning the size of the reinforcements, a panic seized the camp of St. Leger, aggravated no doubt by the restlessness of the Indian allies. On August 22, 1777, St. Leger hastily raised the siege, leaving his tents and ammunition behind.

The most severe loss to the patriot cause was the death of General Herkimer, which followed shortly after the battle. He had paid little attention to his wounds,

attending to the business of reorganizing the militia, until nine days after the battle, when his leg had to be amputated. It was done in the most unskillful manner, the leg being cut off square without allowing flesh enough below the bone to cover the wound. Colonel Willett called to see him soon after the operation and found him sitting up in his bed, cheerful as ever, smoking his pipe. A hemorrhage followed, and toward evening of the same day Herkimer felt that his end was near. He called for his Bible, and in the presence of his family read the thirty-eighth Psalm. His voice gradually grew weaker, the book slipped from his fingers, and death overtook him.[1] "It was Herkimer," said George Washington, "who first reversed the gloomy scene" of the Northern campaign. The pure-minded hero of the Mohawk Valley "served from love of country, not for reward. He did not want a Continental command or money." "Before Congress[2] had decided how to manifest their gratitude he died of his wound; and they decreed him a monument. Gansevoort was rewarded by a vote of thanks and a command; Willett, by public praise and an 'elegant sword.'"

The results of the battle of Oriskany were far greater than the small number of men engaged might indicate. Had not the Palatines of the Mohawk Valley stopped the advance of St. Leger, the rich harvests of their farms would have been used to feed the army of Burgoyne. St. Leger's auxiliary forces, with the Mohawk Valley

[1] Nicholas Herkimer (correctly spelled Nikolaus Herckheimer), though twice married, had no children. He was very wealthy and left his estate to his relatives, who were numerous and influential in the valley. In the genealogical work of P. S. Cowen, *The Herkimers and Schuylers*, an historical sketch of the two families with genealogies, etc., the descendants of George Herkimer (the ancestor who arrived in 1721 from the Palatinate) are enumerated.

[2] Bancroft, vol. v, p. 170.

accessible to them, would probably have prevented Burgoyne's surrender. The other far-reaching result was the effect the battle had on the Indians. They had not expected such obstinate resistance nor such severe losses. They grew discontented with their allies, the British, and the latter considered their Indian allies a failure. Official information went home to the effect that the red men "treacherously committed ravages upon their friends; they could not be controlled; they killed their captives; that there was infinite difficulty to manage them; that they grew more and more unreasonable and importunate." [1]

During the whole of 1777 and until the summer of 1778, the Valley of the Mohawk was not troubled by the Indians and Tories. The farmers could peacefully till their fields and bring in their harvests. But their repose and unpreparedness invited new troubles. The numbers in the militia companies had shrunk since the battle of Oriskany from nine to seven companies. Fort Stanwix lay thirty miles distant from the last German settlements, so that it could easily be passed by small war-parties. An enemy like Joseph Brant, the Mohawk chieftain, was quick to see the defenseless condition of the Valley and arouse in his warriors their natural lust for booty. Even when subsequently Fort Stanwix was given up, and the main defensive strength was placed in Fort Dayton (the present Herkimer), Brant, who knew every trail and opening in the Valley, could easily pass in and out as he pleased. The Mohawk chief opened hostilities in 1778, attacking the small settlement of Andrustown, in the southeastern part of present Herkimer County. Four men were killed, others led off captive. The inhabitants of the German Flats

[1] Bancroft, vol. v, p. 170.

started in pursuit, but succeeded only in taking revenge upon a Tory friend of Brant. The next expedition, more ambitious, was directed against the German Flats, protected on the north side by Fort Dayton and on the south by Fort Herkimer. The German Flats were at that time inhabited by about one thousand Palatines, men, women, and children. They were no match, however, for the large band of Tories and Indians mustered by Brant. The settlers had just gathered in their harvests, an opportune moment chosen by Brant for his attack. Three of the four messengers whom the Germans had stationed as scouts were killed, and only one, Helmer, brought the news of Brant's approach. The attack was so sudden that the settlers could only retreat hastily to their forts, leaving their possessions a prey to the marauders. Sixty-three houses, seventy-five barns, three grist-mills, and two saw-mills with their contents were set on fire by the invaders, who drove off with them two hundred and thirty-five horses, two hundred and twenty-nine head of cattle, two hundred and sixty-nine sheep, and ninety-three oxen. Brant did not attack the forts, and escaped as suddenly as he had come, eluding the three to four hundred soldiers who started in pursuit. This story of sudden attack, robbery, and escape was repeated month after month and year after year along the whole frontier of New York. No help was received of an effective kind until the punitive expedition under Sullivan devastated the villages of the Six Nations. This happened in 1779 after the Wyoming massacre[1] (July 3, 1778) in

[1] One of the German settlers of Wyoming County was Judge Matthew Hollenbach. He refused offers of British agents to play the traitor, and joined the patriot army as lieutenant in New Jersey. He was very successful in getting recruits from the Wyoming Valley. At the time of the massacre of the Wyoming settlers Hollenbach suffered severe property losses. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. i, pp. 262 ff.

Pennsylvania, and that of Cherry Valley (December 10, 1778) in Otsego County, New York. In both of these massacres the German settlers suffered with the rest.[1] It would be wearisome to rehearse the agonizing details of border warfare on the Mohawk.[2] A striking proof of the monstrous cruelty of the Indians at this time, and of the stoic sufferings of the frontier settlers during the Revolutionary War, is furnished by the following inventory of scalps taken by the Seneca Indians, which accidentally fell into American hands.[3] There were eight items as follows: Lot 1, forty-three scalps of soldiers of Congress killed in battle, also sixty-two scalps of farmers who had been killed in their houses; lot 2, ninety-eight scalps of farmers killed in their houses surprised by day, not by night as the first lot. The red color applied to the hoops of wood, which were used to stretch the scalp, indicated the difference; lot 3 contained ninety-seven scalps of farmers killed in their fields, different colors denoting whether killed by tomahawk or rifle-ball; lot 4 contained one hundred and two scalps of farmers, most of them young men; lot 5 contained eighty-eight scalps of women, those with blue hoops cut from the heads of mothers; lot 6 contained one hundred and ninety-three scalps of boys of different ages killed with clubs or hatchets, some with knives or bullets; lot 7 contained two hundred and eleven scalps of girls, large and small; and lot 8, one hundred and twenty-two scalps of various

[1] In 1769 there were about forty or fifty families, mostly of those called Scotch-Irish, and as many more in the vicinity consisting of Germans and others. See "Four Great Rivers," the *Journal of Richard Smith*, 1769. Edited by F. W. Halsey. (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1906.)

[2] Kapp, *Geschichte der Deutschen im Staate New York*, chap. xii, pp. 255–279, gives a very good account of this terrible struggle, basing it upon authentic records.

[3] Kapp, *supra*, pp. 276–279. Based on Campbell's *Annals of Tryon County*, pp. 67–70 (appendix).

kinds, among them twenty-nine babes' scalps carefully stretched on small white hoops. The entire bundle, including the total of 1062 scalps, fell into the hands of a New England expedition against the Indians, and a prayer was found, accompanying the inventory, addressed to the British governor (Haldimand): "Father, we wish that you send these scalps to the Great King that he may look at them and be refreshed at their sight — recognize our fidelity and be convinced that his presents have not been bestowed upon a thankless people." The scalps represented the work of the three years preceding February, 1782, and were taken from the frontier settlers of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.[1]

Among the numerous stories of heroism on the frontier there is none more memorable than that told of Johann Christian Schell. He lived with his wife and six sons about three miles to the northeast of Fort Dayton, in what was called Schell's Bush. It was in August, 1781, when most settlers had retreated for safety to the forts, or to more easterly settlements. He decided to breast the storm, relying upon his sure eye and brave arm. Schell's blockhouse was strong, well built, and well adapted for defense against ordinary attacks. His house was stored with weapons and ammunition. He was at work in the field with his sons one day when the enemy appeared. The two youngest sons, twins eight years of age, could not follow their father and elder brothers fast enough, were taken captive, and dragged off to Canada. It was two o'clock in the afternoon when about forty-eight Indians and sixteen Tories attacked the house. Their leader was Donald Mac-

[1] Cf. Kapp, p. 278. Kapp and others were misled by this newspaper account long believed to be authentic, but proved to be an invention of Benjamin Franklin. See note to this page in the *Appendix*.

Donald. While Schell and his four sons shot off their rifles, his wife reloaded them. Almost every shot hit its mark, but the enemy were so numerous as not to feel their losses. Finally MacDonald himself succeeded in reaching the door, which he tried to pry open with a lever. During the attempt he was shot in the leg. Quick as a flash Schell unbolted the door and pulled the wounded captain into his house. This success rescued the besieged from the danger of fire, for MacDonald would in such an event have been burned also. MacDonald's ammunition also fell into the hands of Schell, which was fortunate, for he had only a few shots left. The last effort of the enemy having failed, the brave family were given a respite from their bloody labors. While father and sons were getting their rifles ready for another attack, the mother began to sing the battle hymn of the Reformation, "A Mighty Fortress is our God." The men fell in and Luther's martial hymn echoed through the woods with tremendous power. The words—

> "Und wenn die Welt voll Teufel wär,
> Und wollt uns gar verschlingen,
> So fürchten wir uns nicht so sehr,
> Es muss uns doch gelingen!" —

inspired them to their last great effort. The Tories and Indians now pushed some of their guns through the shot-holes of the house, at a moment when the men had withdrawn to load. The courageous mother, seeing the danger, seized an axe and struck in upon the guns, bending their bores, and giving her men time to reload. Darkness soon set in, and the besieged family sang with lusty voices, as if they were confident relief were coming from the neighboring Fort Dayton. The attacking party, not being able to see through the woods, and discouraged by the loss of

their leader, withdrew into the forest, taking with them the two youngest sons of Schell. During the night the latter with his family wisely withdrew to Fort Dayton. The next morning MacDonald was brought into the fort and remained a hostage for the two sons. This courageous defense, with its inspiring singing, stands out as one of the bright spots in the long tale of suffering which the Mohawk settlers were called upon to endure. Not always was bravery so well rewarded. Even Schell himself, a year later, died from the effects of a wound received from another marauding party of Indians.

As a result of the constant border fighting, the Palatines of the Mohawk and Schoharie sections became skillful in the methods of Indian warfare.[1] Individuals who gained a reputation throughout the state for their prowess as Indian fighters and hunters were Johann Adam Hartman, Timothy Murphy, Nicholas Stoner, and Nathaniel Foster. Hartman was born in 1743 at Edenkoben, in the Palatinate. There, when arrested for poaching, giant that he was, he struck down the officers that apprehended him and fled to America. Hunter and trapper, best shot of the Mohawk Valley, he became the most fearless of the Indian fighters at the opening of the Revolutionary War. He was looked upon as the defender of the settlements, and though without house and home himself, he was welcome everywhere. The lonely farmer knew that when Hans Adam (Hartman) was around, he could work in the fields without danger, mothers could do their housework with-

[1] Cf. Jephtha R. Simms, *History of Schoharie County and Border Wars of New York*, etc. (Albany, 1845.) Also F. Kapp, *Die Deutschen im Staate New York*, chap. 12, "Für Haus und Hof," pp. 255–279. Also Jephtha R. Simms, *Trappers of New York, or a Biography of Nicholas Stoner and Nathaniel Foster, together with anecdotes of other celebrated hunters, and some account of Sir William Johnson and his style of life.* (Albany, 1850.)

out anxiety, and children play unharmed before the block-house. If danger approached, the crack of Hans Adam's rifle would give warning, his unerring eye and sinewy arm afforded protection. True, he was not of the law-abiding sort, but the cause of the settler was a law unto him. He died a cripple at the great age of ninety-two.

Timothy Murphy, no doubt an Irishman, was a bold spirit concerned in every daring undertaking. He proved his character even in his wooing, for he eloped with the only daughter of the wealthy Schoharie farmer, J. Fick (or Feeck). Murphy was then a soldier in the Revolutionary army, and receiving very good reports from Murphy's superiors, the wealthy German father-in-law finally accepted a penniless son-in-law and made a stable citizen of him. Intermarriage between the Germans and Irish was of frequent occurrence on the border, each nationality showing reluctance at first, but soon yielding gracefully to the inevitable.

The struggle for liberty in the American colonies attracted soldiers from foreign lands, some of them adventurers, who proved troublesome to the commander-in-chief and Congress, but others again of an entirely different stamp. They had served in European wars, and through their experience added just that element of discipline and self-confidence which was necessary to make the military struggle successful. Of all the distinguished foreigners who aided the American cause, none did more real service than Baron Steuben, the drill-master of the American forces.[1] In the words of Hamilton, quoted by Bancroft:

[1] The standard biography of Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherr von Steuben (1730–94) is by Friedrich Kapp, entitled: *Leben des amerikanischen Generals Fried. Wilh. v. Steuben.* (Berlin, 1858.) A translation was published in New York (Mason Brothers, 1859). Another biography was published by Francis Bowen, *The Life of Baron Steuben*, in Sparks's *Library of American*

"He benefited the country of his adoption by introducing into the army a regular formation and exact discipline, and by establishing a spirit of order and economy in the interior administration of the regiments."[1] Baron von Steuben, born at Magdeburg, Prussia, belonged to an ancient and distinguished family, and following good traditions he became a soldier. He fought in the war of the Austrian Succession, and during the Seven Years' War distinguished himself at Rossbach. He became an aide of Frederick and was a favorite pupil of the great general. After the war he held a lucrative position, but was not satisfied with inactivity. When on a visit to Paris the French secretary of war, Saint-Germain, spoke to him of a glorious opportunity existing in America, that of introducing Prussian military discipline into the raw American militia. Benjamin Franklin, whom Steuben met at Paris, made no promises, but friends in France strongly advised Steuben to undertake the venture. Steuben soon came to a favorable decision. He gave up his assured and comfortable position at home, asking the king of Prussia to transfer his income, yielding him 4600 livres annually, to his nephew the Baron von Canitz.

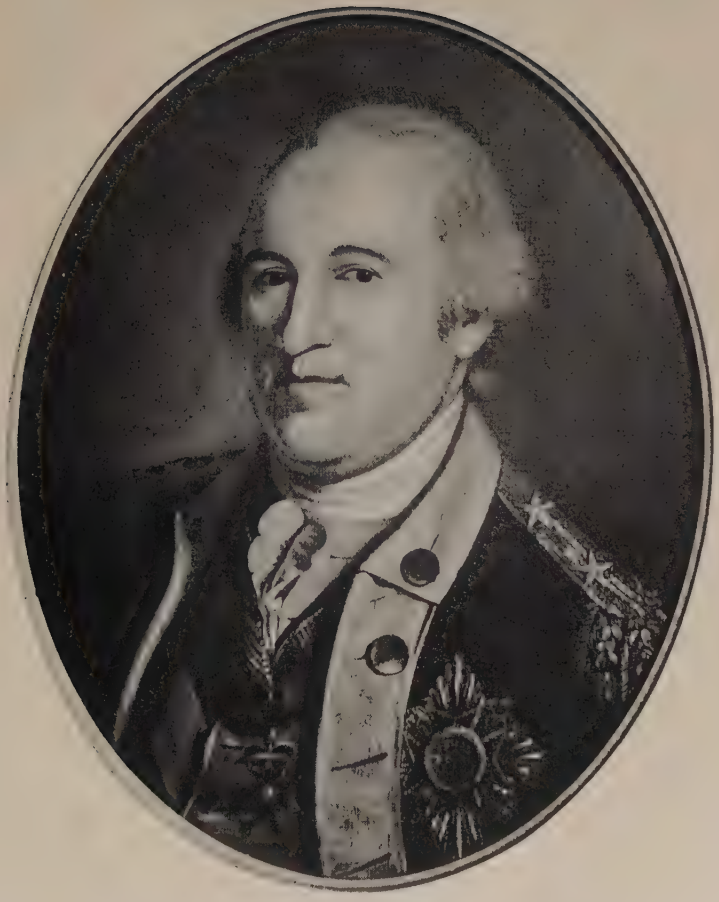
It was a difficult matter for Steuben to determine in what capacity to enter the American army, but he settled the question by offering his services as a volunteer, ready to perform any duty which the commander-in-chief might assign him. Commissions for his aides and the payment of his actual expenses were the only conditions stipulated for, leaving the question of ultimate compensation to be

Biography, vol. ix. (1838.) Cf. also G. W. Greene, *The German Element in the War of American Independence.* (New York, 1876.) The latter book contains a sketch of Steuben, Kalb, and the Hessians, based on the three works of Kapp on the same subjects.

[1] Bancroft, vol. v, p. 220; quotes Hamilton's *Works*, vol. ii, p. 229.

decided by the success or failure of the struggle. The Continental Congress was then in session at York, Pennsylvania, whither Steuben repaired with his letters from Franklin, Saint-Germain, and others. General Gates, who was then intriguing against Washington, oppressed the newcomer with civilities, but Steuben, with keen insight into human character, refused his dangerous hospitality. Steuben's offer was accepted, and he was sent to Washington at Valley Forge. On his way he passed through Lancaster County, and was greeted with ovations throughout the German farming country. At Valley Forge Washington received him in accordance with his rank and experience as a soldier, and by these outward marks of respect at once installed him in the high position of authority which the general-in-chief wished to establish for the army's schoolmaster.

At no time was the condition of the army at a lower ebb, not only through lack of supplies and equipment, but also through the absence of discipline and military spirit. Through desertion and disease the original force of seventeen thousand had dwindled down to a little more than five thousand men who could be called out for duty. Even these were poorly armed, and clothed in rags. Yet there were capabilities in these men which the trained eye of Steuben recognized. After the intriguing and incapable Conway had been removed from the inspector-generalship, Steuben received a free hand. With the assistance of Greene, Hamilton, and Laurens, and the French aides which he had brought with him, Steuben's first plan was to institute a system of inspectorship. He drafted from the line one hundred and twenty men to form a military school. He drilled them twice a day and frequently took a musket into his own hands, showing



BARON VON STEUBEN

them how he wished them to handle it. At every drill his several inspectors were required to be present, and doubtless many officers were present without requisition. "In a fortnight," said Steuben, "my company knew perfectly well how to bear arms and had a military air, knew how to march, and to form in column, to deploy and execute some little manœuvres with excellent precision." Steuben showed his superiority by not making too much of the manual exercises. He was no mere martinet. Very soon he passed to manœuvring and thereby really interested the men. He studied the capacities of the militia before him and adapted his rigid discipline to the circumstances. Every scholar of his school became an apostle of reform. Those who looked on admired and longed to be permitted to share in the lessons. Battalions came next, then brigades, and then divisions. Within a month the American troops, for the first time since the opening of the war, were able to execute the manœuvres of a regular army. On the fifth of May Steuben was appointed by Congress inspector-general with the rank and pay of major-general.

A reform in drill was but a small part of the real work to be done. The whole organization of the army required reform in all its parts. The necessity of internal administration of a regiment and a company was then entirely unknown. The number of men in a regiment or company had been fixed by Congress, but there were some who were three months' men, some six, some nine. They were constantly coming and going, and when they went they commonly took their rifles with them, so that Congress had to buy thousands of new rifles every year. Sometimes a regiment was stronger than a brigade, sometimes it contained but thirty men. The men were scattered about everywhere and frequently they were drawing pay long

after they had left the ranks. Leaves of absence and dismissals were given out promiscuously. All of these abuses had to be corrected, and exact records of every detail were now instituted. In the inspections there was no trifling, no hurrying over details. "Every man not present was to be accounted for; if in camp, sick or well, he was produced or visited; every musket was handled and searched, cartridge-boxes were opened; even the flints and cartridges counted; knapsacks were unslung and every article of clothing was spread on the soldier's blanket and tested by his little book." It took little to move Steuben's anger; undue delay, hesitation, were sure to do it, and out came a storm of oaths, German first, then French, and then both, ludicrously mingled; when the stock was exhausted, turning to his aide he would say, "My dear Walker," or "My dear Duponceau, come and swear for me in English. These fellows will not do what I bid them." The sonorous voice of Steuben, however, was respected and it received the backing of the highest authority.

Events very soon proved the excellence of his work. In the spring campaign of 1778, Lafayette, seeing himself outnumbered and cut off from the main body, was able to save his men by an orderly retreat; Washington at the same time could get his whole army under arms and ready to march in fifteen minutes. At Monmouth, not long after, the sound of Steuben's familiar voice rallied Lee's broken columns. They wheeled into line under a heavy fire as calmly and precisely as if the battlefield had been a parade-ground. In this style of manœuvring Steuben was adapting established principles to American conditions. But in the formation of the light infantry he became an inventor and sent back a lesson from the New World to the Old. These bodies of skirmishers fought in

Indian fashion under cover, as the American backwoodsman was accustomed to do, using his rifle to the best advantage and according to his own judgment, always being careful to keep his body sheltered as much as possible. Frederick the Great adopted a similar body of skirmishers and sharpshooters into his military system.

In order to make the principles of military discipline accessible in all quarters, Steuben published a manual, long known in the army of the United States as "Steuben's Regulations" or "the Blue Book." The printing of the book was a trial and tribulation, but when that difficulty was overcome, the work was sent to governors of states, and distributed through the army. For the first time since the war began, American officers had a clear and definite guide for the performance of their military duties.[1] The economies of the service resulting from Steuben's work were enormous. A single instance of this was that the War Office, instead of having to count upon an annual loss of from five to eight thousand muskets, could enter upon its record that in one year of Steuben's inspectorship only three muskets were missing and that even these were accounted for. His example of indefatigable industry was contagious, as was also his democratic manner of personally instructing the common soldier with necessary details, which the American officer, following the English model, had considered beneath him. Jealousies and opposition were overcome because of the excellent results of Steuben's discipline.

[1] Cf. also the Reprints: F. W. Steuben, *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States; Prefixed, the Laws and Regulations for the Militia of the United States and of New Hampshire.* (Published by order of the General Court of New Hampshire, Portsmouth, 1794.) And F. W. Steuben: *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States.* (Boston, 1802.)

Next to the inspectorship, Steuben's most valuable services were his work in Virginia, in the winter of 1780–81, and during the siege of Yorktown. General Greene had been appointed to command the Southern army after the fatal battle of Camden, where General Gates had deserted his troops. Steuben went with Greene because "an army had to be created." Virginia was relied upon as the main field for recruiting, but the militia was thoroughly demoralized, their ignorance of military discipline and "plundering proclivities" were appalling. Thomas Jefferson, the democratic governor, could not remove any of the obstructions which the generals had to encounter. Steuben frequently lost his temper and strained his authority to the utmost while creating an army for Greene. Nevertheless, through his hard work and good judgment Arnold's invasion was checked, and Lafayette was enabled to score successes.

At Yorktown Steuben was the only American officer who had ever been present at a siege,[1] and his experience was of great service. He was in command of a division, and fortune willed that his division should be in the trenches when the first overtures for surrender were made. He had the privilege, therefore, so highly prized by all the superior officers, — and notably by Lafayette, who wished to claim the honor, — of being in command when the enemy's flag was lowered. No one was more deserving of the distinction than Steuben, the schoolmaster of the army. During the last two years of the war the discipline of the regular American troops could well be compared to that of European soldiery.

[1] Steuben was a volunteer at the siege of Prague when a boy of fourteen; the last siege in which he had participated was that of Schweidnitz at the close of the Seven Years' War. He was then Frederick's aide.

Steuben continued to be of service to the country after the war. He formulated the plans for building a military academy, and in his project provided for full professorships of history, geography, civil and international law, eloquence and belles-lettres, showing that he would insist that an officer be a broadly educated man. It is quite probable also that he gave the first suggestion for the formation of the order of the Cincinnati.

At the close of the war, Steuben, having before coming to America yielded his revenues abroad to his nephew, remained in straitened circumstances for eight years, until Congress voted him a pension of $2500 and the legislature of New York State a gift of 16,000 acres of land in the neighborhood of Utica, Oneida County, New York. This settlement, though tardy, showed that republics are not always ungrateful. To his last years Steuben identified himself closely with all military interests of the country, as for instance his proposing a plan of fortifications for New York. He was chosen a regent of the University of New York, was one of the original members of the Cincinnati, and the president of the German Society of New York (for the benefit of immigrants) from 1785 to 1794. He died in 1794, leaving generous gifts to friends and his former aides. Though Steuben's deeds did not shine forth in the reports of battles, they were such as prepared and assured permanent victories. He was the creator of the discipline of the regular army and the organizer of its military system and economy. His influence lasted long beyond his life. The system of drills and manœuvres which he drew up in 1779 remained authoritative for several generations. "His system of reviews, reports, and inspection gave efficiency to the soldier, confidence to the commander, and saved the treasury not less than $600,000." If men

are classed according to their services, no one in the military history of the Revolution, after Washington and Greene, stands so high as Steuben. Some other generals have received more praise in our histories because of valor shown on the field of battle; such opportunities never came to Steuben, though he frequently felt a longing for them. Lafayette, for instance, a youthful enthusiast who came to America in 1777 with an open purse, a warm heart, and the inexperience of twenty winters, was given rare opportunities in the field. He received as much as he gave, and if the amount of his indispensable service be weighed, though much to be appreciated, it will be found light in comparison with that of the veteran Steuben, who trained the army, created its discipline, prepared its victories, and subsequently identified himself closely with the new-born republic as a public-spirited citizen.

One of the fighting generals that Germany supplied in the Revolutionary forces was John Kalb, so frequently called the Baron de Kalb. He was the son of a Franconian peasant, born in 1721 in Hüttendorf (not the son of a Dutch nobleman). He was employed some ten years before as the emissary of Choiseul and secret agent of the French government (1768), to inspect the condition of the British colonies. After his return he married the daughter of a Dutch millionaire and occupied an assured position of influence and comfort in Europe. Nevertheless he came to America in 1777, with Lafayette. He was asked to present the offer of the Count of Broglie, who insinuated his willingness to become the William of Orange of America, — for a period of years, or longer, if his distinguished services could not be dispensed with. The messenger soon wrote to the French count that there was no possibility of his filling Washington's place. John Kalb then offered his

own services to Congress, writing: "General Washington has perhaps friends or deserving officers to whom he would give the preference. In such a case I should be sorry my coming in did in the least cross him or prevent his dispositions in this and in other respects. I will gladly and entirely submit to his commands and be employed as he shall think most convenient for the good of the service." He was appointed major-general and served under Washington in New Jersey and Maryland. In 1780 he was dispatched to South Carolina in command of the Delaware and Maryland troops. Kapp says[1] that of all the foreign officers Kalb was the most "experienced, calculating, and cautious." He had served in the Seven Years' War, knew America from a previous visit, and was energetic, ambitious, and duty-loving. He was a specialist in matters of topography and engineering.

In the Southern campaign he very soon noticed the incapacity of General Gates. When stationing his troops in the battle of Camden, Gates placed the rawest of Virginia militia, who had just arrived and did not yet understand the use of bayonets, opposite the veteran regiments of Cornwallis. The centre proved little better in the fight, for they yielded almost as quickly as the militia. In the words of Gates the Virginia militia "ran like a torrent," "and the General ran with them," says Bancroft, "and faster, for he outdistanced the most terrified of the militia and was altogether ignorant of the fate of his army." Concerning what remained, Bancroft says,[2] "The division which Kalb commanded continued long in action, and never did troops show greater courage than those men of Maryland

[1] Friedrich Kapp, *Leben des amerikanischen Generals Johann Kalb.* (Stuttgart, 1862.) Translated into English, *The Life of John Kalb, Major-General in the Revolutionary Army.* (New York, 1884.)

[2] Bancroft, vol. v, pp. 388–89.

and Delaware. The horse of Kalb had been killed under him and he had been badly wounded; yet he continued to fight on foot. At last, in the hope of victory, he led a charge, drove the division under Rawdon, took fifty prisoners, and would not believe that he was not about to gain the day, when Cornwallis poured against him a party of dragoons and infantry. Even then he did not yield until disabled by many wounds. The victory cost the British about five hundred of their best troops; 'their great loss,' wrote Marion, 'is equal to a defeat.' Except one hundred Continental soldiers whom Gist[1] conducted across swamps through which the cavalry could not follow, every American corps was dispersed. Kalb lingered for three days. Opulent, and happy in his wife and children, he gave to the United States his life and his example. Congress decreed him a monument."

Another German general, who had already served in the French and Indian War in America, as lieutenant in the Royal American Regiment, was George Weedon, or Gerhard von der Wieden. He was born in Hanover, served in the war of the Austrian Succession, 1742–48, distinguished himself in the battle of Dettingen, served with Colonel Henry Bouquet in Flanders and America. When the French and Indian War was over, he settled at Fredericksburg, Virginia,[2] so largely populated by Germans, and when the Revolution broke out he became lieutenant-colonel of the Third Virginia Militia, colonel

[1] The Maryland regiment of Gist was a German regiment. Cf. Rosengarten, p. 144.

[2] Smyth says of him: "We arrived at Fredericksburg, putting up at an inn, or public house kept by one Weedon, who is now a general officer in the American army, and was then very active and zealous in blowing the flames of sedition." *Smyth's Tour*, vol. ii, p. 151. (London edition, 1784.) Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 197: "Weedon and his banditti ran down to the riverside (Rappahannock), ordering me to land immediately," etc.

of the First Virginia Continental, and finally in 1777 brigadier-general, taking a leading part in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. He left the service for a time, then in 1780 reëntered it under Mühlenberg and commanded the Virginia militia before Gloucester Point at the siege of Yorktown.

General Weissenfels, or Friedrich Heinrich, Baron von Weissenfels, was an officer in the British army in New York, but as soon as the Revolution broke out he offered his services to Washington. He had served in the French and Indian War, was engaged in the attack on Fort Ticonderoga, and the taking of Havana in 1762. With the brave Wolfe he mounted the Heights of Abraham and "saw him fall in the arms of victory." After the peace of Versailles he was an English officer on half-pay living quietly in New York. At his wedding with Elizabeth Bogart, General Steuben was his best man. In the Revolution he was with General Montgomery in the attack on Quebec, and on his return served as lieutenant-colonel in command of the Third Battalion in the Second New York Regiment of which he was soon in complete command. He defeated the enemy at White Plains, accompanied Washington over the Hudson and through New York to Pennsylvania and took part in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. He was with his regiment at the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga. In the attack at Monmouth Court House the formidable British regulars were for the first time driven off the field at the point of the bayonet by his regiment and under his command. As second in command under General Sullivan, in 1779, a victory was again won by his bayonet charge in a hot battle with the Indians at Newton on the Chemung (near Elmira). Weissenfels was honorably discharged by Congress at the end

of the war, and died in 1806 at New Orleans. He was the first vice-president of the New York *Deutsche Gesellschaft*, of which Steuben was for many years president.

Prominent in the Revolution, but even more so in the subsequent Indian wars, where he will be spoken of again, was David Ziegler. Born in Heidelberg, in 1748, he served in the Russian campaign against the Turks under the Empress Catharine, and subsequently settled at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He served as adjutant in a Pennsylvania regiment, and as the second to enlist for the war under Washington, he became the senior captain of the First Pennsylvania Continental Regiment, serving with distinction.

Another noted German officer was Heinrich Emanuel Lutterloh, major of the guard of the Duke of Brunswick. He became acquainted with Franklin in London, and through the latter's influence came to America at the beginning of the Revolutionary War. He was the first assistant quartermaster, with the rank of colonel on Washington's staff in 1777. Not until the following year, when Baron Steuben was made inspector-general, the evil influence of General Conway being set aside, was it possible to bring some degree of order out of chaos. Lutterloh's work was especially appreciated by Washington, who in May, 1780, made him quartermaster-general of the army, in which capacity Lutterloh served to the end of the war. The responsible positions of inspector-general (Steuben), quartermaster-general (Lutterloh), and superintendent of bakers (Ludwig), were thus held by Germans.

Early in 1776 there arrived in New York City a young man of culture, engaging manners, and military appearance, who carried letters of introduction to Governor Tryon, introducing him as a first lieutenant in the service

of Frederick the Second, king of Prussia, and adjutant of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. The bearer of the letters was Johann Paul Schott. Though coming with the purpose of serving the English king, he soon changed his mind, being greatly impressed by the serious purpose of the patriots. He noticed that they lacked guns and ammunition, and since he was well-to-do, he determined by a daring stroke to furnish them with the sorely needed supply. In the summer of 1776 he sailed to St. Eustache, an island of the Lesser Antilles belonging to the Dutch, where enterprising Netherlanders had established a station for blockade-runners, whom they were prepared to furnish with goods and contraband of war. There Schott hired a schooner, loaded it with weapons and war materials at his own expense, and steered for the coast of Virginia. At the mouth of the Chesapeake he found the English fleet blockading the entrance to Hampton Roads. Schott deceived them by hoisting a British flag; he had also dressed his entire crew in the uniform of English seamen. The English warships at first took the schooner for a transport belonging to their own fleet, until they saw Schott cross their line. Their signal to return was not heeded, but the shot and broadside that followed did no harm to the swift schooner. When they reached their destination, Schott's men were again in danger, owing to their disguise, for although they hoisted the flag of the colonies they had not had an opportunity to change their uniforms. They were fired upon, when Schott raised a white flag and the schooner then anchored in the harbor of Norfolk amid great rejoicing. The supplies were gladly bought by the colonists and a vote of thanks was given him. His petition for an officer's rank in the Continental army was granted soon after in 1776. He was made cap-

tain and sent to General Washington in New York, in active service.

A story is told connecting a bit of romance with his entry into the army. General Washington was stationed at the Battery, in order to observe the movements of the British fleet. A large frigate tried to go up North River, whereupon Washington gave command to fire upon it. At the same time his own battery was being bombarded from Governor's Island and there was particularly one gun which troubled the Americans. Schott, who had had no opportunity to approach General Washington because he was in council with his staff, noticed a cannon that was not being served. Thereupon he called several of the men who stood about idly, bade them help load the gun, and then sighted it himself. The first shot silenced the troublesome piece on Governor's Island. Washington, who had observed the movement, turned to Schott and asked him whether he was a trained artillerist. The latter assented, and delivered to the general his papers. Washington turned to Colonel Knox, commander of the artillery, asking him whether there was a vacancy among his captains. There proved to be one, owing to the illness of one of the captains, Schott was put in his place, and at the battle of White Plains commanded the Third Battery in Knox's artillery. It will be remembered that it was principally due to the artillery of Colonel Knox that the Americans were able to get off their entire baggage in the face of the enemy.

Schott proved serviceable in another way. At a time when Washington had great difficulty in retaining soldiers about him, their periods of service being over, and when the English forces were constantly being increased by mercenaries from the Continent, Washington sent Schott to the Pennsylvania districts to recruit an independent

German troop of dragoons (July 31, 1777). Schott had permission to appoint his own officers and give commands in German. Subsequently there were three more companies who were put under his command, whom he led in the battle of Short Hills. Given the post of covering the retreat, he was severely wounded and taken prisoner. It was a queer whim of fate that he, who had been fêted by the Tories on his arrival at New York, should now for six months become their prisoner. They offered him a place in the British army, but he refused.[1] He was in prison under the notorious Cunningham, and after being exchanged in 1779 was in the army of General Sullivan, commanding the right wing in the brigade of General Hand. The Indians were attacked at Newton (near the present Elmira, New York), their forces were annihilated, and their villages destroyed.

Generals Sullivan and Hand recommended Schott for promotion, which no doubt would have been acted upon favorably if his wounds, received in the battle of Short Hills, had not made active service very difficult for him. Schott was therefore made commandant of the forts in Wyoming, which position he held to the end of the war. After that he settled down in Wilkesbarre. In 1787 he was elected to the state legislature and was one of the most earnest advocates of the union of the colonies. He was active in all the public affairs of his constituency and figured also in the Wyoming trouble between Pennsylvania and Connecticut.

[1] In a letter to the Honorable Richard Rush (June 28, 1828), *Archives of the Pension Office*, 1828, vol. ii, no. 179, MS., Schott says: "I had chosen America as my fatherland, and nothing could induce me to desert her just cause." He also states that he was born in Prussia, in 1744. In the pension lists of 1828 he is credited with an annual pension of $1200, payable until his death. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. viii, pp. 49–57 (Rattermann).

It will be impossible in these pages to do justice to the great number of German soldiers who fought with distinction during the Revolutionary War. The order of the Cincinnati, consisting of officers who were engaged on the patriot side in the Revolution, had among its membership a very large number of Germans. For the state of New York alone — and we know that the German population of New York was not so large as that of some other colonies — the roll of the Cincinnati includes the following names: Major-General Steuben, Colonel H. E. Lutterloh, Colonel Nicholas Fish, Colonel F. von Weissenfels (Second New York Regiment), Major Sebastian Baumann[1] (Second New York Artillery Regiment), Captain H. Tichout (First New York Regiment), Captain G. Sytez (First New York Regiment), Lieutenant Peter Anspach (Second New York Artillery Regiment), Lieutenant Henry Demler (Second New York Artillery Regiment), Lieutenant Joseph Freilich (Second New York Regiment), Lieutenant Michael Wetzel (Second New York Regiment), Lieutenant John Furmann (First New York Regiment), Lieutenant C. F. Weissenfels (Second New York Regiment), Captain-Lieutenant Peter Neslett (New York Artillery), and Captain-Lieutenant Peter Jaulmann.[2]

Families of German descent frequently gave every able-

[1] Sebastian Baumann was major in Colonel Lamb's regiment of artillery. He served from 1777 to 1784, was a well-trained officer of German birth, and resident in New York long before the war. He took part in the siege of Yorktown, and in 1782 published the only American map or survey of that important field of operations. He was postmaster of New York after the war, and died in 1803. Cf. Rosengarten, p. 136.

[2] Rosengarten, pp. 136–137. For a list of the German officers in the First to the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Continental Regiments, see *Der deutsche Pionier*, vols. viii, ix, and x. Hundreds of names of German officers, subalterns, and common soldiers are there given.

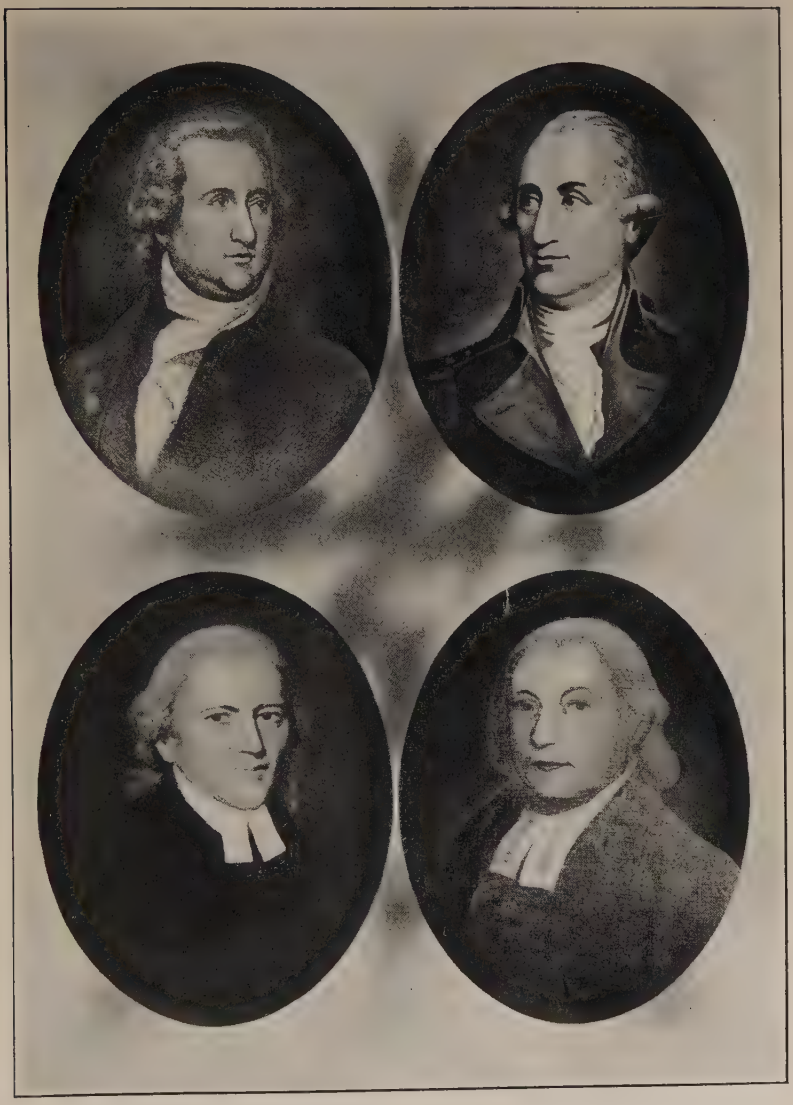
bodied man into the service of the cause. Such a family were the Heisters (Hiesters). At the outbreak of the Revolution their names were on the list of "Associators," a military company that rendered important service in the campaigns of New Jersey, New York, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. Daniel Heister's four sons all entered as officers,—Daniel, the oldest, as colonel; John and Gabriel as majors; and William, the youngest, as leader of a company. The most distinguished of the family was Joseph Heister, a son of John Heister. He became captain of the "Flying-Camp," organized in Reading and environs. Joseph at that time was twenty-three years of age. He was highly esteemed by his fellow citizens and possessed a gift of speech and persuasion which could fire others with enthusiasm. He recruited first a company and later a regiment, using frequently his own means to effect his purpose. He was a modest man, and though the soldiers wished him to be their colonel, he refused in favor of others, offering rank as an inducement to win them for the service of the country. Accordingly he used his influence among the soldiers to appoint Haller colonel and Edward Burd major. He was himself content with the rank of captain. They marched off to join Washington, but when they learned that they were to serve far beyond the limits of their state, and that the result was much in doubt, the militiamen were near a mutiny. Heister gathered them in a compact group, then appealed to their patriotism and sense of honor. He declared that he would go alone if no one would follow. When the drum was sounded, all but three obeyed the command of "Forward! march," and a moment later the three skulkers also joined the moving ranks.

On Long Island they were united with the regiment

of Lord Stirling and fought bravely with him and his Maryland regiments until captured. The First Pennsylvania Battalion sustained the heaviest loss, and a contemporary estimate reads: "Lord Stirling's brigade sustained the hottest of the enemy's fire; — they were all surrounded by the enemy and had to fight their way through the blaze of their fire. They fought and fell like Romans." [1] Among the German officers that fell were Lieutenant-Colonels Piper, Lutz, and Kächlein, and Major Burd. Joseph Heister languished for some time in an English prison-ship, under Cunningham, and after being exchanged had to lose more time at his home in Reading, to regain his health. He then returned to the army and rose rapidly to the rank of brigadier-general, on Washington's own recommendation. He served to the end of the war, and afterwards, with the Mühlenbergs and Albert Gallatin, became a leader of the Germans in Pennsylvania. He was for fourteen years representative of his district in Congress, after which he was elected by a large majority to the governorship of the state. After serving for three years he would not allow his name to be used again for candidacy.

No Pennsylvania family furnished more eminent men for the public service than the Mühlenbergs. Three of the sons of the Lutheran patriarch, who himself was an ardent patriot, rose to distinction in the service of the republic, and the oldest (John) Peter (Gabriel) was Pennsylvania's choice when a statue of its representative citizen was to be placed in the capitol at Washington. His career has already in part been sketched. As a soldier he won distinction at Charleston, Brandywine, Germantown, Mon-

[1] *American Archives*, series v, vol. i, p. 1212, — a letter from New York dated August 29, 1776.



FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MÜHLENBERG
JOHN CHRISTOPHER KUNZE

PETER MÜHLENBERG
G. H. ERNST MÜHLENBERG

mouth, Stony Point, and Yorktown. In Virginia he was the right-hand man of Steuben in creating an army, and fought desperately against superior numbers to check the advance of Arnold in Virginia. He represented Pennsylvania in the United States Congress from 1789–91, 1793–95, and from 1799–1801. He was vice-president of the state of Pennsylvania under Franklin, and owing to Franklin's age and infirmities became practically the head of the government. In the year 1788 he and his brother left no stone unturned to secure the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

The brother was Frederick August Mühlenberg, who had likewise been trained in theology at Halle, but when the war began became interested in the politics of his country. In 1779–80 he was a member of the Continental Congress, and during the next three years a member and speaker of the Pennsylvania state legislature. He called the Convention of 1790 which drafted the constitution of Pennsylvania; was a member of the First, Second, Third and Fourth United States Congresses, and possesses the distinction of having been the first Speaker of the House of Representatives. He was reëlected Speaker of the House during the Third Congress. Another brother, Henry Ernest Mühlenberg, was likewise intended for the ministry by his father, studied theology at the University of Halle, as did his brothers, and on his return became a Lutheran minister in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. He was the foremost scholar of the family, a naturalist and botanist, member of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia), and of learned European societies. His son, Henry August Mühlenberg, was a member of the United States Congress for nine years, a supporter of President Jackson, was nominated for governor

of Pennsylvania by the Democratic party, but died before the election.

In Charleston, South Carolina, there was organized in 1775 a German regiment called the German Fusileers, which by 1776 counted over one hundred Germans in its ranks. Its captain was Alexander Gillon, its first lieutenant Peter Bouquet (brother of the general of that name), and its second lieutenant, Michael Kalteisen. At the storming of the fortress at Savannah, in 1779, where Pulaski lost his life, the German Fusileers were under the command of the German colonel, Laurens. They lost their captain, Karl Scheppard (Schaefer), and the first lieutenant, Joseph Kimmel. Michael Kalteisen was a moving spirit in the formation of the German Friendly Society (already referred to), which by the time of the Revolution had a membership of one hundred, and advanced two thousand pounds to the state for defense against the crown, a sum surely not inconsiderable at that time.

At the battle of King's Mountain (or Cowpens), October 29, 1781, which did so much toward reviving the hopes of patriots in the South, Colonel Hambright, of German descent, and in all probability representing a southern branch of the Pennsylvania family of the same name, rendered excellent service. The North and South Carolinians of the American forces were under command of Williams, Lacey, Hambright, Chronicle, and others.[1] Hambright and Chronicle were in command of the South Fork men from the Catawba. Chronicle was killed and Hambright wounded. In spite of his wounds, the latter kept in the saddle and continued in the battle. The tactics of the fight consisted in retreating before a bayonet attack by the enemy, but returning immediately upon him after

[1] Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. ii, pp. 276, 282.

the charge. Staying qualities such as shown by Hambright were therefore needed to carry out the plan of ultimately surrounding and annihilating the enemy. Tarleton's much-feared raiding bands were on this day almost totally destroyed.

An interesting group of soldiers were the sharpshooters under General Morgan. Among them there were a large number of Germans gathered from the Valley of Virginia and from the frontier settlements of the Carolinas. The names of a number of German Virginians from Winchester and vicinity who were in Morgan's famous band of riflemen, have come down to us:[1] Johann Schultz, Jacob Sperry, Peter and Simon Lauck, Frederick Kurtz, Karl Grimm, Georg Heisler, and Adam Kurz. Six of these formed the so-called "Dutch Mess." They messed together during the entire war and survived all their severe campaigns. They acted as aides-de-camp, but never received or accepted officers' commissions. After the war they obtained lands near Winchester, Virginia, and their descendants live in that locality to-day.

An interesting individual, reminding one of the "Marketenderin" in Schiller's "Wallenstein's Lager," was Moll Pitcher. She had served as a maid in Dr. William Irvine's family in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and was generally called Molly, her real name being Maria Ludwig. About the time of the beginning of the war she married William Hays. Her husband became a gunner in an artillery company, and Molly returned after a time to serve in General Irvine's family. She got news that her husband had been severely wounded, whereupon she started out immediately to find him. She nursed him when found, and after that, for seven years, she accompanied him from

[1] Cf. *Der Westen*, Chicago, 1892, reported by Andreas Simon.

battlefield to battlefield. She was utterly fearless, brought water and food to the soldiers, and helped to carry away the wounded and care for them. "Here comes Molly with her pitcher," was a refreshing sound in the heat of battle, that made her known throughout the army as Moll Pitcher. At the battle of Monmouth she is said to have served in exemplary fashion. At a moment when her husband was wounded and no assistance seemed available for serving the cannon, she herself set about putting the piece in order and loading it, while those about her were apparently in doubt whether to stand or retreat. It was a trying moment, but the company held out until sustained by reinforcements.[1]

A patron of American sailors was the German merchant, Dohrmann, located at Lisbon, Portugal. He frequently supported American privateersmen who were stranded or in trouble on the Continent of Europe. By selling weapons and munitions of war to American cruisers, which he sometimes accomplished on the high seas by means of his own ships, he exposed himself to the hostility of the British government, who finally succeeded in inducing the court of Lisbon to banish Dohrmann from the country. This happened in the year 1782. Leaving his business

[1] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. viii, pp. 187–190. One of her grandchildren describes her as of short, thick-set stature, blue eyes and reddish hair, and almost masculine features. She was possessed of great strength of character, and according to the same source of information had mannish manners, was often feared, and would sometimes swear. (Correspondence of editor H. A. Rattermann with surviving granddaughter, Mrs. Malester, of Carlisle, in 1876.) E. S. Ellis, after careful researches under the eye of General Wm. S. Stryker, declares that Molly Pitcher was the daughter (Mary) of John George Ludwig. This name is unquestionably German. If the family of Ludwig came from Ireland, as the historian Lossing states, they may have been Palatines settled in the north of Ireland about 1710. J. Zeamer (see *The American Catholic Historical Researches*, N. S. vol. v, no. 4, October, 1909) regards the Molly Pitcher exploits as altogether untrustworthy, and claims to be in possession of proofs that Molly Pitcher was a myth.

and extensive banking interests in the hands of a brother, he made his way to New York. Washington, in a letter to the Honorable Samuel Chase, July 9, 1785, introduced him in the following manner: Dohrmann "who at an early period of the war (when our affairs were rather overshadowed) advanced his money very liberally to support our suffering countrymen in captivity. He has some matter to submit to Congress which he can explain better than I. I am persuaded he will offer nothing which is inconsistent with the strictest rules of propriety and of course that it will merit your patronage."[1] Mr. Dohrmann's private fortune had in the mean time met severe reverses because of the failure of his partners in Lisbon. The plea before Congress was to permit Dohrmann to realize on the heavy advances he had made for the benefit of American seamen. Congress, on the report of the treasurer, awarded the sum of $5806, with interest for expenditures according to vouchers examined. Resolutions were made as follows: —

Whereas the claims of Arnold Henry Dohrmann against the United States of America amounted to $20,277 over and above the sum of $5806, as above stated, in support of which important documents are offered by Mr. Dohrmann, whose own house was frequently the asylum of whole crews of captive American seamen, who were fed, clothed, and relieved in sickness through his benevolence, and that at a time when his attachment to the cause of America was dangerous both to his person and property:

And whereas Congress are disposed to acknowledge in the most honorable manner the eminent services rendered by Mr. Dohrmann and to make him further compensation:

Resolved unanimously: That the said A. H. Dohrmann be

[1] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ix, pp. 52 ff., 109 ff., 201 ff. Heinrich Arnold Dohrmann was born in Hamburg. He was naturalized as a citizen of the United States December 18, 1787.

allowed, as agent from the United States at the Court of Lisbon, the sum of $1600 per annum, and that said salary be computed from the period at which his expenditures commenced to the present day.

Resolved unanimously: That one complete and entire township . . . surveyed in the western territory of the United States, be granted to A. H. Dohrmann, free from all charges of survey, and with choice of the three ranges last surveyed.[1]

Dohrmann was instrumental in negotiating loans for the United States, e. g., in 1783 for John Adams during his visit to Holland with the bankers Van Staphorst and others in Amsterdam, leading to a loan of two million guilders.[2] The later loans, of June 1, 1787, and March 13, 1788, of one million Dutch guilders each, were negotiated by the house of Dohrmann in New York, though they bear the signature of John Adams. In 1789 came the financial crash at Lisbon. James Madison and Thomas Jefferson, then in Paris, were Dohrmann's lawyers. Dohrmann paid his debts, but the loss of three ships in 1808 with valuable cargoes broke his fortunes. Even the land given him by Congress, located in Tuscarawas and Harrison counties, Ohio, went into the hands of land sharks. Dohrmann settled finally at Steubenville, Ohio, where he died in 1813 of a broken heart. His wife in 1817 received a pension from Congress.

It is not commonly known, though all historical documents agree as to the fact, that the French troops under Rochambeau, who were sent over to aid the American cause, contained a large number of German soldiers,[3] and

[1] These resolutions were dated Monday, October 1, 1787, *Journal of Congress*, vol. iv, pp. 783–84.

[2] Consummated March 9, 1784. *Journal of Congress*, second edition, appendix of vol. iv, p. 25.

[3] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xiii, pp. 317 ff., 360 ff., 430 ff.

some German regiments. The German-French auxiliary troops were as follows: —

First: The regiment called Royal Allemand de Deux Ponts. This was the Royal German Regiment of Zweibrücken. The colonel and commander of this regiment was Prince Christian of Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld; the lieutenant-colonel was Prince Wilhelm von Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld; the major was Freiherr Eberhard von Esebeck (Baron d'Esbech), and the captain was named Haake. The regiment served in America from 1780–83.

Second: A battalion of grenadiers of Kur-Trier, of the Regiment Saar, which appears as "Détachement du Régiment La Sarré," and which was incorporated with the regiment "Saintonge," under the command of Colonel Adam Philipp, Count of Custine of Lothringen.

Third: Several divisions of Alsatians and Lotharingians joined with the regiments "Bourbonnais" and "Soissonnais" as yagers.

Fourth: A large part of the "Independent Horse" under the command of the Duke of Lauzun, of which legion a list is found in the archives of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Fifth: Several German officers served in responsible positions in the French army, such as Freiherr Ludwig von Closen-Haydenburg, adjutant of Rochambeau; Captain Gau, commandant of artillery; and the Strassburg professor, Lutz, interpreter for the marquis. Whether the regiment called Anhalt (six hundred men) mentioned in connection with the siege of Savannah, 1779, in the forces of Count d'Estaing, was composed of Germans, is a matter of doubt; detailed information is lacking.

Knowing which were the German regiments among the French troops, and which were German in the Colonial

army, it becomes manifest that the German soldier rendered conspicuous service in the final campaign which culminated in the siege and capture of Yorktown. The only sortie which was made during the siege, namely, that of Tarleton at Gloucester, was beaten back by the Legion of Armand, about twelve hundred militia under General Weedon and the men under the Duke of Lauzun, all together between three and four thousand men, over half of whom must have been German. The enemy were defeated at all points and Tarleton escaped capture with difficulty.

When the second parallel of trenches was drawn about the city of Yorktown, two redoubts stood in the way. On the fourteenth of October the American batteries directed their fire all day against the abatis and salient angles of these two advanced redoubts, and breaches were made in them sufficient to justify an assault. The redoubt on the right near York River was garrisoned by forty-five men, that on the left by three times as many. The storming of the former fell to the lot of the Americans under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hamilton; that of the latter to the French.[1] On the left about four hundred grenadiers and yagers were selected and placed under the command of Count William de Deux Ponts. He was no other, as we have seen, than Prince Wilhelm von Zweibrücken, and his grenadiers and yagers were selected from the regiment of Zweibrücken (entirely German), Gatinois, and Agenois, among whom also were Germans. We are told by a contemporary account[2] that there was joy and confidence before the start, quiet and energy in overcoming the dangers of the attack, and order and

[1] Bancroft, vol. v, pp. 519 ff.

[2] That of the Baron of Viomenil, who had the supreme command in the attack on the redoubts.

humanity in victory. According to a well-founded tradition, commands were given in the German language on either side when the redoubt was captured,[1] showing that German regiments in the French service were attacking and Hessians were defending the fortification.[2] The redoubt was defended by one hundred Hessians and thirty English and they defended themselves bravely, inflicting heavy losses; 56 of the Gatinois regiment, 21 grenadiers and yagers of the Zweibrücken regiment, 6 of Agenois, and 9 others killed or wounded. Prince Wilhelm von Zweibrücken was slightly wounded in the face. At the head of the Royal Grenadiers of Zweibrücken there was Captain Henry de Kalb, a cousin of the German-American general who fell at Camden. He was the first of the attacking party to enter the redoubt. Tradition has it that he lost one of his shoes in climbing the parapet, which evidently did not impede his progress, for he immediately took a British officer prisoner.[3]

The Marquis of Rochambeau rewarded the soldiers who had taken part in the storming of the redoubt with two days' extra pay. Washington presented them with two of the brass cannons they had taken, one each to Zweibrücken and to Gatinois as a remembrance of their bravery. The other redoubt was not so well defended and

[1] Cf. *The Diary of Johann Conrad Doehla in Zell*, "Marschroute und Beschreibung der merkwürdigsten Begebenheiten in und aus Amerika" (1811). Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xiii, pp. 422 ff. Also Kapp, *Life of Steuben*, p. 459.

[2] Eelking was evidently in error when he spoke of the use of German commands as "eine Kriegslist." He wrote from the Hessian point of view. Max von Eelking, *Die deutschen Hülfstruppen in Nord Amerika im Befreiungskriege*, 1776–83 (Hanover, 1863), two volumes, is a work giving a very complete account of the campaigns of the Hessian soldiers in the United States. The work was translated: *The German Allied Troops in the North American War of Independence*, 1776–83, by Rosengarten. (Albany, 1893.)

[3] Kapp, *Life of Steuben*, p. 459.

was taken without loss by the American force under the officers Hamilton, Fish, Gionat, Laurens, and Mansfield. The importance of the capture of the redoubts was very soon evident. Steuben included them in the second parallel and on the morning of October 17 the regiments Zweibrücken, Bourbonnais (containing divisions of Alsatians and Lotharingians), on the French side, went into the trenches, while the division of Baron Steuben was ordered into the works on the American side. All resistance soon proved ineffective against the impenetrable chain of fortifications which was now enclosing Yorktown. The brigade of Steuben consisted of Wayne's Pennsylvania regiment, Mühlenberg's Virginians, Gist's Marylanders, the whole brigade being at least one half German. The German element was thus very fortunate in occupying the most honorable position, namely, that in the trenches, at the time when the crisis came. There it was that Steuben received the first overtures of peace from Cornwallis. Lafayette requested that he be permitted to supersede Steuben, but the latter, knowing that by the etiquette of military custom he was entitled to the place until the surrender, referred the matter to Washington. Washington decided in favor of Steuben. The latter was not impelled by personal vanity, nor did the Prussian feel antagonistic to the Frenchman, but he possessed a large measure of pride in his Americans. He wanted the American soldiery, his pupils in military tactics and discipline, to be honored as the recipients of the enemy's suit of surrender. Similarly, when shortly before the capitulation the Count Deux Ponts (Zweibrücken) offered to support Steuben's forces in the trenches, he refused any aid whatsoever. When the Count Deux Ponts had gone away, Wayne remarked that Steuben had only one thousand men in his entire

division. The latter said, "If I was guilty of a certain amount of gasconade with regard to the number of my men, it was for the honor of your country," whereupon Wayne took him by the hand, and addressing himself to the officers present said: "Now, gentlemen, it is our duty to make good the exaggeration of Baron Steuben and to support him just as if he had double the number of the troops that he has."[1]

The popular impression about the Hessians who served in the English army is that they were a species of Nibelungs, or devils. Time ought to be allowed to heal the wounds that Hessian bayonets once inflicted; the lover of his country should understand before casting judgment. The Hessians were the victims of the tyranny of their rulers, who sold the lives and services of their subjects to the highest bidder. The English government was at that time the best customer. Large profits were realized by the petty princes who were willing to sell mercenaries for the war in the American colonies, as can be seen by examination of the contracts between the parties on either side, contracts which were not kept secret. An estimate of the returns derived by several of the princes is as follows:[2]

Hesse-Cassel	in 8 years	£2,959,800
Brunswick	in 8 years	750,000
Hesse-Hanau	in 8 years	343,130
Waldeck	in 8 years	140,000
Anspach-Bayreuth	in 7 years	282,400
Anhalt-Zerbst	in 6 years	109,120

Kapp estimates that, all told, the expense to England for the German mercenary troops was at least seven million pounds sterling, the equivalent at present of one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty million

[1] Kapp, *Life of Steuben*, p. 458.

[2] Rosengarten, p. 63.

dollars.[1] Mercenary soldiers existed among the Germans from time immemorial. They served the Romans in order to learn the art of war, and subsequently applied the teaching against their former masters. They served in the civil wars of Rome on either side of the contests; they were participants perhaps in every European war down to 1870. The Thirty Years' War, the age of the *Landsknechte*, was an epoch that deprived the mercenary soldier of any national principles that he may have had.[2] One day he would fight for the Empire, the next for the Swede, then for the French, always going with the best pay and largest booty.

In the eighteenth century the German armies were not composed of the whole body of citizens as now. They consisted of recruits frequently drafted or forced into the army against their will. The system of recruiting soldiers was developed to an art and had its rules and regulations, all to the disadvantage of the recruit. Kapp has furnished us with extracts from a book of regulations giving suggestions to recruiting officers.[3] The recruit must be disarmed and searched carefully, lodged only in hotels that keep rooms specially fitted for the purpose. If on the march he is under suspicion of running away, the buttons of his trousers or his suspenders are to be cut, so that he must carry his trousers with his hands. If he has made an attempt to escape, he must be put in irons or the

[1] This estimate is found on page 212 of Friedrich Kapp's authoritative work, *Der Soldatenhandel deutscher Fürsten nach Amerika*. (Berlin, 1874.) Reviewed by the *New York Nation*, September 10, 1874. Kapp estimates one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty million thalers; according to the present value of money we may estimate dollars at least.

[2] The *Landsknechte* were recruited from adventurers of all nations.

[3] Kapp, *Soldatenhandel*, pp. 13–17. The book is Prussian, showing that the abuses of recruiting existed in a country where soldiers were not sold nor mercenaries tolerated.

thumbscrews must be applied. It is unfortunate if the officer in charge has to make use of his gun and wound the recruit, or be obliged to kill him. If the recruit is of particular strength, it is well to have two officers accompany him, etc., etc. Young and vigorous men were always in danger of being kidnapped, but no exception was made for fathers of families or travelers distant from their friends. Men of any station in life were in danger of being impressed into the service, as was for instance the German traveler and poet Seume, who has written a delightful autobiography, containing his experiences as a kidnapped trooper in the English service.[1] As a result, the military service, for which the German has no innate abhorrence, became roundly hated, and desertions were very frequent. The Margrave Anspach, for instance, in order to make sure that the soldiers he had sold would arrive at their destination, acted as their driver, taking "his children" on board the ship and even marking their beds. The attitude of the recruits was by no means such as depicted by the Duke of Walbeck in a letter to the Earl of Suffolk,[2] when he described his regiment as consisting of six hundred men "composed of officers and soldiers who, as their prince, did not wish for anything better than to find an occasion of sacrificing themselves for his British Majesty." If the parents of the kidnapped sons complained, the father was sent to the iron-mines and the mother to jail. A deserter was compelled to run the gauntlet twelve times a day for two days in succession, sometimes being beaten to death by switches during the ordeal. Schiller's depiction, in "Kabale und Liebe," of the soldier's parting from home was no exaggeration.[3] What the poet says of

[1] J. G. Seume, *Mein Leben.* (1813.) [2] Kapp, *Soldatenhandel*, p. 244.
[3] Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*, Act II, Sc. ii.

the excesses at the petty courts and the small valuation put upon a human life was literally true. The Margrave of Anspach, in order to please his mistress, had a chimney-sweep shot down from the roof of the castle of Bruckberg. She had uttered a wish to see the man fall. The widow, who besought His Grace for some means of support, was given five guldens as a compensation. Human life became only valuable in the foreign service; it was not rated at five guldens there. The Landgrave of Hessen, for example, in spite of stupendous extravagance, was able at his death to leave sixty million guldens in the treasury as a result of his barter in human flesh.

The greatest of the German princes did not allow his subjects to be sold. Frederick the Great used his influence against the sale of recruits in other German states and refused to allow mercenaries who were intended for the American service to pass through his domains. He said on one occasion: "If that crown [the English] would give me all the millions possible, I would not furnish it two small files of my troops to serve against the colonies." Frederick encouraged France in a war against England for the defense of the colonies, and made promises to do all in his power to prevent the purchase of mercenaries.[1] In 1778 Frederick's minister Schulenburg wrote officially to one of the colonial commissioners in Paris: "The king desires that your generous efforts may be crowned with complete success. He will not hesitate to recognize your independence, when France, which is more directly interested in the event of this contest, shall have given the example."

In view of the system of mercenary soldiery it is not surprising to find that on many of the American battle-

[1] Bancroft, vol. v, p. 240.

fields there were Germans opposing Germans. Dieskau in the French and Indian War served the French and fought against the Mohawk Germans under Colonel William Johnson. In the New Jersey campaign, during the Revolution, Knyphausen was at times pitted against Steuben, both of these officers having served in the Seven Years' War, as comrades under Frederick the Great.[1] In the siege of Yorktown Tarleton led his Hessians against the German Colonial troops under Armand, the left redoubt was taken by Germans under Zweibrücken against Hessian defenders, and other instances might be cited.

As soldiers the Hessians behaved like veterans and were not exultant in victory. Their officers, Riedesel, Heister, Knyphausen, Donop, Specht, Baum, Breimann, and Rahl, were all brave and capable men (possibly with the exception of the last mentioned). When in captivity they proved amiable companions; Thomas Jefferson, for instance, enjoyed their music. Riedesel, who was captured at Saratoga, and his wife, who wrote the delightful letters,[2] were especial favorites of their captors. The Germans in the English service who were made prisoners at Yorktown fraternized with the German Colonial regiments. General Mühlenberg commanded the small escort which accompanied the German prisoners to their winter quarters at Winchester in the Shenandoah Valley. Later they were sent to Frederick, Maryland, where they also found a hearty welcome on the part of the German farmers of that region. Others were sent to Lancaster, Pennsylvania,

[1] Knyphausen gave out a special order by which Steuben's life was to be spared if ever endangered by an attack of the Hessians. Cf. Rosengarten, pp. 78–79.

[2] *Briefe der Generalin von Riedesel.* (Berlin, 1800.) Translated by Wallenstein; also by Stone. Cf. also Von Riedesel, *Die Berufsreise nach Amerika.* (1788.)

and in all these places, because the Hessians were good fellows, houses were opened to them, home comforts were provided, and the German tongue was used to the delight of their ears. In consequence many of them settled permanently in Pennsylvania, Maryland, or Virginia. We read that at Frederick the salute in honor of the close of the war, in April, 1783, was fired by Hessian soldiers under a Bayreuth artillery captain. He also prepared the fireworks for the evening, and the German regiments furnished the music for the ball. Instances of Hessian officers serving as school-teachers, and of still a larger number becoming farmers, can be noted all the way from New York to South Carolina.[1] In the Carolinas desertions of Hessians were particularly numerous, following the example of John Yost Mütze, who deserted near Charleston, then located in the Saxe-Gotha district, and became the father of an influential family.

Desertions had occurred very early in the war and were encouraged. The baker, Christopher Ludwig, declared his policy in the following words: "Bring the captives to Philadelphia, show them our beautiful German churches, let them taste our roast beef and homes, then send them away again to their people and you will see how many will come over to us." Congress was not averse to the idea, and their committee wrote to Washington advising not to exchange the Hessians captured at Trenton. Washington agreed, and the provision and transportation of the German prisoners was put into Ludwig's hands, who brought them first to Berks, Lancaster, and Lebanon counties. There were many deserters among the Hessians who were

[1] e. g., the ancestor of General Custer, Indian fighter, and cavalry leader in the Civil War, was a Hessian soldier who settled in Pennsylvania. See below, Chapter XVI.

ready at once to volunteer for the American service. A movement was instituted to establish a regiment of Hessian deserters, but the plan was not countenanced by Washington.

The exact number of Hessians who made the united colonies their home will never be known. They commonly located in the German settlements, being disliked as a rule by the English settlers, who harbored resentful feelings against them. They never settled in groups large enough to form separate colonies, and were therefore lost in the German population. We depend for information upon insufficient records, such as those of a traveling Rhinelander, who reports that he found many Hessians located in the city of Baltimore, where, he says, one third of the population was German.[1] In accordance with the tendency of locating with other earlier German settlers, a number of Hessians located at Lunenburg, Nova Scotia. Several of the Hessians were men of learning, such as Julius von Wangenheim, captain of yagers, who wrote a description of American trees and bushes (Göttingen, 1781), and Dr. Johann David Schöpf, military surgeon of Bayreuth, who made a careful study of plants useful in medicine.[2]

Eelking[3] gives the names of twenty-eight officers and subalterns of the Brunswick auxiliary troops who remained in the United States at the close of the Revolutionary War,

[1] *Nachrichten und Erfahrungen über die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, gesammelt auf seiner Reise in den Jahren 1806 bis 1808.* Von einem Rheinländer. (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1812.)

[2] He traveled through the United States as far as Florida after the war, became acquainted with G. H. E. Mühlenberg, the botanist, who rendered some assistance to Schöpf in his work, published in Germany in 1787, entitled *Materia Medica Americanis Septentrionalis Potissimum Regni Vegetabilis.* Cf. Rosengarten, pp. 91-92.

[3] In the work already cited, *Die deutschen Hülfstruppen in Nord Amerika im Befreiungskriege*, 1776–83.

or deserted previously, or who returned to America after having gone back to Europe with their companies.[1] Kapp furnishes a careful tabulation of the number of German auxiliary troops in the English service, giving the number that arrived in America and returned to Europe,[2] as follows: —

	Number sent	*Returned*	*Lost*
Brunswick	5,723	2,708	3,015
Hessen-Kassel	16,992	10,492	6,500
Hessen-Hanau	2,422	1,441	981
Anspach	2,353	1,183	1,170
Waldeck	1,225	505	720
Anhalt-Zerbst	1,160	984	176
Total	29,875	17,313	12,562

Twelve thousand five hundred is therefore the careful estimate of the number of Hessian soldiers who remained in the United States, dead or alive. Certainly one half of the number can be counted as survivors and settlers within the precincts of the United States. If they were all like those of whom we have record, they made good citizens of their adopted country.

[1] The list is reprinted in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xv, pp. 285–287.

[2] Kapp, *Soldatenhandel* (chap. xi), pp. 209–210.

CHAPTER XII

THE WINNING OF THE WEST

I. THE GERMAN SETTLERS IN KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE

The early history of the Kentucky settlements — Germans among the colonists from the Carolinas and the Valley of Virginia — Favorable location of the Germans for early colonization — Migratory spirit — The question as to whether any particular national type was superior on the frontier — The frontier creates types — Many instances of Germans as hunters, trappers, and Indian fighters — The three classes of settlers — The Germans' share in the permanent settlement of the Blue Grass Region of Kentucky — Statistics gathered from land-records and the United States Bureau of Pensions — The Germans settled mainly in the central and western portions of the Blue Grass Region — Evidences of early settlements by Germans in Tennessee.

THE next four chapters will follow the progress of Western settlement from the period succeeding the Revolutionary War to the time when the frontier line disappeared from the map of the United States. The German immigrants of the nineteenth century, just as their predecessors of the eighteenth, followed the frontier line closely, aiding materially in the advance of American civilization to the westward, regardless of the hostility of savage races, or adverse conditions of soil and climate.

The settlement of the great Middle West, the present centre of population of the United States, proceeded through two channels: first, by way of the early settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee, and secondly, by way

of the Ohio River.[1] As the opening from the southwest came earlier, that will be considered first.

The early history of Kentucky is inseparably linked with the name of Daniel Boone.[2] He was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and migrated in his eighteenth

[1] All roads from the Atlantic States converged upon two points, Fort Pitt (Pittsburg) and Cumberland Gap. There was a road from Philadelphia through the upper and central points of Pennsylvania, by way of Juniata Creek and Fort Ligonier to Pittsburg; another led out from Baltimore, passing Old Town, and Cumberland Fort on the Potomac River, and along Braddock's road to Redstone Old Fort (now Brownsville, Pennsylvania), on the Monongahela River, thence to Pittsburg. The distance from Philadelphia to Pittsburg was about three hundred and twenty miles. From the latter place the settlers boarded a flat-boat and floated down the Ohio River. But the dangers of the water route were so great that if the travelers had little baggage it was far better for them to take the road through the Valley of Virginia to Cumberland Gap. The distance from Fort Washington (now Cincinnati) to Philadelphia by this so-called "Wilderness Road" was almost eight hundred miles, but the traveler was protected for most of the distance, though led through wild country. A military order of 1792 calls this the most direct route between Fort Washington and Philadelphia, i. e., by way of Lexington and Crab Orchard (Kentucky); Cumberland Mountain, Powell Valley, Abingdon, Botetourt, Lexington (Virginia), and Staunton; Martinsburg (West Virginia) and Hagerstown (Maryland); York and Lancaster (Pennsylvania). See *Filson Club Publications*, no. 2 (1886); Thomas Speed: *The Wilderness Road; a description of the routes of travel by which the pioneers and early settlers first came to Kentucky*, pp. 10 ff., 23 ff.

In 1792 the Wilderness Road was improved by private enterprise, the following German names appearing among the subscribers: Jacob Froman (who was the only one, besides Isaac Shelby, who subscribed so large an amount as three pounds), Peter Troutman, Isaac Hite and Abraham Hite, George M. Bedinger, George Muter, George Teagarden (Theegarten). See *Filson Club Publications*, *supra*, pp. 48–49.

[2] It was claimed for some time by writers on the Germans in the United States that Boone was of German origin. His birth in a county of Pennsylvania where there were many Germans, and the fact that he spoke Pennsylvania German fluently, seem to indicate more than mere acquaintance with Germans. The spelling of his name, ending in *e*, and resembling "Bohne," a frequent German name, seemed to give some further basis for the supposition. Biographers generally (e. g., Thwaites, *Daniel Boone*) give English ancestry. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. x, p. 273.

MISSISSIPPI FLAT-BOATS

CONESTOGA WAGON

year to North Carolina, where for some years he lived as a hunter and farmer. About 1769, in company with several frontiersmen, he made a journey to the West for adventure and discovery, and returned after an absence of two years. He had visited the great hunting-grounds, lying between the Ohio on the north, and the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers on the south. That territory the Indians, both of the north and of the south, claimed as their own, but neither dared to have and to hold it. They called it Kan-tuck-kee, "the dark and bloody ground," for it was the scene of battle and bloodshed whenever rival hunters met. Into the struggle for possession of this No Man's Land, the white race soon forced an entrance, Boone's journey, in 1769, marking the beginning of the stubborn war of conquest. After his return, Boone determined to make a settlement in the rich country that he had seen. With his wife and children, and two of his brothers and their families, he migrated to Kentucky. On the way they met five other families and forty well-armed men,[1] who joined the company. Near the Cumberland Gap they were attacked by Indians, and driven back to the Clinch River, a tributary of the Tennessee.

Several years later the Transylvania Company was founded for the settlement of Kentucky, and Boone was chosen to lead the surveying party. They cut the Wilderness Trail, went far into the interior of Kentucky, and built a stockade fort, called Boonesborough. In 1775 Boone brought his wife, children, and friends, who had remained on the Clinch River, to the settlement on the Kentucky River, named in his honor. Other fortified stations, as Harrodsburg (1774), Logan's Fort, Bryant's

[1] It is more than probable that some of these were pioneers of German descent.

Station, Lexington, were founded. Bloody Indian wars followed, which drove back almost all of the early colonists, — who had settled in Kentucky immediately before or during the first years of the Revolutionary War. But when hostilities between the American colonies and Great Britain practically ceased, in 1782, a vast influx of pioneers appeared in Kentucky. The treaty that followed was not fairly kept by either the white or the red men, with the result that the Indian war was renewed with treble violence.

Boone was not the earliest hunter to explore Kentucky. A few years before Boone went to Kentucky, Stoner (Steiner) and Harrod, two hunters from Pittsburg,[1] who had passed through the Illinois territory, went down to hunt in the bend of the Cumberland, where Nashville now stands, and found game very abundant. In 1774 some forty men, led by Harrod and Sodowsky,[2] founded Harrodsburg, where they built cabins and planted corn.[3] This was the earliest settlement in Kentucky, and while its beginnings were ill-starred, it still exists, as the county-seat of Mercer County. George Yeager (Jäger), the "long Dutchman," had visited Kentucky with the Indians, when, as a boy, he was their prisoner. In 1771 he fell in with Simon Kenton and George Strader (possibly

[1] So stated in Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*, vol. i, p. 144. Stoner (Steiner) was a Pennsylvania German, a schoolmate of Boone, and his companion in many adventures.

[2] There were a number of men of German blood in this expedition, e. g., Abraham Hite, grandson of Joist Hite, one of the earliest settlers in the Valley of Virginia. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ix, pp. 262 ff. Sodowsky was a German Pole who was very successful as an Indian trader. The spelling of his name is also Sandusky.

[3] The corn was planted and harvested by John Harman (Johannes Hermann) in 1774, the first crop of a white man in Kentucky. Cf. L. Collins, *Historical Sketches of Kentucky* (1847), p. 452. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. x, p. 274.

the German name Sträter), and they proceeded down the Ohio to the mouth of the Kentucky River, looking in vain for the rich cane-lands, which Yeager remembered to have seen, in the land which the Indians called Kantuck-kee. In 1775, after Yeager had been killed by the Indians, Kenton and Williams accidentally discovered cane-lands inland, south of the Ohio River, in what is now Mason County (within the Blue Grass Region), presumably the same which Yeager had praised with great warmth, kindling Kenton's enthusiasm for the quest.[1]

The following is a glowing tribute to the unnumbered hunters and pioneers, whose strength was spent and whose blood was shed that others might follow: "The West was neither discovered, won, nor settled by any single man. No keen-eyed statesman planned the movement, nor was it carried out by any great military leader; it was the work of a whole people; of whom each man was impelled mainly by sheer love of adventure; it was the outcome of the ceaseless strivings of all the dauntless, restless backwoods folk to win homes for their descendants and to each penetrate deeper than his neighbors into the remote forest hunting-grounds where the perilous pleasures of the chase and of war could be best enjoyed. We owe the conquest of the West to all the backwoodsmen, not to any solitary individual among them; where all alike were strong and daring, there was no chance for any single man to rise to unquestioned preëminence."[2]

It has generally been conceded, in a vague manner, that the Germans had some part in the winning of the West, but the great importance of their share, from the very beginning to the end, has never been awarded full

[1] Cf. Collins, *supra*, pp. 383, 384; *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ix, p. 186.

[2] Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. i, pp. 145–146.

recognition. At the period of the Revolutionary War, and immediately after, when the first strides forward were made, the Germans stood in great numbers at the very gateways of the Western territory, ready to press out into the new country as soon as the barriers could be lowered. The map illustrating the location of the German pioneers about 1775 (Chapter x) shows at a glance that the Germans were settled directly on the frontier line for most of the distance between Maine and Georgia, and that they were most advantageously located for the first plunge into the Western wilderness. The two sections that took the most prominent part in the early settlement of Kentucky and Tennessee were the Valley of Virginia, and the central, then western counties of North and South Carolina. In the Valley of Virginia, taking it throughout its length, the Germans were more numerous than the Irish, or any other element taken singly. In Botetourt, Wythe, and the southwestern counties of Virginia, German settlers became ever more numerous about 1775, and in the New River section and along the Kanawha, as far as our meagre information goes, they were about as well represented as any other national stock. In North Carolina they first settled in the Yadkin River district, while the Scotch-Irish were a little to the southwest of them on the Catawba, but by 1775 the German settlers had mingled with the Irish on the Catawba, thus reaching the farthest western borders. Their position on the Yadkin was quite as near, however, to the gateways of the West. In South Carolina the German settlers were from the start as far west as any. "In the Carolinas the Germans seem to have been almost as plentiful on the frontiers as the Irish," such was the opinion of contemporaries.[1]

[1] Adair, p. 245; and Smyth's *Tour*, vol. i, p. 236. Quoted by Roosevelt,

In Pennsylvania the Germans occupied the best lands of the middle sections, and they also mingled with the borderers, the more adventurous among them, or the young, wishing to build new homes, seeking the frontier. The German pioneers were a prolific people; large families never appeared a burden to them. Children would very quickly become helpers in the field or in the woods. As soon as they reached maturity they would marry and seek homes farther west, if they could not conveniently be provided for at home. Their future depended entirely upon their own energy and industry, as had that also of the parent stock. These facts of early marriage and constant migration we find recorded repeatedly by the ministers of the Lutheran and other German churches, from Pennsylvania to Georgia. Mühlenberg says:[1] "I have noticed that within the five years of my being here, hardly half of the original members of my congregations in the country remain. Of the other half some have died, but for the most part they have gone away, forty to one hundred English miles [in the manuscript of his journal Mühlenberg says more correctly, one to two and three hundred miles], to the boundaries of Pennsylvania, to Maryland and Virginia. In the mean time the congregations have not become less in number, but have grown, because every year more Germans come in, and the others settle their children about them, as many as can find room and subsistence." No

vol. i, p. 107. Smyth says: "It was also unlucky for me that the inhabitants on the plantations [frontier of North Carolina], where I called to enquire my way, being Germans, neither understood my questions, nor could render themselves intelligible to me; and the few I chanced to find that did understand English, being chiefly natives of Ireland, most wretchedly ignorant and uncivilized, could give me no directions to ascertain the right way."

[1] *Hallesche Nachrichten* (Reprint), vol. i, p. 342, § 217, written from Providence, Pennsylvania (1747).

more authentic or striking proof of the migratory spirit of the German colonists could be found than this statement of the patriarch of the Lutheran Church. It shows us that migration took place westward and southwestward not only from the border-lands, but also from the midland counties.

In regard to the survival and success of pioneer settlers of different national stocks, a contemporary observer in Kentucky estimated that, "of twelve families of each nationality, nine German, seven Scotch, and four Irish prospered, while the others failed." [1] "The German women worked just as hard as the men, even in the fields, and both sexes were equally saving. Naturally such thrifty immigrants did well materially; but they never took a position of leadership or influence in the community until they had assimilated themselves in speech and customs to their American neighbors. The Scotch were frugal and industrious; for good or for bad they speedily became indistinguishable from the native-born. The greater proportion of failures among the Irish, brave and vigorous though they were, was due to their quarrelsomeness and their fondness for drink and litigation; besides [remarks this Kentucky critic] they soon took to the gun, which is the ruin of everything." [2]

The good impression which the German settlers made upon influential men is illustrated by George Washington's plan of settling Germans upon his ten thousand acres, south of the Ohio, — lands that had been granted him for service in the French and Indian War. He wrote in February, 1774, to James Tilghman, in Philadelphia,

[1] *Description of Kentucky*, 1792, by Harry Toulmin, president of Transylvania Seminary, 1794–96; Secretary of State, 1796–1804. Quoted by Roosevelt, vol. iii, p. 17. (Should be ascribed to Crèvecœur.)

[2] Roosevelt, vol. iii, pp. 17–18.

concerning the possibility of settling Palatines on his lands,[1] inquiring whether he should send an intelligent German to the Old Country, for the purpose of recruiting colonists and transporting them. He also addressed Henry Riddle in Philadelphia, promising to give the German peasants free transportation to the Ohio, sustenance up to the first harvest, and four years' free rental on unimproved land. But the Revolutionary War made an end of his plan for the settlement of the Ohio Valley. Governor Glenn of South Carolina, in the middle of the eighteenth century, wrote concerning the Germans: "Our trade with New York and Philadelphia was of this sort, draining us of all the little money and bills that we could gather from other places for their bread, flour, beer, hams, bacon, and other things of their produce, all of which, except beer, our new townships began to supply us with, which were settled with very industrious and thriving Germans. This no doubt diminishes the number of shipping and the appearance of our trade, but it is far from being a detriment to us."[2] The German settler not only survived among the fittest, wherever he went, but he also established the economic independence of his colony.

The best frontiersmen were undoubtedly those born on the border. "Colonists fresh from the Old World, no matter how thrifty, steady-going, and industrious, could not hold their own on the frontier; they had to settle where they were protected from the Indians by a living barrier of bold and self-reliant American borderers."[3] The native-

[1] Sparks, *The Writings of George Washington*, vol. ii, pp. 382–383.

[2] Weston, *Documents connected with the History of South Carolina*, p. 61; quoted by F. J. Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, p. 29.

[3] Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. i, p. 124. The rule here stated had many exceptions.

born American possessed distinct advantages over the European as a border fighter, and he loved his work and manner of life. In that class of self-reliant frontiersmen the native-born of German descent were probably as numerous as any other stock. Impressions have been recorded, principally by writers on the Scotch-Irish element, giving the latter preëminence over other nationalities in the struggle with the forests and Indians. Any claim of that sort rests upon very uncertain foundations. The borderers were of mixed descent, English, German, Scotch-Irish, Scotch, Irish, Huguenot, and Welsh. The advantage of numbers after all lay with the Germanic stock,[1] taking both the English and Germans together as distinct from the Celtic. At all events, as time went on, the balance of advantage must have inclined more and more in favor of the Germanic race, because the latter, as contemporaries all agree, were in the end more stable, prosperous, and their permanent increase was larger.[2]

[1] An opposing view is the following: "The backwoodsmen were Americans by birth and parentage, and of mixed race; but the dominant strain in their blood was that of Presbyterian Irish, — the Scotch-Irish, as they were often called. They were in the West almost what the Puritans were in the Northeast, and even more than the Cavaliers were in the South. Mingled with the descendants of many other races, they nevertheless formed the kernel of the distinctively and intensely American stock who were the pioneers of our people in their march westward, the vanguard of the army of fighting settlers, who with axe and rifle won their way from the Alleghanies to the Rio Grande and the Pacific." Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. i, pp. 102 ff.

[2] One of the few available tests of the comparative rates of increase of various nationalities is furnished by the work of R. R. Kuczynski, "The Fecundity of the Native and Foreign-born Population in Massachusetts," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November, 1901, and February, 1902. While the fecundity of the Irish Population is shown to be great, their permanent rate of increase stands behind the German and most other nationalities. Cf. also the statements recorded by Toulmin (see above, p. 364), that of a dozen families of each nationality, nine German, seven Scotch, and only four Irish survived.

The question of superiority of any particular national type over others, in the fight with the wilderness and the savages, is rendered all the more difficult because of the wonderful leveling influence of the frontier upon all national elements. A new type of American was evolved as a result of frontier conditions. Physically he approached the ideal of the red man, with his gaunt and sinewy frame inured to hardships and incapable of fatigue. His intellectual characteristics have been described as follows:[1] "That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil; and, withal, that buoyancy and exuberance which come with freedom, — these are traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier."

Germans or men of German descent, that came under the influence of frontier conditions, became hunters, Indian fighters, backwoodsmen, miners, or whatever later types the prevailing conditions made of them. They became indistinguishable from other frontiersmen. Great numbers of hunters of German blood were found among the early explorers and settlers of the "dark and bloody ground." There was Johann Salling, the German Indian, who under the name of Menou, "the Silent," was made a member of the Cherokee tribe. He fought their battles, hunted their game, and wooed their maidens until 1742, when he was captured by the French and taken to Canada, sub-

[1] F. J. Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, published in the *Fifth Yearbook of the National Herbart Society*, Chicago, 1899, p. 40. Also in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1893*, pp. 199–227.

sequently to be set free.[1] With Daniel Boone there were Germans on most of his expeditions. Michael Stoner (Steiner) was the forefather of the numerous Kentucky Stoners of the present day. Kaspar Mansker, or Mansko, was one of the most famous of the Indian fighters. A wonderful marksman and woodsman,[2] he was made a colonel of the frontier militia. The crack of his deadly rifle, "Nancy," haunted his foes like a message of doom. Though not a native German, but of German descent, he spoke only broken English. He knew the cries of the beasts and birds and could never be deceived by Indian imitations of them. Stories of his Indian fights are told without number by Tennessee writers.

"Every old Western narrative contains many allusions to 'Dutchmen,' as Americans very properly [?] call the Germans. Their names abound on the muster-rolls, pay-rolls, lists of settlers, etc., of the day; but it must be remembered that they are often anglicized, when nothing remains to show the origin of the owners."[3] A "Dutch" station was established on Beargrass Creek (Jefferson County, Kentucky), in 1780.[4] At Estill's Station and Hart's Station (1779), there were "principally families from Pennsylvania — orderly, respectable people, and the men good soldiers, most of whom became victims of the Indian wars."[5] Lawrenceburg, the county-seat of Anderson County, was first settled by an "old Dutchman by

[1] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ix, pp. 401–408. F. W. Hess, *Johann Salling, der deutsche Indianer.*

[2] Roosevelt, vol. i, pp. 150–153; Carr's *Early Times in Middle Tennessee*, pp. 52, 54, 56, etc. (Nashville, Tenn., 1859.)

[3] Roosevelt, pp. 107 ff. Reference is made to Blount MSS., State Department MSS., McAfee MSS., *American State Papers, etc.*

[4] *Filson Club Publications*, no. xi, p. 26.

[5] Collins, *Historical Sketches of Kentucky*, p. 421.

the name of Coffman" (Kaufmann), who was killed by the Indians.[1] Another "Dutchman" is praised for his good sense,[2] who, in company with Kenton, Haggin, and others, would not wantonly fire into an Indian camp, remained seated on his horse, and cantered off much at his ease, when the others were hard-pressed in consequence of their rash acts. There was an enterprising "Dutchman" named Myers, a land-agent and general locator in the Ohio Valley, "in whose name more land was entered than in that of almost any other man in the West."[3] These examples might be multiplied. Last but not least should be mentioned the "Dutch" woman, who with Mrs. Mary Ingles escaped from captivity in the Indian camp at Big Bone Lick (Boone County, Kentucky), and successfully made the journey, mostly on foot, and without provisions, for hundreds of miles, through the wilderness of Kentucky, following the Ohio River, then the Great Kanawha from its outlet up to the New River country, where they found rescue. The Dutch woman was crazed by the hardships and privations of the journey, almost at its end, and attacked Mrs. Ingles, according to the latter's account, in a life struggle.[4] Mrs. Ingles secured a canoe and abandoned her companion; both, however, completed the journey and survived. They were, in all probability, the first white women who saw Kentucky.

When in 1784 the separatist spirit gained the upper

[1] Collins, p. 169. His wife said in her affliction: "I always told my old man that the savage Ingens would kill him; and I 'd rather lost my best cow at the pail than my old man."

[2] Collins, p. 385.

[3] Collins, p. 217.

[4] As Mrs. Ingles declared, with cannibalistic intent (by agreement). It is more than likely, however, that the struggle occurred for possession of the canoe, which was only large enough for one. For a detailed account, see J. P. Hale, *Transallegheny Pioneers*, pp. 41 ff.

hand in the Tennessee area, owing to disappointing legislation by the United States government, concerning the navigation of the Mississippi, the settlers founded the new state of Frankland or Franklin, with Sevier as governor. His adjutant-general was the German, Major Elholm,[1] who organized the militia with unusual skill. He became very popular on account of his imperturbable good humor, and his musical talent likewise won the young people, who looked upon a campaign under him as a recreation.

A more typical man of the frontier was Henry Crist (Heinrich Christ),[2] born in 1764 of German parents, in Virginia. In 1788 he made a trip in a flat-boat, from Louisville, on the Ohio, to Bullitt's Lick, for the purpose of preparing salt. The expedition consisted of twelve armed men and one woman. They were on the way to Mud Garrison, situated midway between Bullitt's Lick and the falls of the Salt River, almost where the town of Shepherdsville now stands. Arriving in the Salt River, they were attacked by Indians, about eight miles below Rolling Fork. The battle which ensued was costly. Of the whites, Crist alone[3] survived, but he was frightfully wounded. Being unable to walk, he bound his moccasins to his knees, and crawled in the direction of the Licks. He almost succumbed from exhaustion when but a few miles distant from his destination. Bleeding from many wounds, his clothes torn to shreds by briars and thorns, he was discovered by a negro. The latter, fearing this bleeding piece of humanity to be

[1] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ii, p. 368; J. A. Wagener, *Frankland und Franklin*.

[2] Collins, *Historical Sketches of Kentucky*, pp. 217–220.

[3] Collins, *Historical Sketches of Kentucky*, p. 219. Crist's companion Crepps (German name Krebs), who had fought like a lion and made his escape, died shortly after reaching Long Lick.

an indication of an Indian attack, rode back to camp at full speed and gave the alarm. Crist was carried in safety to the salt camp, but it took a full year for him to recover completely from his wounds. The woman of the party was taken captive by the Indians and later exchanged, after General Wayne's victories. She reported, what seems incredible, that of the Indian party, consisting of one hundred and twenty warriors, about thirty were killed; her story seems to indicate, at least, that the twelve whites in this battle made the Indians pay dearly for their victory. Crist some years after became prominent in politics, being chosen a member of the legislature of the state of Kentucky, and in 1808 elected to the United States Congress. He died in 1844 at the age of eighty.

One of the most prominent Indian fighters in border history was Ludwig Wetzel, whose career concerns chiefly the settlement of the Ohio Valley.[1] The two Sanduskys (Sodowskys), German Poles from the Prussian province of Posen, already referred to, were typical hunters and traders. Jacob Sandusky, in a canoe, paddled down the Cumberland into the Ohio River, then made his way into the Mississippi, and followed its interminable course all the way to New Orleans. He was the first white man on record to do this, exclusive of the French and Spaniards.[2] Jacob Sandusky died in Jessamine County, Joseph, in Bourbon County, Kentucky.

The most brilliant military achievement originating in Kentucky was the expedition of George Rogers Clark in 1778–79 against Kaskaskia (Illinois) and Vincennes (Indiana). Clark was the master spirit in the undertaking, and was a Virginian of English descent, but his two ablest

[1] It will therefore be given attention in the next chapter.

[2] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ix, p. 262.

lieutenants were Virginians of German descent, namely, Captain Leonard Helm (Fauquier County) and Major Joseph Bowman (Baumann, of Frederick County). Joseph Bowman was next in command to General Clark, and served with distinction in this campaign.[1] Other Virginia Germans among the volunteers were Captain Johann Holder, Major George Michael Bedinger (adjutant of Bowman), Johann Hager (of Ruddle's Station), Hans Sauter and Johann Pleakenstalber (Blickenstalwer). Colonel *John* Bowman, as county lieutenant, in May, 1779, commanded one hundred and sixty Kentuckians in an expedition against the Ohio Indian town of Chillicothe. The Indian town was surprised, many cabins were burned, and horses captured. The Indians rallied in a block-house, and drove off their enemies. When the Indians pursued, they were in turn driven back. The loss was nine killed and two or three wounded, of the whites, and two killed and five or six wounded, of the Indians. The attack was of great benefit to the Kentuckians, who were inclined to blame Bowman for defeat. It kept the Indians from making an inroad into Kentucky. The Indians were very badly frightened. "The expedition undoubtedly accomplished more than Clark's attack on Piqua next year."[2]

[1] The expedition of Clark will be described more fully in a succeeding chapter (XIV), on the settlement of the Northwest. It will be seen there that Bowman and Helm were the two lieutenants intrusted with the largest responsibilities.

[2] Cf. Roosevelt, vol. ii, pp. 96–97. We learn that "Logan, Harrod, and other famous frontier fighters went along." The Germans Johann Bulger and George M. Bedinger (later United States Congressman) were also among those that took part in Bowman's expedition. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ii, p. 56. Two other German names appear prominently in the conquest of the Northwest: Honaker and Chrisman. Cf. *The Virginia Magazine*, vol. x, p. 47. Cf. also W. H. English, *The Conquest of the Northwest of the River Ohio, 1778–83*, and *Life of General Clark*.

In every important engagement, whether of discovery or warfare, we come upon German names. Thus in the fatal battle of the Blue Licks, August 19, 1782, in which the rashness of Major McGarry prevailed over the prudence of Boone, Major Benjamin Netherland (Niederland) was a "man of the hour."[1] "The majority of the men who escaped from the destructive conflict owed their preservation to Benjamin Netherland, — a fearless man, fruitful in resources, and the impersonation of nobleness and courage." Like many men of his stock, he was not a man of bravado, and therefore was sometimes suspected of cowardice. He was born in Powhatan County, Virginia, of German or Dutch descent, served under Lincoln in the Southern army in the Revolutionary War, and after coming to Kentucky in 1787 was one of the most prominent men in the Indian wars. In the battle of the Blue Licks, at the age of twenty-seven, he exhibited wonderful coolness and judgment. Being well mounted on the retreat, he gained the ford and crossed the stream in advance of many others. Looking back, he saw that his comrades, swimming and struggling in the water, were at the mercy of their ferocious enemies. "He dismounted and commanded the fleeing horsemen to halt, and fire upon the Indians. His splendid presence — he was six feet two inches high — restored the spirit of the fear-stricken riders. A dozen or twenty men instantly obeyed his call, and facing about with Netherland, they opened a fatal and deadly fire upon the foremost of the pursuing savages. The counter-attack was so sudden and unexpected that it checked the fierce pursuit of the Indians, and they instantly fell back from the opposite bank."

[1] *Filson Club Publications*, no. xii, pp. 183 ff., 186–187. K. T. Durett, *Bryant's Station*.

Another Virginia German[1] in this battle was Major George Michael Bedinger, born in Schäfersdorf, Virginia, of German parents. He came to Boonesborough at the age of twenty-four, and was one of ten to settle on Muddy Creek[2] (Mason County, Kentucky). In 1779 he served with distinction under Colonel John Bowman in the expedition to Old Chillicothe. In 1792 he was a member of the legislature of Kentucky for Bourbon County, and from 1803 to 1807 was a member of the United States Congress.

In the development of the West, three classes of settlers have commonly been enumerated[3] as representing successive waves of pioneer conquest. First comes the hunter or trapper, frequently combining with the pursuit of game the functions of an Indian trader. He would build a rude hut, do little with the soil, and for a livelihood rely mostly on hunting. In Kentucky and Tennessee most of the first settlers were hunters, rather than trappers or traders. Daniel Boone was of this class, and his descendants went ever farther westward, repeating the same service for advancing civilization. Immediately after came the hunter-settler. He was rather a cattle-raiser and ranger than farmer. He did his work roughly, and lived in a cabin destitute of the meanest comforts. His field was imperfectly tilled, blackened stumps and girdled trees stood all around, showing desperate and hasty efforts. He was restless, adventurous, shiftless, and when more in-

[1] Several others are also named in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, p. 182; Jesse Jocum, Ludwig Rose, Peter Harget.

[2] Two other Germans accompanied him, Johannes Haller and Thomas Schwearingen.

[3] Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, pp. 26–27, who quotes also Peck's *New Guide to the West* (Boston, 1837); Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. iii, pp. 208 ff. Cf. also Dr. Rush's similar views, as given in Chapter v, above.

dustrious neighbors came about him, he felt uncomfortable and would escape before the advance of civilization. He sold his claim, gathered his cattle and scanty household goods, and went westward into the wilderness, to establish another advance post. "The Lincolns, the forebears of the great President, were a typical family of this class."[1]

The third class of settlers were the thrifty farmers. They understood the business of farming, possessed better tools, and were more conservative. They came to possess the land and bequeath it to their children. They raised big crops and big families, cut better roads through the forests, threw strong bridges over the streams, built mills of all kinds, established industries, laid out towns, and planted the institutions of civilized government. They had come for economic reasons, — because they were children of large families seeking an independent position for themselves, or they had found that their former location was not so good as they hoped their new location might become. But they had no intention of remaining pioneers all their lives. Some few of the first and second class of settlers would remain with the advance of the third class. There were also settlers that combined the characteristics of all three classes, starting as hunters, and becoming ultimately prosperous farmers, but that was the exception rather than the rule.

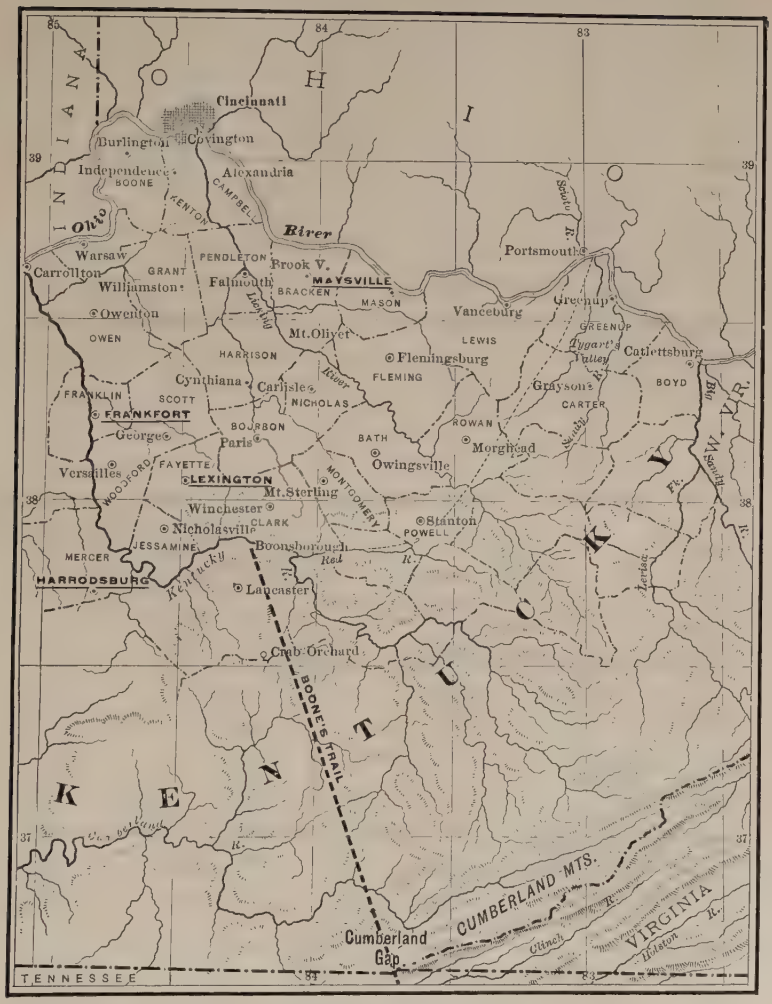
A foregoing chapter (v) has shown to what class of the three the German settlers commonly belonged. Dr. Benjamin Rush did not hesitate to put them into the class of permanent settlers. While such a disposal of them reflects the greatest amount of credit upon the Germans, since authorities agree that the only settlers of permanent value

[1] Roosevelt, vol. iii, p. 209.

are those of the third class, still we should be unjust to the German frontiersmen if we should deprive them of their part of the glory of having subdued the forest and the Indian with axe and rifle. Perhaps a greater amount of that glory belongs to other nationalities, but the more deeply investigation goes, the more convincing become the evidences of the large share of the German pioneers in overcoming the rage of the warring elements and savage men. Many instances have just been given of hunters, traders, and Indian fighters of German blood in Kentucky. Settlers of the third class, who located near or on the frontier, suffered more than any of the others, because their goods and cattle attracted predatory bands. The Irish and Scotch elements in general possessed a temperament more given to the love of fighting for the fight's own sake, while the German fought as fiercely and as well when his house and home were in peril, or when he saw some definite object to be attained.[1] When the fighter who fought merely for the love of it was born among them, such as Ludwig Wetzel, he was rather the exception than the rule.

It is not generally known how very extensive was the share of the German pioneers in the permanent settlement of the best farm-land of Kentucky, namely, the Blue Grass Region. This section embraces an area in the northern part of the state, the eastern boundary of which is a line drawn from the Ohio River opposite Portsmouth, extending southwestwardly to the confluence of the Red River (on the boundary between Clark and Estill counties) and the Kentucky River. The southern and western boundaries are

[1] It is interesting in this connection to note, as is explained in the chapter on the Civil War (Chapter XVI), that the German element, and the English also, exceeded the Irish element in the enlistments, in proportion to their numbers. Since the Germans were more numerous than the Irish, their total enrollment also was larger.



THE BLUE-GRASS REGION

formed by the Kentucky River, the northern boundary by the Ohio River. The bluish-green color which the grass shows here, and which the same grass loses when planted elsewhere, has given the region its name. The whole area is very fertile, tobacco, wheat, maize, flax, and hemp being the best products; the horses and cattle of this region are famous. From the earliest time the Germans from Virginia and the Carolinas, or their descendants, were attracted, as were the other settlers, by the offers of cheap land. The building of a block-house and one harvest, however small, secured the possession of four hundred acres of land and a preëmption of one thousand acres more.[1] This system, valid under the laws of Virginia, was to terminate in 1780. The desire to enter under these privileges before the time had elapsed brought crowds of settlers to Kentucky. The Indians noticed this influx of settlers with resentment, and troubles broke out at once, but the tide of immigration could not permanently be held back.

Among the eight men chosen to lay out the city of Lexington, in 1781, were John A. Seitz and George Tegersen. A plan was completed on September 26 of the same year, and sixty-two building-lots were sold, among others to the following Germans: Nickolaus Brobsten, William Martin, senior, and his three sons, John and William Niblich, Karl Seemann, Joseph Weller, and Johannes Weimar. Between 1782 and 1783 there settled also the following Germans in Lexington: Christopher Kistner and his mother, George Schäfer, Bernard Niederland, and the brothers Adam, Jacob and Christopher Zumwald.[2] The first pioneer hunters

[1] See specimens of certificates of Michael Stoner and others in H. Marshall, *The History of Kentucky*, vol. i, p. 100. (Frankfort, Ky., 1824.)

[2] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, pp. 65–72, etc. These names were taken from land records by H. A. Rattermann, editor of *Der deutsche Pionier*. Cf.

of Lexington, Kentucky, and in the Blue Grass Region had been: George Jäger (Yeager), Michael Stoner (Steiner), John Harman (Hermann), John Haggin (Hagen), Joseph and Jacob Sodowsky (Sandusky), Peter Nieswanger, Michael Schuck, Leonard Helm, Abraham Hite, Abraham Schöplein (Chaplin).[1] Some of these became permanent settlers. Among the Germans at Bryant's Station were Jacob Böhler, who had a good house and farm in 1780,[2] and also the two friends Philip Niederland and Balthazar Kurz.[3]

In 1783 Kentucky was by act of the Virginia legislature made an independent court district. One of the first three judges was George Muter, son of a German father and a Scotch mother. He was born in Madison County, Virginia, and played a prominent part in the organization of the state of Kentucky. He made a decision against Simon Kenton in the matter of land claims (McConnell against Kenton), favoring the strict interpretation of the law. His decision occasioned a storm of opposition, since most titles in Kentucky were not clear. An attempt was made by the legislature to remove the judges, Muter and Sebastian, but without success. Muter resigned in 1795. Partisanship was violent in those days, but Muter had

his articles entitled: "Die deutschen Pioniere von Lexington, Kentucky, nebst Notizen über die ersten Ansiedler der Blue Grass Region." *Der deutsche Pionier*, vols. x and xi. Other articles of Rattermann on the Kentucky Germans are contained in volumes ix and xii. Rattermann has proved, what was not known before, that the German element participated largely in the early settlement of the Blue Grass Region, though a good many of his statements in detail must be viewed cautiously.

[1] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. x, p. 273.

[2] He was the same that lost two sons in the battle of the Brandywine.

[3] Cf. Didaskalia, *Die ersten Kentuckier*. (Baltimore, 1848.) The descendants of Böhler spell the name Baylor, those of Niederland, Netherland. Kurz was changed to Short. (Not all of the name Short, of course, are of the Kurz family.) Collins, *History of Kentucky*, vol. ii, pp. 173 and 772; *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. x, p. 373.

fearlessly done his duty as he saw it. In consideration of his services to the state, Muter was voted a pension in 1806 by the legislature of Kentucky, but this was recalled in 1809. With Judge Muter as presiding officer, a meeting was held in Lexington, May 24, 1794, when resolutions were passed almost revolutionary in character. They furnish an illustration of the spirit of separatism that existed on the western frontier. The resolutions maintained that the protection of the frontier was a duty of the United States government, and demanded for Americans the right of free passage on the Mississippi (denied by the Spaniards), though such a right be obtainable only by force.[1] Muter was a member of the German Reformed Church in Lexington and the first president of the Caledonian Society, the latter office showing his descent from a Scotch mother.

The first college in the Valley of the Ohio, Transylvania Seminary, the first higher institution of learning west of the Alleghanies,[2] received its first charters in 1780 and 1783, by act of the General Assembly of Virginia. In 1792 the school was permanently located at Lexington, and, uniting with the Kentucky Academy in 1798, the institution received the name, "Transylvania University." Colonel John Bowman, first military governor of "the county of Kentucky," George Muter, and Jacob Froman were among the first trustees of Transylvania Seminary. John Lutz, A.M., a professor of the institution, was during a short period president *pro tem.* Benjamin Gratz, whose father, born in Silesia, was a prominent merchant of Philadelphia, became a trustee and patron of Transyl-

[1] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, p. 427, gives the resolution, quoting the *Centinel of the Northwestern Territory*, June 14, 1794.

[2] The University of Tennessee (Nashville) dates from 1785.

vania. The Bowman family were very energetic promoters of the cause of education in Kentucky. Three brothers were the first three patrons of Kentucky University, starting the subscription with one thousand dollars each. John B. Bowman devoted more than twenty years, without salary, to the building up of Kentucky University, raising the endowment to two hundred thousand dollars, and through his exertions Transylvania was consolidated with Kentucky University in 1865.[1]

The Lexington Immigration Society printed their circulars also in German, to get immigrants of that nationality. The first record-books of Lexington were destroyed by fire, and the oldest existing volume dates from 1796. A number of Germans, owners of land, in that year sold their property, while others were purchasers.[2] The first lottery in Kentucky was established by Germans, to found a German Reformed Church near Lexington. In December, 1792, the following men composed the vestry of the so-called Dutch Presbyterian Society (which meant a congregation of the German Reformed Church): Schmidt (Smith), Schwab (Swope), Kerstner (Carsner), Kassel (Castle), Keyser (Kiser).[3]

The counties bordering on Fayette (in which the town

[1] *Filson Club Publications*, no. xi, *Transylvania University*, by Robert Peter and Johanna Peter, p. 20, etc. (1896.) Cf. also Ranck, *History of Lexington.*

[2] German names recorded under the sale of lands were: Reybolt, Wilking, Keyser, Hartmann, Rochus, Kruse, Helm, Schiner, Lischmann. Under purchasers of land in and about Lexington: Franks, Lützel, Georg Jung, Kühn, Lingenfetter, Gärtner, Poyzer, and Weibel. (*Deed Records*, vol. A.) Poyzer was the first drygoods merchant in Lexington. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, p. 430.

[3] The following were German settlers belonging to the congregation: Lemkert (Lamkard), Springel (Springle), Keyser (Kiser), Weber (Webber), Adam(s), Hagert (Haggard), Böshardt (Bushart), Howe (of North German origin), and Meyer (Myers).

of Lexington is situated) likewise contained early German settlers. So it was with Jessamine,[1] Woodford,[2] Scott,[3] and Harrison counties.

The counties opposite the present city of Cincinnati, Boone, Kenton, and Campbell, had early German settlers. In Boone County there settled, in 1785, on the left bank of the Ohio a family by the name of Tanner. Its head was Johannes Tanner, a name once spelled Danner (or Gerber), as the descendants in Boone County believe.[4] Johannes Tanner was a Dunker preacher who had settled in Virginia. Friction with the other denominations (the preachers Stöver and Henkel) led to his removal to Pennsylvania, and subsequently to Kentucky. Both of his sons were kidnapped by the Indians, which caused him to migrate once more, in 1798, to New Madrid, in Missouri. Before Tanner removed to Missouri several German Dunker families had settled at Tanner's Station (later called Bullittsburg), among them the families Dewees, Matheus, and Schmidt (Mathews and Smith). Many other German settlers, from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, down to Madison County, Virginia, were attracted by the good reports from the original settlers. In 1800 Ludwig Rausch made his way to Boone County, and his journey induced many others to follow[5] a few years later. The city of Florence was

[1] The Priors, Millers, Poythress', were among them. Francis Poythress was one of the pioneers of German Methodism in Kentucky. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xii, p. 298.

[2] Collins, vol. ii, p. 767, says Woodford County was settled by emigrants from Virginia and West Virginia, but there were also several families from North Carolina, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, as well as a respectable number of Irish and Germans.

[3] There were not many Germans in Scott County; among them were Jacob Stucker, who had a farm on the North Elkhorn River, and from whom the Indians in 1788 stole three horses.

[4] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xii, p. 68.

[5] The following names denote heads of families settled in 1805, and after,

founded in 1820 by Wilhelm Wilheut (the descendants write the name Wilhoyt), Heinrich Crysler (Kreusler), and Jacob Kohnmer (Conner). The settlement grew and had a Lutheran preacher, William Carpenter,[1] who served the congregations in the Ohio Valley below Pittsburg.

The neighboring county of Kenton contains the town of Covington, opposite Cincinnati. The name Covington came from Leonhard Covington, who was born in Maryland. His father was of a noble family, from the neighborhood of Neubreisach, in Upper Alsace, who in 1697 wrote their name Korfingthan or Kurfingthan. The father came over before the Revolution, as an officer of the French, was captured, settled in Maryland, and later fought in the War of Independence.[2] One of the early governors of Kentucky was Christopher Greenup, after whom a county has been named. It is claimed that he was of German Virginian origin, his name having been Grönup.[3] One of the earliest settlers of Kenton County was Edmund Rittenhouse, a relative of the famous German-American astronomer, David Rittenhouse. Wilhelm Martin married Rittenhouse's daughter Marguerita, and

in Boone County: Hoffmann, Rause (Rouse), Tanner (several heads of families), Haus, Zimmermann (commonly changed to Carpenter), Ayler (Eiler), Biemann, Rausch, Holsklaus (Holzklo), and Utz; most of these came from Virginia, as the names indicate. Holzklo will be remembered as the name of the old schoolmaster-preacher of Madison County, Virginia. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xii, p. 71; Rattermann, *Eine alte deutsche Gemeinde in Kentucky*.

[1] His father, Wilhelm Zimmermann, was a Palatine who arrived in 1720. His son served in the Revolutionary War under Mühlenberg, from whom he received the suggestion to enter the ministry. Carpenter was a prominent minister, from 1813. The first vestrymen were Daniel Biemann, Rausch, and Tanner. One hundred and seventy-seven members signed the church document. They are named in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xii, pp. 97–98. Carpenter founded a school at once.

[2] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ix, p. 261.

[3] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ix, p. 261.

their child, Isaac Martin, born May 4, 1798, is supposed to have been the first white child born in Kenton County. Another early settler was Johannes Piper, who arrived in 1795 (his parents, coming from North Germany, had settled in Savannah, Georgia, in 1742), and still another, G. M. Bedinger, adjutant of Colonel Bowman, whose descendants still live around Covington. Between 1810 and 1825 a number of German settlers took up their abode in the county, among them the Schinkels.[1]

In Campbell County the Germans were active in the first settlement of Newport, and the building of the roads and mills on the banks of the Licking, as well as improving the land by cultivation. Johann Busch received the right to run a ferry[2] across the Ohio opposite North Bend. In 1795–96 Heinrich Brascher was judge of the court in Campbell County, and Johannes Bartel, brewer, innkeeper, and farmer, in 1796; Franz Spielman followed as judge in 1799.[3] To the south Gallatin, Grant, and Pendleton counties all had early German settlers, the descendants of whom were influential in state politics.[4]

In Franklin County the settlement of Frankfort, the county-seat, and capital of the state of Kentucky, is of interest to Germans. Its name implies German settlers, but its early history is obscure. Collins[5] names the following as the founders: General Jacob Wilkinson, Daniel Gano, and Daniel Weissiger, and the date as 1787. In

[1] A list of names can be seen in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ix, pp. 309–315.

[2] Germans were frequently the ferrymen at river-crossings. Thus Harper on the Potomac, at Harper's Ferry. See also, below, the ferry at Maysville.

[3] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ix, p. 191.

[4] Steven Drescher in 1822 was a member of the state legislature, Samuel T. Hauser in 1832, Samuel F. Schwab (Swope) from 1837 to 1841 (and state senator 1844–1848), and William W. Dietrich (Deadrick) from 1871 to 1873. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xii, p. 446.

[5] Collins, *History of Kentucky*, vol. ii, p. 707.

the register of 1802 Rattermann found a large number of English, Irish, and German names. Weissiger gathered about him a large number of Germans[1] and descendants of Germans in Frankfort (many of them from Frankfort-on-the-Main). Little is known of Weissiger; there is a record that in 1797 he was the possessor of a billiard-table, for which he paid taxes; he was the owner of one of six wagons in Frankfort. Frankfort seems to have been a gay town according to the frontier notion, possessing a theatre for a time. In order to check the passion for gambling, the establishment of a library was attempted, which, however, proved a failure. Whether or not the French and German population had anything to do with the gayety of the town is a moot question.

In Bracken County the towns: Germantown, second in size in the county, Berlin, and possibly Augusta, Milford, and Foster are of German origin. The county has its name from Matthias Bracken (a German name), a surveyor who came to Kentucky with Captain Thomas Bullitt, and laid out Frankfort.[2]

Maysville (in Mason County) is the oldest town on the Ohio below Pittsburg. Among its earliest settlers were Hans and Edward Waller. The father of Waller, commonly called "Old Ned," is claimed to have been one of the early settlers of Germanna, Spottsylvania County, Virginia. His son brought him to Kentucky about 1785. They had had difficulties at Germanna and withdrew to the Shenandoah Valley in 1770, whence they migrated

[1] Such names are given by Rattermann as Braun, Cammach, Casselmann, Hickmann, Jünger, Rauling, Rennick, Saltzmann, Schmidt, Vorhees, Melanchton, and Springer. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xii, pp. 300–301. Dr. Louis Marschall was the first physician of Frankfort and father of Humphrey Marshall, noted in both the civil and military history of Kentucky. Cf. Rosengarten, *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States*, p. 158.

[2] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xii, p. 447.

again to the Opequon River. There young Waller met Simon Kenton and went with him to Kentucky. The two Wallers and George Lewis were the real founders of Maysville,[1] which up to 1800 bore the name of Limestone Point. In 1784 Hans Waller, in company with Johannes Müller, went to the Middle Fork of the Licking River, near the Upper Blue Licks. They settled thirteen miles south of the Blue Licks and founded Miller's Station. In 1797 the court of Mason County allowed Edwin Martin to run a ferry from Maysville across the Ohio.[2] Martin bought of the heirs of John May, who gave the name to Maysville, all purchasable lots, and remained in charge of the ferry until 1829. In 1818 Joseph Ficklin also received the privilege of running a ferry across the Ohio from Maysville.[3]

In addition to searching through the land records of the Blue Grass Region, H. A. Rattermann, editor of "Der deutsche Pionier," examined the pension lists at Washington of the years 1818, 1828, and 1832, mentioned in the reports of 1835. He there noted the names of the officers and men of the German regiments of the Revolutionary War, who received land-grants in lieu of cash payments. It appears that a large number of the German soldiers of the Revolution, particularly of the Virginia line, availed themselves of the privilege of obtaining lands in the Blue Grass Region of Kentucky, in the counties of Jessamine, Woodford, Franklin, Scott, Owen, Grant, Boone, Campbell, Pendleton, Bracken, and Mason.[4]

[1] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, pp. 72 and 181.

[2] The first to do this had been Benjamin Sutton. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xii, p. 448.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Many pages of German names of officers and men, in the Continental army and the militia, during the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812,

These statistics furnish a most convincing proof that the central and western areas of the Blue Grass Region were settled very early by Germans. From another source we learn that the Germans had also settled in the eastern edge of the Blue Grass Region. In 1813 the Lutheran ministers Scherer and Göbel found Germans settled in Tygart's Valley, "who had united themselves with the Baptists and Methodists."[1] Thus it appears that also in the great trans-Alleghany limestone area, that of Kentucky, the German farmers arrived early and took a strong hold.

An interesting view of the spread of the German settlements to the westward is furnished by the reports of the Lutheran missionaries of the North Carolina Synod, which was organized in 1803. The Reverend R. J. Miller[2] journeyed southwestwardly from Abingdon, Washington County, Virginia. In Sullivan County, Tennessee, he reports having found German congregations in charge of the Reverend Mr. Smith. Before his arrival they had been attended, as he says, by the Reverend Mr. Sink (Zink), now gone to Kentucky. The fact is very worthy of note

who received land-grants in the counties named above, are given by Rattermann, in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xii, pp. 298–305, 444–450. The investigation might well be renewed and supplemented by researches in the archives of the War Department.

[1] Cf. Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, p. 389, etc. The latter work is based upon the Urlsperger and Helmstädt reports, church records, minutes of synods, and private journals. The facts contained in the succeeding paragraphs are derived from Bernheim.

[2] The Reverend Robert Johnson Miller, a Scotchman by birth, fought in the patriot army during the Revolutionary War, and after peace was declared lived in the South. He was licensed to preach by the Methodist Conference, yet, not having the authority to administer the sacraments, his people of White Haven Church in Lincoln County, North Carolina, sent a petition to the Lutheran pastors of Cabarrus and Rowan counties, praying that he might be ordained by them, which was accordingly done. He was probably the first

that he found several congregations on the Holston[1] River as early as 1803. They must have settled there long before, to have become so numerous. The fact also is significant that Mr. Sink, the preacher, went to Kentucky, undoubtedly to German congregations who had settled there. This shows the drift of the times. Miller wrote in his reports: "I preached in all congregations and in other places, particularly in Blountsville [county-seat of Sullivan County]; met Reverend Smith, an honest, upright man. Both he and his congregations are glad to be connected with our ministerium [of North Carolina]. Preached at Cove Creek October 11, to large and attentive congregations." Concerning the use of the German language in the western settlements,[2] the Reverend Mr. Miller remarks: "Among the old Germans there is a standing still; their youth learn and speak English; if a teacher speaks German, it is to them like the sound of a church-bell. But the affair is the Lord's."

In 1813 the Reverend Jacob Scherer, accompanied by another German minister, the Reverend Mr. Göbel, was sent on a missionary tour to Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. After leaving Ohio they arrived in Powell's Valley, where there were many people from North Carolina and "several congregations could be formed." Scherer preached in Grassy Valley, and the next day arrived at the Reverend Mr. Smith's (on the Holston River), who accompanied him from the thirteenth to the nineteenth of July, for Mr. Göbel had left him there. On the twenti-

Lutheran clergyman who preached in English in the South or Southwest, and was selected as a missionary for his ability to preach in English.

[1] The name of this river is frequently spelled "Holstein." There may be some significance in this German spelling, which occurred very early.

[2] The missionary says this of the western settlements of South Carolina, but his point is undoubtedly applicable to the settlements of Tennessee, Kentucky, and elsewhere, as well.

eth he formed another congregation on the fork of the Holston (he calls it Holstein), and on the next day preached in "Rössler's" church. He preached also in "Bueller's" church, and in a new church on the middle fork of the Holston in Washington County, Virginia; then before another isolated congregation which had never yet been visited, on the north fork of the Holston. He soon arrived in the district of the Reverend Mr. Flohr, who was the Lutheran minister for a very large portion of western Virginia (including portions of present West Virginia). In conjunction with the Reverend Mr. Miller, he (Scherer) altogether organized thirteen congregations consisting of eleven hundred and seventy-five members (1813).

The great sweep of immigration to the Southwest did not take place before the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. Then it was that glowing reports of the fertility of the lands in the Southwest were spread broadcast, and advantageous offers were made to the settlers to secure for themselves homes "without money and without price." Many, accordingly, sold their possessions in North Carolina and Virginia, and migrated to Tennessee and Kentucky and to the Southwest, or otherwise, to the north of the Ohio River. In April, 1812, the North Carolina Synod admitted nine congregations in Tennessee as follows: Zion's and Roller's, in Sullivan County; Brownsboro and another (name not mentioned), in Washington County; Patterson, Sinking Spring, and Cove Creek, in Greene County; Lonax and Thomas, in Knox and Blount counties.[1] In succeeding years petitions for preachers came to the North Carolina Synod from Sevier County, Tennessee,

[1] These nine congregations were under the pastoral care of the Reverend C. Z. H. Smith, after whose death, in 1814, the Reverend Philip Henkel took his place.

and subsequently from Franklin, Lincoln, and Bedford counties, Tennessee. The Lutherans had become so numerous in eastern and southern Tennessee, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, that in 1820 a separate synod was formed, namely, the Tennessee Synod. At the first meeting, July 17, German was made the business language of the synod, and all of its transactions were to be printed in that language. In 1825 the minutes of the synod were printed also in English; during the first three days of the synod of 1827 German was the official language, but ever afterwards English. The leaders of Lutheranism found that the church grew much more rapidly when the English language was used in divine service and in the affairs of the denomination. Before 1820 a Lutheran seminary on a small scale had been begun in Greene County, Tennessee, under the supervision of Henkel and Bell. Theology, Greek, Latin, German, and English were taught. When the Lutheran seminary was established at Lexington,[1] South Carolina, the Greene County institution in Tennessee had long ceased to exist.

With these evidences of settlement and activity by the Germans in Tennessee, and a far greater number in the state of Kentucky, it is clear that the German element was very largely concerned with the great initial movement of Western development at the Southwest, which preceded the opening of the Ohio Valley. The location of the German settlers on the frontier, as illustrated by

[1] The theological seminary and classical school of Lexington, South Carolina, went into operation on the first Monday in January, 1834. The Reverend E. L. Hazelius, D.D., a native of Silesia, Prussia, was the first professor of theology, and he served for twenty years, until his death. The influence of the seminary was quickly felt in the Lutheran Church of the Carolinas. A larger number of ministers of good training were soon available for the Southern and Southwestern states. Cf. Bernheim, pp. 507 ff.

the map of German settlements in 1775 (after p. 263), and their migratory spirit, as described in the reports of the Reverend H. M. Mühlenberg, might have been accepted without further evidence as a proof that the German pioneers crossed the Appalachian Mountain ranges at every possible point and at the earliest opportunity. Yet they have never received credit for this historical fact. The materials brought forward in this chapter have long remained hidden in places difficult of access, such as the volumes of "Der deutsche Pionier," or in the obscure corners of local and state histories. It was necessary, therefore, to present a large amount of detail for the purposes of proof, at the risk frequently of wearying the reader.

CHAPTER XIII

THE WINNING OF THE WEST

II. THE SETTLEMENTS OF THE OHIO VALLEY

German traders, hunters, and missionaries in the Ohio territory — Causes for slow development — Pontiac's War — Colonel Bouquet — The first permanent white settlement in Ohio that of the Moravian missionaries on the Muskingum, Gnadenhütten, Schönbrunn, etc. — David Zeisberger — The massacre of the Christian Indians at Gnadenhütten — Continuous Indian wars — Settlements on the Ohio River, at Marietta, Losantiville (Cincinnati), etc. — St. Clair's defeat — General David Ziegler — The Indian fighter Lewis Wetzel — Expedition of General Wayne against the Indians opens the country for settlement — Ebenezer Zane, founder of Zanesville — German sectarians in Tuscarawas County — The "Backbone Region" of Ohio — The Scioto Valley — Martin Baum of Cincinnati, pioneer of Western commerce — Chr. Waldschmidt in the Little Miami Valley — Dayton and Germantown in the valley of the Great Miami — Distribution of German settlers throughout the larger towns of Ohio — The traveler Sealsfield's observations — Mission tours of the German Methodist Heinrich Böhm.

Being more difficult of access, the territory north of the Ohio was not settled as early as Kentucky and Tennessee. It was inhabited by warlike Indian tribes, who proved to be quite as capable of resistance as their conquerors, the Six Nations, had been in the East. The first Germans to penetrate the Ohio country were the two men prominent for their exceptional services in Indian affairs, Conrad Weiser and Christian Frederick Post. Weiser several times served as envoy to the Indians of the Ohio Valley, in 1748 visiting the Indian village called Logstown, due west of Fort Pitt, near the Ohio state-line. The important mission, during the French and Indian War, of the

Moravian, C. F. Post, to the Indians of the Ohio Valley, in which he succeeded in separating them from their French allies, has been described in a preceding chapter.[1]

Post had established for himself the reputation of being a friend of the red man, and his marriage with a Delaware squaw increased the Indians' confidence in him. The marriage, however, was contrary to the wishes of the Bethlehem church fathers, and deprived him of the privilege of laboring in the mission service of the Moravians. This circumstance induced him to work independently among the Indians, in the spirit of the Moravians, though no longer as their ordained missionary. In 1761 he became the first white settler in the Ohio district, locating among the Tuscarora Indians in the upper Muskingum Valley, in what is now Stark County, Ohio. His was the first dwelling erected by a white man in the Ohio region, exclusive of the stations of the Jesuit missionaries and the huts of traders. Desiring to found a mission for the Indians, he applied for assistance to the brothers at Bethlehem. The young John Heckewelder thereupon volunteered to go to Post's settlement, and he soon became a worthy disciple, learned in the Indian tongues. At first they had some difficulty in obtaining permission from the Indians to cultivate the land, but soon after they laid out a garden (in 1762), gave instruction to the Indian children, and preached the Gospel to the more mature. But their presence in the Indian territory seemed to be viewed with disfavor, and involved danger to themselves. Judging from the signs all about them, something mysterious was brewing. Post had gone eastward, when Heckewelder found that he was in danger of assassina-

[1] See Chapter x, pp. 274–278.

tion. The latter immediately fled to Fort Pitt, and meeting Post on the way, notified him of the danger. Post would not be convinced until he had returned to the settlement, when he also concluded that his only chance for safety lay in flight.

The storm that was gathering resulted in what is known as Pontiac's War, which followed immediately after the French and Indian War. The Indians had found that they had merely changed masters when the French had given up their claims to the territory west of the Alleghanies. A more formidable adversary was facing them, and it was now their time to crush him before he had grown too strong. The Indians were fortunate in having a leader of great ability, Chief Pontiac, of the Ottawa tribe. Imposing in physique, eloquent and magnetic, he was endowed with all the qualities of the ideal Indian warrior. Going from tribe to tribe along the frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, he convinced his hearers that the time had come when they might, by a bold stroke, crush the advancing white settlers, and regain all the hunting-grounds which the red men had lost. They were told that the Great Spirit was angry with them because they were cowards, and they were shown how all could be accomplished in a short time. The genius of Pontiac conceived the plan to attack all the frontier forts at the same moment, depriving them of the opportunity of assisting one another. Since the Indians were never desirous of storming fortifications, Pontiac planned to take the forts by stratagems. For each outpost a different scheme of surprise was devised, and complete secrecy was charged upon all the Indian allies. At one place the Indians, laden with furs, entered a fort, apparently to engage in trading. At a given signal the unsuspecting whites were cut down

almost to the last man.[1] At another the king's birthday was celebrated with an Indian game of ball. The Chippewas and Sacs were engaged on opposite sides, and when the game was at the hottest the ball was thrown over the fortifications. All the players, numbering several hundred, instantly leaped over the walls after the ball, and having thus gained entrance, killed the defenders and took possession of the fort.[2] By most clever tricks and surprises all the forts of the entire western frontier fell into the hands of the Indians, with the exception of Detroit and three forts in Pennsylvania: Bedford, Ligonier, and Pitt. Detroit was saved by an Indian squaw, who revealed the plan to Major Gladwyn. The three Pennsylvania fortresses owed their safety to the watchfulness and discipline enforced by Colonel Henry Bouquet, who in the French and Indian War had served as colonel of the German regiment, the Royal Americans, and as second in command in the expedition against Fort Duquesne. The Indians laid siege to the Pennsylvania forts until Colonel Bouquet came to their relief, who gained a victory in the battle of Bushy Run.

As was their wont, the Indians quickly wearied of the struggle, deserted Pontiac, and lent a willing ear to proposals of peace. Two punitive expeditions were immediately organized to invade the Indian territory, one at the north under General Bradstreet, in the direction of Lake Erie and Niagara, the other farther south into Ohio, under Colonel Bouquet. Colonel Bouquet arrived in the upper Muskingum region in the autumn of 1764, and established a camp. Thither he summoned the chiefs of the Seneca, Delaware, and Shawnee tribes, and their allies.

[1] The stockade at St. Joseph's River, in the northern part of Indiana.

[2] Fort Michillimackinac. Cf. Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac, and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada*, vol. i, p. 338. (Boston, 1880.)

Before he would listen to any suggestions of peace, he demanded that within twelve days from the seventeenth of October, the Indians should deliver into his camp all white prisoners whatsoever who were in their hands, whether they be English or French, women or children, whether they be adopted by a tribe, united by marriage, or held on any other pretense. They were required also to furnish the prisoners with clothing, food, and horses, as far as Fort Pitt. After that, he declared, he would be ready to dictate terms of peace.

This bold manner of treating the Indians had the desired effect. They brought to the camp at Wakatamake two hundred and six persons whom they had taken prisoners, — eighty-one men, and one hundred and twenty-five women and children. The prisoners and their relatives at home were duly thankful for their release.[1] Those prisoners whose relatives or friends had not come with the army were taken to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to be identified there. It is recorded that a German woman, Frau Hartmann, from eastern Pennsylvania, came to Carlisle, eagerly searching for her daughter. When found, the child did not recognize the mother. Bouquet asked the latter whether she could not recall some melody that she had sung to the girl in her childhood. Frau Hartmann sang the old church hymn, —

"Allein und doch nicht ganz alleine
Bin ich in meiner Einsamkeit,"

the child listening intently, and when the words were uttered, —

"G'nug, dasz bei mir, wann ich allein,
Gott und viel tausend Engel sein,"

[1] A few, it is said, had become so thoroughly accustomed to the Indian manner of life that they longed to get back to it, and were permitted to return.

the girl remembered them, and fell about her mother's neck.

We have seen that the attempt of Post and Heckewelder, in 1761, to found a mission in Stark County, Ohio, had failed on account of Pontiac's War. In the autumn of 1767 Post returned to his Western Indian congregation and remained there, the first pioneer. In the following year David Zeisberger founded an Indian congregation at Goshocking, on the Allegheny River, in western Pennsylvania. The Indian braves looked with suspicion upon an organization which converted their warriors into peaceable settlers, and several unsuccessful attempts were made to assassinate Zeisberger. By 1770 the congregation had greatly increased in numbers and they decided to move farther west, selecting a site on the Big Beaver River, about twenty miles from its confluence with the Ohio, and founding a settlement which they named Friedensdorf. But when this section was sold to the whites, the Christian Indians found refuge among the Delawares, Mingos, and Wyandots, of Ohio, who invited them to settle on the Muskingum. There Zeisberger settled with twenty-seven of his red-skinned disciples and founded Schönbrunn. The greater part of the Indians from Friedensdorf arrived in several groups during the summer, and a municipal code for the government of the Indians was committed to writing.[1] The regulations included a discipline, and also a summary of the fundamental doctrines concerning non-resistance.[2] The settlements were governed by the elders, Zeisberger, Ettwein, Heckewelder,

[1] Cf. Heckewelder, *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohigan Indians, from its commencement in the year 1740 to the close of the year 1809.* (Philadelphia, 1820.)

[2] Paragraph 19: "He who goes to war, i. e., will shed human blood, he may no longer live among us."

and several other white men, together with the Helpers (National Helfer), who were Indians. In the following spring the remaining converted Indians on the Susquehanna and Big Beaver rivers came to the upper Muskingum region and founded Gnadenhütten and Salem, Brother Johannes Roth being the spiritual guardian of the former and Brother Gottlieb Sensemann of the latter.

These three Christian Indian villages lay at that time about five miles distant from one another, grouped about the confluence of the Tuscarawas and Muskingum rivers. To the north were the villages of the Mingos and Delawares, to the west those of the Mohawks, and to the south of the Shawnese. Northwest, on the Sandusky River, the Senecas had their hunting-grounds, while the Miamis and Wyandots were located still farther to the west. In the forks of the Muskingum, not far from Gnadenhütten, lay the Mohawk village Goshocking (Coshocton), in which lived the chief, White Eye. He was very friendly to the missionaries, and begged them to found another Christian village in the neighborhood, with the result that, in 1776, Lichtenau was built on the east bank of the Muskingum, about three miles below Goshocking. Thither Zeisberger and Heckewelder wandered, leaving Jacob Schmick at Gnadenhütten. This period was perhaps the most prosperous in the history of the settlements. A book,[1] printed in the Delaware language, was used by the converted Indians,[2] which taught them to read and write their own language, and gave them instruction in English and German. The

[1] *Buchstabir-und Lesebuch*, of Zeisberger, printed in Philadelphia; *Grammar of the Language of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians;* translated from the German manuscript by P. S. Du Ponceau, with a preface and notes by the translator. (Philadelphia, 1827.) Published by order of the American Philosophical Society in the third volume of the new series of their *Transactions.*

[2] Within the present Coshocton County, Ohio.

congregations numbered four hundred and fourteen persons toward the close of 1775. The Delawares lived in Schönbrunn and Salem, the Mohawks from New York in Gnadenhütten, and the Mohawks from the Muskingum region at Lichtenau. The journal of Zeisberger[1] shows that the Indians were capable of being trained in the peaceable pursuits of civilization. Had the Moravians been given a chance to develop the experiment more fully, it is probable that permanent results, of far-reaching consequences, might have been obtained. But the warlike spirit of the time and the unalterable prejudices of the contending races were in opposition to the peaceful methods of the Moravians. The converted Indians were destined to become the victims of a brutal massacre that will forever stain the annals of pioneer history.

When the Revolutionary War broke out, the Indians were invited to become the allies of the British, and from their point of view they decided correctly that such an alliance was their only hope against the advancing colonists. Soon even the tribes more friendly disposed joined the British alliance, while every neutral tribe was looked upon with suspicion. To the American borderers all Indians seemed equally noxious; to them the only good Indian was a dead Indian.

The Christian Indians were wedged in between two great war-parties, their own race urging them to join them and the British, and their few friends among the colonists advising them to go to the American forts for protection. In spite of these invitations they remained in their settlements, trusting in the protection of a Higher Power, and as they

[1] *Diary of David Zeisberger, A Moravian Missionary among the Indians of Ohio* (1781–98). (2 vols. Cincinnati, 1885.) Translated from the original German manuscript and edited by E. F. Bliss.

thought, observing a strict neutrality between the two great rival parties. Nevertheless, on account of their location, being on the road to Fort Pitt and the eastern forts, they were forced to provide food and shelter to traveling war-parties. Thus they fell under suspicion, on the one hand, of being a relay station of the Indian warriors,[1] while on the other, the British and the renegade Simon Girty declared that Zeisberger and his companions were spies of the Americans.

The Six Nations, urged on by the British agents, directed the Chippewas and Ottawas to destroy the settlements of the peaceable Indians,[2] but the Western Indians felt no inclination to massacre the Moravian Indians, many of whom belonged to their own races. Finally the Wyandots were prevailed upon to act. Under their half-king, Pomoacan, the Wyandots, accompanied by groups of Delawares and other Indians, appeared in the Muskingum settlements in September, 1781. They were entertained by the Christian Indians for some time, until the guests began to act wantonly, killing pigs and cattle to no purpose. The demand was then made that all the converted Indians go with them and abandon their settlements. On their refusal, the white missionaries, who had great influence over their flock, were seized, and the entire body of Indians of Schönbrunn, Salem, and Gnadenhütten were forced to accompany their oppressors to the northward. According to Zeisberger,[3] the

[1] They were compelled from time to time to furnish food and shelter for both parties. On several occasions the shelter given the Indians, who had just surprised and attacked American frontier settlements, was bitterly remembered against the Christian Indians.

[2] Zeisberger's *Diary* gives the message of the Iroquois as follows: "Wir schenken euch die Christengemeinde, macht Suppe daraus!" i. e., "We will make you a present of the Christian congregations. Make soup of them!"

[3] *Diary of David Zeisberger, 1781–98.* (2 vols. Cincinnati, 1885.) Abstracts from the journal are found in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. v, pp. 284 ff.

missionaries were stripped of their clothing, and the whole village was robbed of all provisions and goods. The peaceful Indians were not even allowed to gather their crops. They saw the warriors parading about in clothing stolen from them, yet they proceeded cautiously throughout, fearing that resistance would bring death. An Indian woman, who had come with the warriors, being distressed by the evil treatment of the missionaries, stole the Delaware chief Pipe's horse, the best in the whole company, and rode it to Pittsburg. Her flight made the Indian warriors suspicious of the missionaries. Their fear of armed interference from Fort Pitt was not without foundation, for the American commander at the fort, Colonel Gibson, had endeavored to get the Christian Indians to come into the American lines, where he might protect them.[1]

It was soon apparent that the Wyandots were under positive orders from the Six Nations to bring the peaceful Indians away, dead or alive. The Wyandots had been attracted by the opportunity for plunder, and the hope also of increasing their fighting strength from the captured Indians. They had suffered severely from war and pestilence, and the half-king was troubled, because he could hardly get one hundred braves together. For greater safety the Wyandots had got other tribes to support them in this expedition.

Before the Moravian Indians left the settlements where they had prospered so well, they listened to a parting sermon and sang their German hymns. Then they journeyed for many days to the Sandusky region, near the southern shore of Lake Erie. They built rude huts, so that they might endure the winter's cold, but they were almost reduced to starvation. After earnest entreaties, some were

[1] Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. ii, pp. 144–145.

finally permitted to go back to the Muskingum to harvest their corn and bring it to their new abode. About one hundred and fifty, men, women, and children, arrived in the abandoned villages at the beginning of February, 1782. In the mean time bands of Wyandots, under the Scotch-Irish renegade, Simon Girty, had ravaged the American settlements on the upper Ohio and Monongahela. Evil tongues had spread the report that the Christian Indians who had come back to the Muskingum had taken part in these savage raids.[1] Some of the border settlers conspired to destroy the Moravian villages, and accordingly a company of volunteers gathered together early in March, 1782, under the command of Colonel David Williamson.

The Christian Indians had just completed their work of gathering up the harvest, they had filled their sacks with corn, and were preparing to leave for the Sandusky region the next day. But the conspirators approached stealthily and rapidly. Finding a few peaceful Indians on the outskirts of Gnadenhütten, they slew them, so that the settlement was completely taken by surprise. The Indians were told that they would be brought to Fort Pitt, to be there protected against Simon Girty's savage bands, and that they should now summon the settlers from the other places, Salem and Schönbrunn. The Indians of Schönbrunn did not obey the summons and fled, but those of Salem came to Gnadenhütten, when they were seized and herded like sheep, along with the Indians of Gnadenhütten. They were placed in two large barns, the

[1] There were backsliders among the Christian Indians, young braves who joined the Indian war-parties that passed through their villages. These runaways were as cruel and savage as their associates, and, when they were recognized, the whites would blame the whole congregations for the apostasy and crimes of these few men. Roosevelt, vol. ii, pp. 151 ff.

men in one and the women and children in another. A mock trial was held by Williamson, in which the question was put, whether the captives should be taken to Fort Pitt or murdered. Williamson asked those who wished to spare the Indians to step out of the ranks, but only eighteen men out of the whole number showed any inclination toward mercy and humanity. The majority voted for cold-blooded butchery. In justice to American frontier history, it should be said that not one of the more noteworthy borderers was among them — no man of military distinction or reputation as an Indian fighter.[1] The cowards next decided upon the plan of massacre. Some were for setting flames to the blockhouse with its living prisoners; others, greedy for scalps, preferred to act as executioners. The latter method prevailed, and after giving the prisoners a brief spell to prepare themselves for death, the assassins entered the prison-houses and with club and knife dispatched every man, woman, and child. The only survivors were two boys;[2] one had concealed himself under the floor, and the other revived after being partially scalped. A detachment which was sent to Schönbrunn found that the Indians there had received warning and escaped.

The better element of the frontier was certainly not concerned in the expedition: the lowest and most bloodthirsty alone took part; nevertheless it is impossible to excuse the massacre under any consideration. It gave evidence of the savagery of the frontier, the inhuman cruelty resulting from the frequency of bloody scenes.[3]

[1] Cf. Roosevelt, vol. ii, pp. 157, etc.

[2] Klauprecht, *Deutsche Chronik in der Geschichte des Ohio-Thales und seiner Hauptstadt, Cincinnati. Zusammengestellt nach authentischen Quellen*, p. 92. (Cincinnati, Ohio.)

[3] Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*, which speaks with indignation of this massacre, contains a paragraph and footnote (vol. ii, p. 157) which

The person most to be blamed was Williamson, the leader, who drifted along in obedience to the popular wishes, without having character enough to lead or restrain. He and many of his men who had taken part in the massacre were shortly after called to a reckoning, not by the laws of the colonies, but by the fate of battle, in the wilds of Ohio. Williamson, to be sure, escaped with his life, but many others of the butchers met their death in the woods or were even tortured to death in Indian camps. A body of four hundred and eighty Pennsylvania and Virginia militia gathered at Mingo Bottom on the Ohio (near Steubenville), for the purpose of destroying the towns of the Wyandots and Delawares, in the neighborhood of the Sandusky River. The object was to punish them for their repeated raids on the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontier settlements. Their having taken in charge so large a part of the converted Indians had nothing to do with the

might seem to imply that the German element had some share in this massacre. The name of but one German is recorded as having taken part in this expedition. His name was Karl Bilderbach, who murdered the young Schebosch, the half-breed Moravian, immediately before the expedition arrived at Gnadenhütten. Bilderbach seems to have been as coarse and cold-blooded as the rest of the company. There is no evidence that any other Germans were in the expedition. The fact that the expedition was formed on the headwaters of the Ohio does not prove that there were Germans in it. If the German element was at fault at all, it was in a different way. Zeisberger and his Moravian missionaries had converted the Indians to a pacific Christian mode of life, out of keeping with the savagery of frontier conditions, to a non-resisting group of settlers destined to be ground to pieces between two millstones. In the footnote on page 157 appear the lines: "The Germans of up-country North Carolina were guilty of as brutal massacres as the Scotch-Irish backwoodsmen of Pennsylvania. See Adair, 245." This statement by no means accords with the reports we have by Lutheran ministers in the Carolinas on the general character of the German settlers, e. g., "Never has a German stood in the pillory in Salisbury; nor has ever a German been hung in this place." From a report by the Reverend Mr. Roschen. Cf. Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, p. 332.

movement. Colonel William Crawford, a just and upright man, but with no special fitness for the undertaking, was elected to command the expedition. He was successful, by only five votes, in securing the leadership over Williamson, who had been in command of the forces at the Moravian massacre.[1] The borderers advanced to the Indian towns of the Wyandots and Delawares in the neighborhood of the Sandusky River. The battle that followed showed that the murderers of the peaceful Indians were no match for the Indian warriors, when roused in defense of their homes. The Americans were defeated, their retreat being soon changed to a rout. Crawford unfortunately was cut off from his men, taken captive and tortured to death by the Indians, a fate that Williamson should have met, who on the retreat took command when Crawford could not be found. An officer, John Rose, is mentioned as having been a tower of strength on this expedition. He was the soul of the fight in the battle with the Indians, and on the retreat was opposed to the separation of the army into small parties, which the commander Williamson advocated with such disastrous results. Even Williamson in a letter to General Irvine was unreserved in his praise of Rose.[2] The latter, whose real name was Rosenthal, was of German blood, born in the Baltic province of Livland. A duel had led to his exile. He served in the Revolutionary War in General Irvine's Pennsylvania regiment, and with greater distinction in the succeeding Indian wars. He went back to his native land upon hearing from his friends that he might safely return.

[1] Cf. Roosevelt, vol. ii, p. 159. The author notes that Williamson's command of votes indicated that public opinion on the border was not, as it should have been, outraged by the massacre.

[2] C. W. Butterfield, *The Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky under Colonel William Crawford, 1782*, pp. 206–207. (Cincinnati, 1873.)

JOHANNA MARIA HECKEWELDER

In spite of their misfortunes, the honor of having made the first settlements in the state of Ohio belongs to the Moravians in Tuscarawas County. In the village of Gnadenhütten the first white child[1] of Ohio was born July 4, 1773. Its name was Johann Ludwig Roth, son of the Moravian missionary of that name. The first white girl born in Ohio was in all probability Johanna Maria Heckewelder, daughter of the missionary John Heckewelder, born April 16, 1781, in Schönbrunn. The settlement in Tuscarawas County struck new roots after the Revolutionary War, as will be seen below.

The frequent disasters attending expeditions against the Indians retarded the settlements in the Ohio Valley, Generals Harmar and St. Clair lost their reputation in successive Indian campaigns, and not until General Anthony Wayne, in 1794, made his thorough-going campaigns in Ohio, was the backbone of Indian resistance broken. Disasters, however, did not check completely the daring and enterprise of colonists moving toward the Ohio. The river itself gradually became the avenue of approach, in spite of the dangers of its wooded shores, where savages lay in wait for an opportunity to shoot down all whom the current brought within range, or, for the sake of plunder, to lure the boatmen into ambush by imitating the sounds of game.

[1] This statement is based upon the official journal of Gnadenhütten found in the Moravian archives of Bethlehem. The father was born in Brandenburg, Prussia, 1726, arrived at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1756, and three years after entered the service of the Indian mission. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. vii, pp. 66–70. The honor of being the first white child born in Ohio had been claimed by Millehomme, the child of French traders, born in 1774. There is a tradition that among the captives surrendered in 1764 to Colonel Bouquet, there was a white woman from Virginia with a baby that had presumably been born in Ohio. That is a mere supposition, however, since the child could have been born elsewhere before captivity. The nationality of the Virginia woman is not known.

Settlements began to be made along the Ohio at the mouths of the rivers, and they soon proceeded upward along the courses of the larger tributaries. Marietta was the first settlement, in 1788, at the mouth of the Muskingum River. It was built for the protection of the border settlers, and a company of regulars under General Harmar was stationed there. The settlers were almost exclusively from New England. About the same time a few settlements were made farther below on the Ohio River, in the Miami region. Columbia, now within the precincts of the city of Cincinnati, was founded by Major Benjamin Steitz, an officer of the Revolutionary War. It was not known that he was of German blood (his name being spelled Stites) until Heckewelder's journal appeared. The Moravian missionary was a guest of Major Steitz in the year 1792, and says among other things that his host had bought twenty thousand acres from Judge Symmes and founded the town of Columbia, in October, 1788. At the time at which the note is made in the journal (June, 1792), Heckewelder states that Columbia had 1100 inhabitants.[1] The year after, in 1789, Losantiville was founded close by on the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Licking River. John Filson[2] gave the name to the settlement: "L" being for Licking, "os" the mouth of the river, "anti" opposite,

[1] Columbia and the larger part of Steitz's land are at present within the first ward of Cincinnati. Heckewelder's journal was first published in 1797 at Halle, with the title *Sammlung von ausländischen, geographischen und statistischen Nachrichten. Herausgegeben von Sprengel.* It was published separately as already mentioned: *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren.* etc. (Philadelphia, 1820.)

[2] He taught school at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1782, and was the first historian of Kentucky. His history appeared also in a German edition at Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1789. The Filson Club, which has published a valuable series of historical monographs, mainly on Kentucky history, honored him in the adoption of his name.

and "ville" the city; therefore "the city opposite the mouth of the Licking." The author of this queer conceit left his partners, among them Denmann,[1] a German-American from Strasburg (in Pennsylvania), to carry forward the project. Denmann was a land speculator and had bought from Judge Symmes eight hundred acres at five shillings an acre, now the very centre of the city. In 1790 the name Losantiville was changed to Cincinnati, in honor of the Society of the Cincinnati.[2] About fourteen miles below Cincinnati, Judge Symmes had projected the city of Cleves. The three localities, Columbia, Losantiville, and Cleves, were for a time rivals in the ambition to become the emporium of the Miami Valley. At first Columbia seemed to be a little in the lead, although Cleves undoubtedly had "the pull," Symmes being the influential man. But the third rival, Losantiville, or, as it was re-named, Cincinnati, ran off with the bone. Much depended on the location of the defensive fort of this region. Symmes wanted to have it at Cleves, but contrary to his wishes Fort Washington was built at Cincinnati, on the choice of Ensign Lutz. Tradition has it that his choice turned upon his desire to be near his mistress, who had removed from Cleves to Losantiville.[3]

[1] Another of the partners had been Colonel Robert Patterson; Colonel Ludlow took the place of Filson. Judge John Cleves Symmes and his associates in 1787 bought from Congress a tract of land along the Ohio and Miami rivers. It originally contained one million acres, which was reduced later to 248,540 acres, because of the partial failure of the colonization plans. Its location was approximately between the Little and Great Miami rivers from the Ohio River on the south to the city of Dayton and beyond on the north. Cf. Jameson, *Encyclopœdic Dictionary of American Reference*, vol. ii, p. 276.

[2] As described in a previous chapter (XI), a society consisting of officers who had fought in the Revolutionary War.

[3] See Eickhoff, *In der neuen Heimat*, p. 272. The chapter in which the story is told: "Die Deutschen in Ohio und Indiana," pp. 272 ff., was writ-

The Scioto River was ascended early for the establishment of land claims, but no settlements could prosper during the period of Indian wars, while the American armies were meeting galling defeats, and the Indians, confident and arrogant in victory, even threatened the settlements on the Ohio River. The Miamis, Wyandots, Ottawas, and others were by no means willing to give up their lands, merely because the Six Nations had by treaty resigned their claims to the Northwestern Territory. The Indians had inflicted irreparable losses upon the untrained armies of Harmar and St. Clair. General Harmar had in 1790 conducted an expedition to the Indian towns, destroying the dwellings and provisions of the Miami tribes, but on the retreat he was made to pay the penalty. His blow was only severe enough to anger and unite the Indians, not to cripple and crush them. Banding together, their vengeful forays on the frontier gained in frequency and ferocity. Attacks followed on all the Ohio settlements from Marietta to Louisville.[1] When, a year after, General St. Clair made his ambitious campaign against them, the Ohio Indians were ready to meet a more formidable foe than the raw militia and untrained regulars whom the brave but imprudent general gathered about him. Not taking the requisite precautions against his hidden and skillful foe, St. Clair's camp on the eastern fork of the Wabash was surprised by a force consisting of the "picked warriors of the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots, and Miamis, and all the most reckless and adventurous young braves from among the Iroquois and the Indians of the

ten by H. A. Rattermann, the editor of *Der deutsche Pionier*, whose important researches in German-American history have repeatedly been cited in other places.

[1] Roosevelt, vol. iii, p. 310.

upper lakes, and many of the ferocious whites and half-breeds who dwelt in the Indian villages."[1]

Their manner of attack was that which was generally employed with such terrible effect. They would shoot from under cover, from which they would appear only to tomahawk a victim or to escape when a bayonet attack was made. In this battle the Indians were numerous enough to surround a company which would charge with the bayonet, if lured on by fleeing savages. To escape annihilation St. Clair gathered about him what remained of the fourteen hundred men who had begun the fight, and charged desperately toward the road by which they had come. The Indians gave no quarter to the wounded that fell into their hands, and had they been less intent on plunder, they might have inflicted even greater losses on the retreating army.[2] From the rich spoils each tribe received everything they could desire in the way of horses, tents, guns, axes, powder, clothing, and blankets. Their insolence and savageness were increased tenfold and the conditions on the frontier became worse than ever before. St. Clair hastened to Philadelphia to defend his military reputation. His courage in battle and his honorable career in the Revolutionary War gained him a merciful judgment on the part of Congress and of President Washington, who had, however, earnestly warned him against being taken by surprise.

During St. Clair's absence his place on the frontier was taken by David Ziegler. General Ziegler took command at Fort Washington and reëstablished a sense of security

[1] Roosevelt, vol. iv, p. 37.

[2] A mere handful of the army reached Cincinnati. "Six hundred and thirty men had been killed and over two hundred and eighty wounded. Less than five hundred, only about a third of the whole number engaged in the battle, remained unhurt." Roosevelt, vol. iv, p. 47.

among the settlers. Every inch a soldier, and the ablest of the officers under St. Clair, he was the latter's choice for the position of defending the frontier at this trying period. In the Revolutionary War he[1] had been among the very first to enlist, serving in the first regiment of Pennsylvania in the Continental line, which became the second[2] regiment to be enrolled under Washington's banner. In the Revolutionary service he had the reputation of being second to none as a disciplinarian.[3] His subsequent career as an Indian fighter was noteworthy. He took part in the defense of Fort Harmar (Marietta) at various times; of Fort Finney at the mouth of the Great Miami; he was in the expedition of General George Rogers Clark against the Kickapoos on the Wabash; and, in 1790, in Harmar's expedition on the upper Miami. He was not present in the fatal encounter on the Wabash; having been detached for special service. After the battle, through watchfulness and enforcement of discipline, Ziegler succeeded in getting the remnants of the retreating army back into Fort Washington. The woods being full of Indians, he began at once the task of clearing them, at the same time adopting energetic measures for the protection of the inhabitants of the Ohio Valley. He thereby became the hero of the day and the favorite officer of the army in the Ohio district.

St. Clair had, by his assignment of Ziegler to this office, placed the latter over the heads of the ranking officers, Wilkinson, Butler, and Armstrong. This created bad feeling against Ziegler, particularly on the part of Wilkinson,

[1] A native of Heidelberg, Germany (born, 1748), he had served in the Russo-Turkish wars, and then immigrated to America, settling at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1775.

[2] The first was a Massachusetts regiment.

[3] Major Denny's *Diary*. Cf. Eickhoff, p. 266.

whose resourcefulness at intriguing became notorious subsequently in the affair of Aaron Burr. Ziegler was made the victim of false charges, accused of drunkenness, and insubordination to the Secretary of War (General Knox). Ziegler thereupon resigned from the army, but retained his enviable place in the hearts of the settlers of the Ohio Valley. When Cincinnati was incorporated, he was elected the first mayor, or president, in 1802. In the following year he was reëlected unanimously, in recognition of his able defense of the settlement in 1791 and 1792, and as a recompense for unjust treatment on the part of the government.[1]

During the Indian wars a number of Germans gained renown as scouts and Indian fighters, either on their own account, or as members of the expeditions of Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne. On the Scioto were the Indian hunters, George Ruffner,[2] David Bolaus, and Frederick Behrle. Without any special location lived as scouts and hunters, Peter Nieswanger, Jacob Miller, Johann Warth, and the

[1] Cf. Judge Burnett, *Notes on the Settlement of the Northwestern Territory.* Quoted by Eickhoff, p. 268.

[2] Ruffner was a German Virginian. Ruffner's Cave was named after the original settler in the Valley. Members of the family also settled in the Kanawha district in present West Virginia. In J. P. Hale's *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers* appear the notes (pp. 279, 280): "1797. — The late General Lewis Ruffner was born October 1, in the Clendenin blockhouse, probably the first white child born within the present limits of Charleston" [West Virginia]. Also: "1817 — David and Tobias Ruffner first discovered and used coal here." Numerous other items occur concerning the Ruffners. They were one of the most prominent families in the district, as men of affairs, politicians, and preachers. Another important family were the Bowyers. In 1798 Peter Bowyer, father of the late Colonel John Bowyer, of Putnam County, made the *first* settlement in the New River Gorge, and established a ferry at Sewell. These items show that in the Kanawha district German pioneers came as early and were as active and prominent as those of any other nationality. Compare the numerous German names in Hale's *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers.*

brothers, Christopher and Joseph Miller. The most famous of the Indian fighters on the Ohio was Ludwig (Lewis) Wetzel. "As a hunter and fighter there was not in all the land his superior."[1] Lewis's father, Johann Wetzel,[2] was born in the Palatinate, emigrated to Pennsylvania, and became one of the first pioneers of the West, settling probably near Wheeling, in the county of West Virginia which bears the family name. The Wetzel family consisted of four sons and four younger daughters. The latter, together with one boy and the mother, had one day gone to Wheeling to visit friends. Martin was out hunting, Lewis and Jacob with the father, when they were attacked in their blockhouse by a band of Indians. They slew the father and made the two boys captives, Lewis being wounded in the breast. He was then thirteen years of age. The Indians encamped on the Blue Lick, about twenty miles up the Muskingum. They neglected to bind the captives, and when the Indians were sleeping, Lewis whispered to his brother, "Jacob, let us escape and go home." After they had gone a few hundred steps they sat down upon a tree stump. Lewis again whispered to his brother, "We cannot go barefooted. I shall go back and get two pairs of Indian moccasins." After he had come back with them, they thought it might be better to be armed. Lewis went back to the Indian camp a second time, taking two guns and a hunting-knife. Thus armed the two boys fled homeward, taking the moon as a guide. The Indians in their search passed the boys, and the latter then followed their pursuers' trail, which showed them the path homeward for a distance. They again skillfully

[1] Roosevelt, vol. ii, p. 138.

[2] The name Wetzel in the original German records of the family appears as Wätzel or Watzel. Roosevelt, vol. ii, p. 138.

eluded the Indians on their return from their vain hunt, and got back safely to the blockhouse, in the charred ruins of which they found the lifeless body of their father, mutilated and scalped. Then and there they swore to kill every Indian they should lay eyes on, and the vow was as faithfully kept as Hannibal's against the Romans.

Lewis became wonderfully skilled in the handling of his rifle. He could load and fire while running at full speed. In the use of a tomahawk and scalping-knife no Indian was his better. Of medium height, broad-shouldered, thick-set, his frame like his heart was of steel. His eyes were black and shot fire, his face was covered with the scars of smallpox, his complexion was dark from exposure, almost like that of an Indian. He was a true friend and a dangerous enemy, taciturn in mixed company, but communicative, even eloquent, in a small circle of friends. Numerous are the adventures told of him. In 1782, shortly after Crawford's death at the stake, Wetzel happened to go in search of a horse with his friend Thomas Mills in the neighborhood of St. Clairsville. Near the so-called Indian Spring they met a company of forty Indians, who were watching for the stragglers of Crawford's expedition. The Indians and the whites caught sight of one another at the same moment. Lewis fired first and killed his Indian, while Mills had the misfortune to be wounded, overtaken, and scalped. Four Indians threw away their guns and pursued Wetzel at full speed. After running half a mile one of his pursuers was only ten steps away from Wetzel. The young man turned, shot his pursuer, and bounding away again, reloaded his rifle as before. Very soon the second Indian had come so near that when Wetzel turned to shoot him, the Indian took the muzzle of the gun in his hand, and forced a desperate struggle for

possession of the rifle. Wetzel succeeded in bringing the mouth of the gun against the breast of the Indian, fired, and the Indian fell. In the mean time Wetzel, as well as his two remaining pursuers, was nearly exhausted. The fugitive succeeded, however, in reloading his gun, and now remained standing to await the two Indians. One of them stepped behind a young tree, which gave his body only poor protection, for he fell a victim to Wetzel's sure aim. Thereupon the last Indian, believing that his adversary had diabolical resources at his command, gave up the chase, shouting: "Can't catch that man; rifle always loaded." The Indians on one or more occasions got close enough to Wetzel to strike him with their tomahawks, but desiring to capture him alive, so that he might be put through a series of tortures befitting his great record, they always missed their opportunity to rid themselves of him. In the neighborhood of Wheeling alone, Wetzel is said to have killed twenty-seven Indians. Another account credits him with no less than fifty Indians slain by his own hand.[1] He slew more Indians than were killed by either one of the two large armies of Braddock and St. Clair during their disastrous campaigns.[2]

To punish the Indians for an attack below Steubenville, the white inhabitants offered a reward of one hundred dollars for the first Indian scalp secured. Major McMahon, who had frequently led the whites in bloody encounters, took twenty men from the Ohio and pressed on to the Muskingum. They there encountered a much larger body of Indians and decided to retreat. Wetzel, however, would not hear of retreating without having taken a single scalp, and, concealing himself on the edge of the Indian camp,

[1] *Encyclopædic Dictionary of American Reference*, vol. ii, p. 364.
[2] Roosevelt, vol. ii, p. 140.

lay in wait for stragglers. He was successful in surprising two Indians in their sleep, killed one, and was much chagrined that the other succeeded in escaping. He arrived at home only a day later than the rest of the party and claimed the reward. He would frequently go off alone on an Indian hunt. On one occasion he was bold enough to attack four Indians who were asleep. He leaned his rifle against a tree, his plan being to kill one Indian after another with his tomahawk. He killed three in the moment of their awaking, and the fourth only saved his life by flight.

Wetzel was utterly without fear, and a good friend of the white settler, but his ferocity toward the Indians at times endangered the sacredness of treaty obligations. When peace had been made with the Indians in 1789, Wetzel would not recognize any restraint, and killed an Indian who had a safe-conduct from General Harmar. The latter succeeded in capturing Wetzel for this crime, but the law-breaker planned an escape. He asked to be allowed to walk about freely, by the river (the Muskingum). The privilege was granted and Wetzel frisked about like a colt, then returned to his guard. After repeating the trick several times, ever increasing the distance, he suddenly, by a tremendous effort, effected his escape into the woods, although his hands were tied. He was recaptured in Maysville and brought back to General Harmar at Cincinnati. When the prayers for his release were of no avail, the pioneers on both sides of the Ohio River determined to set him free by force, for Wetzel was as much an idol of the American frontiersmen as an object of superstitious dread on the part of the Indians. The news of the storming of the Bastille by the people of Paris had just reached Cincinnati. Incited by the reports,

the pioneers planned to storm Fort Washington, where Wetzel was imprisoned. In order to prevent bloodshed, Judge Symmes issued a writ of *habeas corpus*, whereupon Wetzel, giving bond, was set free.

Enraged at his treatment by Harmar, Wetzel soon migrated to Spanish territory. In Natchez he was again the popular hero of the settlers, but became the victim of a treacherous plot. Though he could neither read nor write, and attached little value to money, he was arrested as a counterfeiter and sentenced to lifelong imprisonment in the calaboose at New Orleans. After being imprisoned four and a half years in a dark, damp cell, Wetzel was set free through the aid of influential friends, including the governor. In order that Wetzel's liberation might not come into conflict with royal instructions, a stratagem was resorted to. The prisoner pretended sudden illness and death; his body was placed in a coffin and was given over to his friends for burial. In the evening Wetzel arose from his tomb and the empty coffin was buried in the river. Under an assumed name he then went to Natchez, where he lived a few years in the family of his cousin, Siks. After the Louisiana Purchase he migrated to Texas, but his long imprisonment had undermined his constitution, and he soon died on the banks of the Brazos, in Texas, in the primeval forests that he loved.

The brothers of Lewis, Martin and Jacob Wetzel, were likewise good Indian fighters. An interesting encounter of Jacob with an Indian chief is told, in which the combat culminated in a wrestling-match. There was an accidental fall, whereby the Indian landed on top, and Jacob was saved only by his faithful dog, that sprang at the throat of the Indian, whom Wetzel was then able to dispatch. By a timely bit of good luck, he found a canoe, in which he

crossed the river, and made good his escape, while he could distinctly hear the savage cries of his pursuers, who could not cross the river and who were bewailing the loss of their chief.[1]

Every type of backwoodsman was fashioned out of the German clay by the prevailing conditions of the frontier, and it is not strange therefore that we also meet the desperado. Mike Fink was a frontiersman of the half-horse, half-alligator type, a boxer, a gouger, a drunkard, and gross wit. His nickname was "Bang-all." He was a boatsman, having a keel-boat on the Ohio and the Mississippi. One of his favorite pastimes was to practice shooting with his bosom friend Carpenter. A glass of whiskey was put on the head of either and the other would shoot it off.[2]

After the defeats of Harmar and St. Clair, the constant Indian attacks threatened the very existence of every settlement in the Ohio Valley. The United States government was finally roused from its indifferentism. Men and resources were placed at the command of General Anthony Wayne, who had received the name "Mad Anthony" for his dash and fearlessness, but who in the Revolutionary War had also learned the value of caution. Contrary to the example of his predecessors, he would not enter upon his campaign until his army was well drilled in the practices of Indian warfare. Nor did he ever on the advance neglect to send out scouts and sentries in all directions. The result was an overwhelming defeat of the Indians,[3] in

[1] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. vi, pp. 173–174, "Bilder aus dem Hinterwald."

[2] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. vi, pp. 129, 135.

[3] The Indians numbered fifteen hundred to two thousand, Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, Miamis, Ottawas, Pottawatamies, Chippewas, and Iroquois, besides Detroit rangers and refugees. Wayne's forces were more numerous, two thousand regulars and one thousand mounted volunteers from Kentucky. Roosevelt, vol. iv, pp. 85–86.

the battle of Fallen Timbers, in the Maumee River district. This led to an Indian treaty the following year, and an era of new settlements on the Ohio and its tributaries on the north, the Muskingum, Scioto, the Little and Great Miami.

On the upper Muskingum the Pennsylvania German, Ebenezer Zane (Zahn), founded Zanesville. In lieu of payment for his lands, he contracted to cut a pack-horse trail from the Ohio River at Wheeling by way of Chillicothe to Limestone Point, i. e., Maysville, Kentucky. The United States mail was carried over this path for the first time in 1797. In the latter year Zane[1] laid out New Lancaster (now Lancaster), through which town the road also passed. The road and the towns upon it grew in importance and were for a long time the connecting link between the East and Kentucky. In New Lancaster appeared the first German newspaper west of the Alleghanies, "Der Lancaster Adler" (1807), printed in Pennsylvania Dutch.

Jefferson County, on the right bank of the Ohio River, just beyond its sharp turn southward, and opposite the "panhandle" of present West Virginia, was organized in 1797 by a proclamation of Governor St. Clair. Many Germans settled there and founded the city of Steubenville in honor of General Steuben. On the opposite side of the river, the area of western Pennsylvania around Pittsburg and south and west of it, including the district around Wheeling, West Virginia, there settled numerous Germans in a mixed population. In the Wheeling dis-

[1] Zane came from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and named the new town in Ohio New Lancaster, in honor of the old. He first located in the neighborhood of Wheeling, West Virginia. See the account in the succeeding paragraph.

trict were located the famous Wetzels, the father, John Wetzel, being one of the earliest of the settlers in this region. A county near by, in West Virginia, commemorates the name of Wetzel. The settlements were exposed to Indian attacks, and many instances of heroic defense might be cited. The most noted case was that of the German family Zane (Zahn). Ebenezer Zane had established the first permanent foothold on the Ohio River, in 1769, building a blockhouse [1] on the present site of Wheeling. The fort was attacked in 1782 by a band of forty British soldiers and one hundred and eighty-six Indians. The particular hero of the siege was Elizabeth Zane, sister of Ebenezer Zane. The latter at the time lived about forty yards distant, in a house which was used as a magazine for the fort, which was left in command of Silas Zane. The ammunition of the fort being exhausted, it was proposed that one of the swiftest runners get a new supply from the magazine. Elizabeth Zane insisted on being allowed to go instead. "You have not one man to spare," she said; "a woman will not be missed in the defense of the fort." She rushed out when an opportunity presented itself, and reached the house. There Colonel Ebenezer Zane fastened a tablecloth about her waist, into which he emptied a keg of powder; then, with her precious burden, she succeeded in safely returning to the fort amid a shower of bullets, several of which passed through her clothes.[2]

[1] Its original name, Fort Fincastle, was afterwards changed to Fort Henry. During the Revolutionary War it was the object of frequent attacks by the British and Indians.

[2] This is the account given in the *National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. xi, p. 90. Elizabeth Zane lived for many years near Martinsville, on the Ohio River. She was twice married. Her first husband was named McLaughlin; her second, Clark. A poem was written by Kara Giorg, commemorating her heroism. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. i, pp. 33–35. A monument has been erected in honor of Elizabeth Zane in the city of Wheeling.

Within the precincts of Pittsburg the Germans built the first Christian church west of the Alleghanies. Named "Die Smithfieldische deutsche evangelische protestantische Gemeinde," it celebrated the hundredth anniversary of its foundation July 9, 1882. Perhaps a Catholic church, founded by Father Weber, antedated this, but otherwise the English and Irish had no churches that were earlier.[1]

The first settlement in Ohio, that of the Moravians in Tuscarawas County, destroyed by the massacre of Gnadenhütten, was revived when in 1797 Congress granted the Indian Moravian congregation three tracts of land, of four thousand acres each, in the same location as the destroyed settlements of Gnadenhütten, Salem, and Schönbrunn. It was an attempt at reimbursement for the losses inflicted by the brutal mob under Williamson, over which the government had had no control. Zeisberger had in the mean time wandered about for fifteen years in Ohio and Michigan. He had founded new villages (e. g., New Gnadenhütten, Pilgerruh, etc.), but the old distrust and hatred of the Indian race prevailed everywhere. In 1798 Heckewelder and another missionary were officially sent to the Moravian congregations abiding at Fairfield on the Thames River in Canada, to bring them back to their old homes on the Muskingum. They came and settled about three miles distant from New Philadelphia, and founded the village of Goshen. Zeisberger, the first town-builder in the Ohio Valley, died at Goshen in 1808. His tombstone records his age (eighty-seven years), and the glory of his life, his service as a missionary among the Indians during the last sixty years of his life.

[1] *Geschichte der ersten deutschen vereinigten evangelischen protestantischen Gemeinde zu Pittsburg, Pa. Anlässlich ihres hundertjährigen Jubiläums, nach Quellen bearbeitet.* (Pittsburg. Verlag von Louis Holz.)

The Moravian congregations in Tuscarawas County prospered, though the Indian element declined. Numerous settlers arrived, beginning with Jacob Busch in 1799.[1] An enterprising German, whose name was Knifely (spelled also Knisely), laid out New Philadelphia, since then the county-seat. Tuscarawas County attracted other sectarians. Mennonites came, and Zoarites settled in Lawrence Township. The latter were from Swabia, about one hundred and fifty landing at Philadelphia in 1817, with Joseph Bäumler as their leader. He was a weaver by trade, became their schoolmaster, and showed considerable talent for organization. The whole county received a definite stamp from its sectarian settlers. Its population was industrious, developed good farms and prosperous industries, but took little part in the affairs of the world about them. More than half of the present inhabitants are estimated to be of German descent.[2]

North of the forty-first parallel, and extending one hundred and twenty miles westward from Pennsylvania, there lay the territory called the Western Reserve, because it had been reserved by Connecticut when she ceded her other Western land claims. Its settlers were almost exclusively from New England, and they came by way of central New York and Lake Erie. There were some German islands, e. g., in Cuyahoga County, principally in the city of Cleveland, where many Germans and Bohemians settled when the Ohio Canal was opened; some Alsatians

[1] In the same year Peter Greer, Edmonds, Ezra and Peter Warner, from Gnadenhütten, in Pennsylvania, and several others arrived. Some of the names among them were: Uhlrich, Blickersdorfer, Peter, Rehmel, Romig, Stoker, Demuth, Lehn, Walton, Keller, etc. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ii, p. 310.

[2] This estimate was made about 1870, but will undoubtedly hold for the present day. Cf. *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations-Lexikon* (Schem), vol. xi, p. 51. (1874.)

and Lotharingians in Lorain County; and some in the northwestern corner of Erie County, in the neighborhood of Sandusky. These islands did not exist before 1826.[1] Immediately south of the Western Reserve, with its New England population, there was a broad belt of German farmers. The territory was called the "Backbone Region" of Ohio, because it formed the watershed of the state and lay somewhat elevated. The district is about fifty miles broad and extends westward across the state. It is distinctly the Pennsylvania-German part of Ohio, and its principal business was farming, mainly the growing of grain, while the Western Reserve raised more cattle; wherefore the Germans called it the cheese district. Even to this day Stark and Wayne counties are said to be the best wheat districts in Ohio. Stark, Tuscarawas, Wayne, and Holmes form the centre of the German agricultural area.[2] The settlement by the Germans began at the very beginning of the nineteenth century. While most of the names of the towns and townships were assigned without discrimination or special significance, still it is noticeable that a large number of the place-names are German, indicating thereby a German population, as, for instance: Berlin, Winesburg, Saxon, Hanover, Strasburg, Dresden, Osnaburg, Frankfort, Spires, Potsdam, Freeburg, etc. A

[1] There was one exception, namely, William Hollenbeck, the first German who settled in the Western Reserve of Ohio. He tramped from Pennsylvania to Wayne County, where he arrived in 1800. He then settled at Akron, Summit County. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. vi, pp. 200, 224 ff. There were also isolated cases of German settlers in 1801 and 1806.

[2] Richland County was a part of the German district. In Mansfield there settled, in 1818, the Swiss, John Jacob Weiler, who died in 1881, over one hundred years old. He was the richest man in central Ohio, not without culture, and had done much for the development of the whole region, especially by the building of railroads. He was the Martin Baum of the inland country.

German township occurs in almost every county, and the towns with scriptural names, such as Bethlehem, Salem, Nazareth, Goshen, Canaan, were for the most part settled by German Moravians, Dunkers, Amish, or other German sectarians. The towns of Canton, Massillon, Alliance, and Minerva were to a great extent founded and developed by Germans. Their industrious hands transformed the country from prairie and forest to rich farm-lands; their skill and enterprise quickened the development of industries, as the agricultural implement factories of Canton bear witness.[1]

In the Scioto Valley, in the present Ross County, were made some of the earliest settlements in Ohio. The German hunters, Ruffner, Bolaus, and Behrle, had already for a time lived in the neighborhood of Chillicothe. When in 1802 this town was incorporated, two Germans were elected to civic offices, Eberhard Herr and J. Brink. Chillicothe was for a time the capital of the state, and a convention for drafting the state constitution was held there. In this convention sat two Germans, Grubb and Op den Graff. Dr. Tiffin, an influential settler of the Scioto Valley, who was elected the first governor of Ohio (1802), turned to the Philadelphia immigration agent for colonists. A large number of German redemptioners, contracting for three years' service, were sent to Ohio. After securing their freedom they made good settlers. About seventy heads of German families, mostly tradesmen and mechanics, arrived between 1798 and 1818, settling for

[1] Ephraim Ball and Cornelius Aultman (Altman) laid the foundation for the prosperity of Canton with their two great factories devoted to the manufacture of threshing and harvesting machines, plows and bridge-building materials. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. iii, p. 218, etc. See also, *The German Element in the United States*, Volume II, Chapter III.

the most part at Chillicothe. One of them established the first iron-works at the falls of Paint Creek.[1]

The earliest history of Cincinnati has already been sketched. In the early settlement Germans were not numerous, but the few who were there were very influential. David Ziegler's defense of the settlement has already been noted, and his being elected the first mayor of the town. He at one time established a grocery store in Cincinnati, but not possessing mercantile ability, he was glad to sell out. A merchant of the highest type, however, was Martin Baum, for a long time one of the richest men, and the most daring and successful promoter of the West. He was born at Hagenau, in Alsace, migrated to America before the Revolutionary War, studied medicine in Baltimore in accordance with the wishes of his father, and came to the West with General Wayne. After the war he settled down in Cincinnati as a merchant. He kept a general store and rapidly grew rich. He used his means for the promotion of great enterprises. In 1810 he built the first iron foundry in the West, and about the same time imported the German expert, Gülich, from Baltimore, to build the first sugar refinery. Textile factories and steam mills were also set up by him. He founded the first bank, and was for many years the agent of the United States Bank in Cincinnati. With another German, Captain Bechtle, he introduced sail-boats on the Ohio and Missis-

[1] Quite a number of these Germans took part in the War of 1812–14. Colonel A. Hagler, Captain Joachim, and the names Funk, Keil, Kramer, Müller, Hester, J. and V. Schob, Henness, Schumacher, and many others are on the records. They were all of the Northwest army assembled at Chillicothe, and had greater hardships to endure than the Eastern army. After the surrender of General Hull, some were transported to Canada, those escaping running the gauntlet of Indian tomahawks through the Ohio woods. All the interior settlements of Ohio were in danger of Indian ravages after Hull's defeat. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. vii, pp. 144, 455, etc.

sippi, supplanting the flat- and keel-boats used up to that time. His vessels made regular trips between Cincinnati and New Orleans. He was a public-spirited man, interested in every important undertaking. He was mayor of Cincinnati in 1807, was reëlected in 1812, and served as recorder from 1816 to 1819. With his brother-in-law, Judge Burnet, and the physicians, Drake, Sellmann, and Busch, Baum labored to give Cincinnati a start also in matters of art and literature.[1] He was interested in schools and museums, helped to found the Cincinnati College in 1818, and the Western Museum in the year before. In his numerous undertakings he needed reliable laborers, and brought many German redemptioners to Cincinnati, whom he treated well. In his beautiful home, which was famous for its gardens and vineyards, he was the host of many German scholars and cultivated travelers.[2] In conjunction with some of the wealthiest men of Cincinnati, he met reverses in 1821–22, arising from the failure of the Cincinnati Exporting Company, which they had founded. Baum sold a great part of his property to Nicholas Longworth, like Drake and Burnet giving up his house in payment of bank debts. He recovered from his reverses and lived nine years longer to foster the commerce of the West, though he was not able to support great and daring enterprises with as large capital as before. One of his last undertakings on a large scale was the establishment in 1829 of a cotton trade with Liverpool. He was also the first land-owner and projector of the present city of Toledo, near Lake Erie (it was in 1817 called Port Lawrence), which he regarded as the

[1] He was one of the founders of the Cincinnati Literary Society, 1818; the Apollo Society, 1824; and the Society for Vocal and Instrumental Music.

[2] Cf. Eickhoff, pp. 278–279, where their names are given.

terminus of a line of communication from Cincinnati, through the Miami district, to the Lakes. His financial reverses, however, compelled him to sell his interests. He died in 1831, with the distinction of having been, in his generation, the greatest pioneer of Western commerce.[1]

Though Cincinnati did not contain a large number of Germans during her beginnings, it is very different at the present day. The great increase of the German population began about 1830. In that year only five per cent of the population was German; in 1840, twenty-three per cent; in 1850, twenty-seven per cent; in 1860, thirty per cent; in 1869, thirty-four per cent; in 1900, over forty-one per cent.[2] The Germans always remained influential. The manufacturers, Gross and Dietrich, who had come to America in 1828, built on their own resources the Dayton and Michigan Railroad from Dayton to Toledo, a distance of one hundred and forty-three miles, at a cost of nearly three million dollars. They thus executed the plan which Baum had dreamed of, and which he started to realize by his purchase at Port Lawrence.

An interesting German settlement was the first colony in the Miami Valley, on the banks of the Little Miami (1795).[3] The founder was Christian Waldschmidt, who in 1785 had lived at Gengenbach in Baden. He was a Separatist, and though well-to-do, refused to pay church taxes. He finally sold all his property, including a paper-mill, and in 1786, with about twenty families, sailed for the United States. He first settled in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, then sent a party to examine the Miami

[1] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. x, pp. 42 ff. Cf. also Eickhoff, pp. 277–279.

[2] The total population in 1900 was 325,902; the total of persons of German parentage (including those with one parent German, the other native or foreign) was 136,093.

[3] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. x, pp. 346 ff.

country, and getting a favorable report, the whole company went westward. The site chosen was near the present postal station of Milford. It extended three miles north and south, was about two miles broad, and lay in a fruitful valley. Barns, mills, forges, and comfortable homes were soon built. There an industry, then rare in the West, the manufacture of paper, was established by Waldschmidt, who had already been familiar with this art in his native land. His was the first paper-mill in Ohio. The "Western Spy," which in April, 1800, had had to shut down because no paper could be obtained, even from the East, encouraged Waldschmidt to build the mill. On May 27, 1800, the "Western Spy" was enabled to reappear, printed on paper made in the mill of the Miami settler. Advertisements like the following appeared in the "Western Spy": "Storekeepers and printers may be supplied with all kinds of paper at the store of Baum & Perry, Cincinnati, or at the mill."[1] (1811.)

Numerous groups of German settlers followed the first of 1795, coming in 1796–97 and 1798. A number of the later settlers came from Pennsylvania; the earliest were from Baden.[2] Christian Waldschmidt (Wallsmith) died in 1814 a rich man, leaving a property valued at $48,914, in those days considered a great fortune. The settlement called "Germany" was prosperous until 1861, when the United States military camp, called Camp Dennison, was

[1] The oldest mill in the West was in Virginia, at Brownsville, called the Red Stone Paper Mill (of Jonathan Sharplus). This mill, however, could not supply the large demand.

[2] The various groups are named in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. x, pp. 346–351. The changes of name are interesting. Waldschmidt becomes Wallsmith; Freiberger, Frybarger; Harmar, Horne; Freis, Ferris; Laudon, Langdon; Bohne, Boone; Bechenbach, Peckinpaugh; Späth, Spade; Rüthi, Reedy; Orth, Orr; Bockenheim, Buckingham; Prisch, Parrish or Price; Montag, Montauk.

established there by General Rosecrans. The camp ruined the town, and the old settlers migrated to neighboring counties or larger cities.

On the Great Miami, the German settlements were thickest in the present county of Montgomery, centring in two places, Dayton and Germantown, which as late as 1825 were rival cities, each hoping to surpass the other. Immediately after the treaty of General Wayne, in 1795, German settlers came to Dayton, among them Georg Neukomm.[1] Germantown was laid out in 1814, by Philipp Gunkel. In 1845 all of its five churches used the German language in divine service. In 1820 the town promised to outstrip Dayton. In 1825 it still maintained the same rank, but three years later the building of a canal from Dayton to Cincinnati gave Dayton a decisive advantage. Miamisburg, Pyrmont, and numerous other towns were founded by Germans. On the whole the German element preponderated throughout the county. German names are seen in all the public books and documents of the county, and in the maps of the villages.[2] Much of the German character is noticeable in the rural population of the district: industry, domesticity, frankness and merriness, along with the petty jealousies and quarrels, perhaps incident to village life more than to nationality.

All of the counties on the line between Cincinnati and Toledo received German pioneers between 1820 and 1835.

[1] He was the son of Christian Neukomm of Zweibrücken, who came to America in 1754–55, adopting the name Newcomer, and later Newcom. The Newcoms were not Irish, the mistake probably arising from the marriage of one of the boys with Margaret McCarthy. Other names among the earliest settlers were Gosz, Hammer, Glaszmeier. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, pp. 127 f., 170 f. Other lists of names are found in the same volume, pp. 219, 254, etc.

[2] Names not previously mentioned are Gottesburg, Snydersburg, Philippsburg, Bachmann, Harschmannville, etc.

In Miami County,[1] Piqua has a large German population. Auglaize County had numerous German settlers at Wapakoneta, Minster, and New Bremen.[2] A little later, Germans settled Glandorf in Putnam County, and Delphos on the border between Allen and Vanwert counties. Germans from Frederick, Maryland, settled in the twenties at Tiffin, on the Sandusky River, in Seneca County. The city of Toledo, as all the large cities of Ohio, including the capital, Columbus, received an ever-increasing German population. In the south, Highland, Brown, and Hamilton counties had early German settlers.

An interesting record of the distribution and numerical strength of the German settlers throughout Ohio is found in the works of German travelers. Charles Sealsfield, in 1825, journeyed from Kittanning, Pennsylvania, about thirty-five miles north of Pittsburg, to New Orleans. He described the Moravian colony in Tuscarawas County, and was impressed by the number of Germans in Zanesville, Lancaster, Canton, and Dayton.[3] The early pioneers of Ohio did not have opportunities for regular church service, but were visited by traveling preachers with greater or less frequency. The Moravian missionary, Zäslein, was eagerly listened to, just as subsequently the Methodist, Heinrich Böhm.[4] The Pennsylvania German pioneers, and

[1] The earliest settler of Miami County was the German named Knoop. Eickhoff, p. 274.

[2] This settlement was made from Cincinnati. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. i, pp. 84 ff.

[3] *Die vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika nach ihrem politischen, religiösen, und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse betrachtet*, von C. Sidons (Charles Sealsfield). Cotta: 1827. Zweiter Band, zweites und drittes Kapitel, pp. 20–54.

[4] Heinrich Böhm was the real apostle of German Methodism in the United States. He was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1775. His great-grandfather was a Swiss by birth, a Pietist who settled in the Palatinate and became a Mennonite. Jacob Böhm immigrated to America in 1715 and settled in Lancaster County, where Martin Böhm and also his son Heinrich

the Germans who came directly from abroad, preferred to hear preaching in German. In Ohio, so Bishop Asbury writes in his journal, "Brother Böhm has the largest body of hearers, because he preaches in German." In 1808 began the missionary travels of Böhm, in company with Bishop Asbury. They visited the states of Ohio, then only just beginning to be settled, Kentucky, Tennessee, the two Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, New England, and Canada. It is noteworthy that wherever they went they met Germans, and Brother Böhm had to preach in all places in the German language. It seems that he was selected to accompany Bishop Asbury for that very reason. Whenever their journey took them to pioneer settlements, they found Germans. Böhm preached in the German language at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania; at Wheeling, West Virginia; in the state of Ohio at Zanesville, Lancaster, Chillicothe, Circleville; in Kentucky at Louisville, Lexington, and Frankfort; in several places in Tennessee[1] and North Carolina, and at Charleston, South Carolina. This will give some notion of the more populous German areas. In Cincinnati, Böhm preached the first German sermon that had been heard there. It was September 4, 1808. "The village," he writes in his journal, "promises to grow very

were born. The young Heinrich received a good education from Rosmann, a Hessian soldier who had been captured with Rall's regiment at Trenton. To him Heinrich owed his good German. Böhm's father belonged to the United Brethren, becoming a bishop of the sect, but Heinrich received his inspiration at the Methodist conferences of Baltimore and Philadelphia.

[1] In East Tennessee he remained for some time on Pigeon River to preach to the Germans there. This was in the neighborhood of Sevierville. The German preacher Hemminger had already preached in German there (1808), which is a clear indication of a large and early German settlement in this region. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. viii, pp 25–35. It is interesting that Böhm found Germans even in New England. In Boston he stayed at the house of the Reverend Bernhard Othemann.

rapidly. It has almost 2000 inhabitants."[1] After the general conference of 1812, Böhm discontinued his missionary travels, settling down to work among the Germans in Pennsylvania. Subsequently he was assigned to New Jersey, locating in Jersey City. In 1859, though over eighty years of age, he made another tour of the West, this time crossing the mountains by rail. On June 8, 1875, he reached his centenary, and a great celebration was held in his honor in Trinity Church, Jersey City. His fivescore years did not prevent Böhm from preaching a sermon on this occasion. He died, January 15, 1876, in his one hundred and first year. During his tours he had traveled over one hundred thousand miles on foot and on horseback, and had seen prosperous cities rise spontaneously on what had once been prairie and forest. He had shared in all the joys and sorrows of the land, had seen all the presidents of the United States from Washington to Grant, and had voted in all the presidential elections from 1796 to 1872.

Historical records, as well as the accounts of travelers and preachers, prove that in the first decades of the nineteenth century the German element was very largely represented in the Ohio Valley by permanent settlements. The great immigrations from Germany into the Middle West were destined soon to follow.

[1] He apologizes later in his autobiography for calling the "Queen City of the West" a village.

CHAPTER XIV

THE WINNING OF THE WEST

III. THE ADVANCE OF THE FRONTIER LINE TO THE MISSISSIPPI AND MISSOURI RIVERS

(A) Westward progress of the frontier line, shown by the census maps — Descendants of Germans and foreign-born Germans as frontiersmen — Two centres of distribution on the Mississippi, (1) New Orleans, (2) St. Louis — Early Germans in Louisiana and Alabama (Mobile) — German settlements along the Missouri River — Duden's farm and description of Missouri — The "Giessener Gesellschaft," Follen and Münch — German towns and counties in Missouri.

(B) Beginning of the advance of the frontier line toward the Northwest; the Illinois territory opened by George Rogers Clark — Sketch of his expedition and of the work of his German lieutenants, Bowman and Helm — Settlement at Vevay, Indiana — The Harmony Society (Rappists) on the Wabash in 1815 — St. Clair County, Illinois; Belleville, Highland, Madison County — Chicago — German settlements in Iowa: Dubuque, Davenport, Des Moines, etc. — Germans in Michigan; the missionary Baraga; settlers in Detroit, Ann Arbor, and Westphalia (Ionia County).

THE two foregoing chapters described the first two stages in the winning of the West with reference to the part taken by the Germans and their descendants. The Virginia and Carolina Germans were found stationed on the advance line and among the reserves that opened Kentucky and Tennessee for settlement. Coming from Kentucky on the south and from Pennsylvania on the east, they pushed forward for the conquest of the Valley of the Ohio. The pioneers of German blood arrived as early as any, and were surpassed by none in securing a permanent foothold in the newly settled areas.

One of the most glorious chapters in American history has been outlined in the report of the Eleventh Census of

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION IN 1790

the United States in the volume on population.[1] It is the history of a century of conquest, 1790–1890, a conquest of the vast territory lying between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico. The chapter is sketched by the aid of maps illustrating the density of the population of the United States at each successive census period. The frontier line in 1790 ran parallel to the Appalachian Mountain Range, crossing the latter only in a few places, — the Mohawk Valley, the Pittsburg district, the Holston and Kentucky lines of settlement. Slowly the frontier advanced to the westward, scarcely reaching the Mississippi by 1820, showing that a desperate struggle was going on between the white settlers on the one hand and the aboriginal inhabitants, aided by wild nature's barriers, on the other. Sometimes the line is involved and complex, but decade upon decade it steadily moves on, beyond the Mississippi, onward to about the ninety-fifth meridian in 1850, reaching the one hundredth (the beginning of the arid region) in 1880, with scattered settlements meanwhile leaping beyond, making a new frontier on the Pacific coast and in the Rocky Mountains. The next census report in 1890 announced the momentous fact that the frontier line had disappeared from the map of the United States.[2]

[1] *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census*, 1890, part I, pp. xviii to xxix.

[2] "Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken by isolated bodies of settlers that there hardly can be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it cannot, therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports." *Bulletin of the Superintendent of the Census for 1890.* F. J. Turner, in his essay, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (p. 9), adds the following comment: "This brief official statement marks the closing of a great historical movement. Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession,

For the historian of the German element in the United States no more gratifying field of labor will be found than the location of German settlements in the Western areas. He will find the German element on the frontier line at every stage of its progress westward, securing and defending it, or pushing it onward as did the Palatines before the Revolutionary War. Just as in the eighteenth, so in the nineteenth century, two classes of the German element must be reckoned with, those who through one or more generations were native Americans, and secondly, those who were born in Germany. The latter either came to better their condition, or they were refugees, oftener political than religious in the nineteenth century.

The native German element, except where it had dwelt in a distinctly German environment, showed complete assimilation and was undistinguishable from the native stock. Nevertheless the fact of its existence should not be overlooked. It had the advantage of position, also of familiarity with the modes of pioneer life, when compared with the European representatives of the same stock. This native element was abundant in every one of the three great currents of westward movement: (1) That along the Mohawk River through central New York to Lake Erie and northern Ohio. This was the road for the New Englanders to the Western Reserve district, but it was also the road west for the German element in the Mohawk Valley or on the Hudson, or even in New Jersey. (2) That proceeding through central Pennsylvania to Pittsburg, or the lower road following the southeastern border of the Pennsylvania mountains into Maryland, then westward on the North Branch of the Potomac River, thence to

and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development."

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION EAST OF THE 100TH MERIDIAN IN 1820

Pittsburg or Wheeling. (3) That of the Valley of Virginia, following its slope upward from the Potomac River and down after reaching Lexington, always proceeding southwestwardly to the narrow arm of Virginia in the neighborhood of Abingdon (Washington County, Virginia), thence to the Clinch and Holston rivers, which afforded an opening into Tennessee, — or to Cumberland Gap, opening a gateway into Kentucky.

But if in the eighteenth century immigrants from Germany could be numbered by hundreds of thousands, in the nineteenth they were numbered by millions. About the middle of the nineteenth century the German immigration grew to be larger than that of any other European stock, surpassing even the Irish. In the nineteenth century Germany's addition to the population of the United States was the largest single contribution of any foreign nation. The great bulk of the new foreign element settled in the growing West. The principle underlying the movement was the same as that apparent in the eighteenth century. The newcomers, who as a class were not wealthy, were looking for betterment of their condition, and migrated to those districts where the land was most available and cheap. Consequently they settled largely on the Western frontier. Being particularly well adapted to the work of the agriculturist, the town-builder, and small trader, and possessing the advantage of numbers, the Germans can claim the honor of having contributed a larger share toward winning the great Western territory for civilization than any other single foreign element. Their nearest rivals in numbers, the Irish, were not as well distributed over the Western areas, settling, as the census reports show, more largely in the populous towns.

An examination of the geographical location of the Ger-

man immigration according to the statistics of the last census (1900)[1] will show that the Germans have located in the West in greater numbers than elsewhere. Of the total number born in Germany, 2,666,990, who were living in the United States in 1900, there were 883,908 located in the North Atlantic division; 72,705 in the South Atlantic; 1,461,603, or more than one half, in the North Central division, including Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas; while in the South Central and Western divisions there were 109,743 and 135,459 respectively. This shows that the Germans in the Western far outnumber those of the Eastern areas, however great may be their fondness for the larger cities of the Atlantic coast. They have advanced into every new state in numbers proportionate to the resources of the section. The settlements described in the twelfth and thirteenth chapters bring us to the decade 1810–20. On the maps of the census reports[2] we notice that settlements on the Mississippi River were begun by 1810, and until 1820 increased principally in two localities: (1) around St. Louis to the north and south, on both shores of the Mississippi, and westward on the Missouri; (2) around New Orleans and the rivers near by, that flow into the Mississippi. After the Louisiana Purchase had been made in 1803, the Valley of the Mississippi was open for settlement, but New Orleans did not immediately increase in population to any large degree. Not until after the battle of New Orleans, in 1815, did immigration advance more rapidly toward

[1] *Twelfth Census of the United States*, 1900, vol. i, "Population," part I, pp. clxxiii – clxxiv, table LXXXII.

[2] Preceding pages xxi and xxiii of the *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census*, 1890, part I. The maps of 1790, 1820, 1850, and 1890 have been inserted in the present and succeeding chapters.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION EAST OF THE 100TH MERIDIAN IN 1850

Louisiana, receiving serious setbacks, however, by the inroads of yellow fever.

There had been German settlers shortly after the foundation of New Orleans by the French under Bienville in 1718. The speculator, John Law,[1] had founded in Paris a Western Company for the settlement of the lower Mississippi. His tract lay on the Arkansas River, not far from its mouth, and he sent out agents for his colonizing scheme to France, Germany, and Switzerland. In the Palatinate, owing to conditions described in a previous chapter, the recruiting agents were very successful. About two thousand persons are said to have accepted the inducements of free passage, land, and citizenship, for three years' service in the "earthly paradise of Louisiana." On their arrival it was found that no preparations had been made to receive them on the Mississippi, and they were therefore landed on the coast at Biloxi, near Mobile Bay. In that locality they are said to have remained five years, most of them becoming victims of Southern fevers. Their camps became heaps of graves, where remained a few ghastly spectres that yet stole from place to place.[2] Some sought food in the woods, others made their way to the English and Spanish settlements, only a few saw their fatherland again. Those who remained, about three hundred in number, were settled, in 1722, west of the Mississippi in Attakapas, Southern Louisiana. They

[1] John Law (1671–1729) established a private bank in Paris in 1716. His plan of a national bank and the issue of paper money was adopted by the French Regent. In 1719 depreciated national currency was received at its par value in payment of shares in Law's scheme for colonizing the Mississippi Valley. Speculation and inflated currency caused a panic in 1720. *Encyclopædic Dictionary of American History*, vol. i, p. 386.

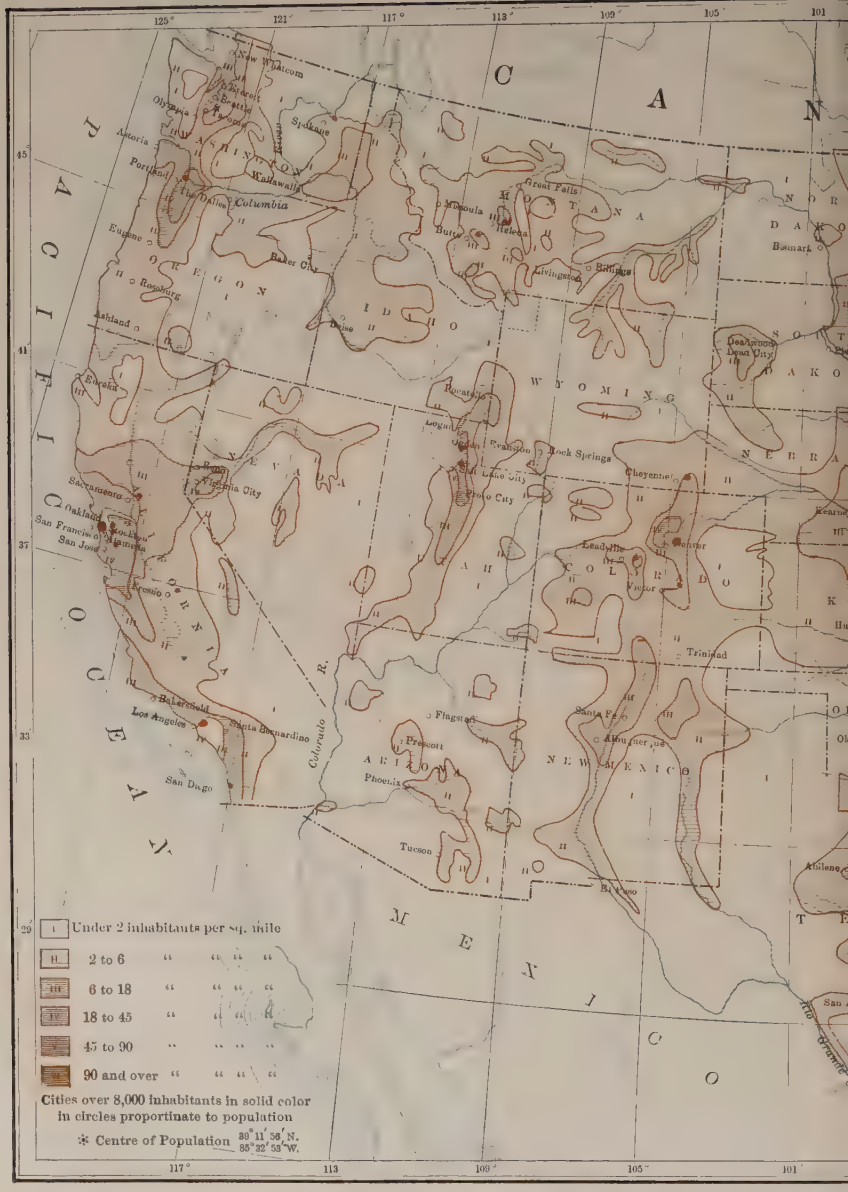
[2] Morbois, *History of Louisiana;* quoted by Eickhoff, *In der neuen Heimat*, p. 316.

are said to have become prosperous, and undoubtedly they were immune against disease.

A Swedish captain, Karl Friedrich D'Arensbourg, likewise induced by Law's promises, settled some Alsatians and Würtembergers about twenty miles above New Orleans, in the St. Charles District. They were more fortunate, and in 1750 their settlement was still the most important in that region. The names, Lac des Allemands, the river Bayou Allemand, and the village Allemand, found in the region of their settlement, still bear witness of their existence.

Germans from abroad did not again come to New Orleans until about 1830. At that time a large number were transported to the upper Mississippi by way of New Orleans.[1] Many German immigrants tarried at New Orleans and remained, as often happened in the seaports where immigrants landed. A little after 1840 the city is said to have numbered ten thousand Germans among its inhabitants. For the most part they were not wealthy, and because they had not the means to leave during the unhealthy period, great numbers filled the wet graves of the city. In 1843 almost a thousand are said to have perished. Many dwelt in Algiers, opposite New Orleans, and were described as prosperous and gay. In the city proper the Germans commonly lived in the English quarter, only a few in the French, and none in the

[1] An evidence of the immigration was the founding of the "Deutsche Gesellschaft" of New Orleans, June 2, 1847, for the protection of German immigrants. At the time of its foundation it had one hundred and fifty-two members. Between June, 1847, and May, 1887, over 284,900 Germans landed at New Orleans. Cf. the pamphlets of J. Hanno Deiler, *Zur Geschichte der Deutschen am unteren Mississippi.* (New Orleans, 1901.) Also, *Louisiana ein Heim für deutsche Ansiedler*, p. 4. (1895.) The important discoveries by the same author, contained in his *Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana, and the Creoles of German Descent* (see *German American Annals*, 1909, N. S. vol. vii), appeared too late to be incorporated above.



DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULA

Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
L. Ontario
St. Lawrence R.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
MINNESOTA
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
WEST VIRGINIA
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
MAINE
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Duluth
Superior
Minneapolis
St. Paul
Milwaukee
Chicago
Detroit
Cleveland
Buffalo
Toledo
Pittsburgh
Philadelphia
New York
Boston
Portland
Albany
Rochester
Syracuse
Ogdensburg
Montreal
Quebec
Kansas City
St. Louis
Cincinnati
Louisville
Nashville
Memphis
Vicksburg
New Orleans
Mobile
Atlanta
Charleston
Savannah
Jacksonville
Tallahassee
Pensacola
Little Rock
Hot Springs
Shreveport
Galveston
Indianapolis
Columbus
Wheeling
Richmond
Norfolk
Wilmington
Raleigh
Charlotte
Greenville
Augusta
Macon
Montgomery
Birmingham
Chattanooga
Knoxville
Springfield
Peoria
Rockford
Madison
Green Bay
Duluth
Marquette
Houghton
Sault Ste. Marie
Mackinaw
Grand Rapids
Saginaw
Bay City
Flint
Kalamazoo
Battle Creek
Jackson
Ann Arbor
Toledo
Akron
Canton
Youngstown
Erie
Scranton
Wilkesbarre
Harrisburg
Reading
Lancaster
Trenton
Atlantic City
Baltimore
Washington
Annapolis
Fredericksburg
Petersburg
Lynchburg
Roanoke
Bristol
Knoxville
Asheville
Columbia
Augusta
Savannah
Brunswick
Jacksonville
Tallahassee
Pensacola
Mobile
New Orleans
Vicksburg
Natchez
Jackson
Meridian
Montgomery
Selma
Huntsville
Florence
Nashville
Clarksville
Evansville
Terre Haute
Indianapolis
Fort Wayne
Toledo
Cleveland
Akron
Youngstown
Pittsburgh
Wheeling
Parkersburg
Charleston
Huntington
Ashland
Lexington
Louisville
Cincinnati
Dayton
Springfield
Columbus
Zanesville
Wheeling
Steubenville
Pittsburgh
Johnstown
Altoona
Harrisburg
Lancaster
Reading
Allentown
Easton
Trenton
Camden
Atlantic City
Wilmington
Dover
Baltimore
Washington
Annapolis
Fredericksburg
Richmond
Petersburg
Norfolk
Portsmouth
Suffolk
Lynchburg
Danville
Roanoke
Bristol
Knoxville
Asheville
Greenville
Spartanburg
Charlotte
Salisbury
Greensboro
Raleigh
Wilmington
Florence
Columbia
Charleston
Augusta
Macon
Savannah
Brunswick
Jacksonville
Tallahassee
Pensacola
Mobile
New Orleans
Vicksburg
Natchez
Jackson
Meridian
Montgomery
Selma
Birmingham

Spanish quarter. There were also German settlements in St. Peters, Baton Rouge, and on the Red River; also in the towns of Alexandria, Natchitoches, and Shreveport.[1] In general the lower Mississippi, because of its treacherous climate, was not favorable to German immigration. The German settler throve better in a climate more closely resembling his own, though, to do him justice, he fared no worse in tropical latitudes than other North Europeans.

Examining the map of 1820, we notice an uninhabited tract along both shores of the Mississippi north of the present state of Louisiana. The western shore was colonized first, the Arkansas River territory attracting settlers. In the year 1836 sixty families from Rheinhessen immigrated to Arkansas, settling near Little Rock. Their leader was the Reverend Mr. Klingelhöffer,[2] the friend and host of the German traveler and novelist, Friedrich Gerstäcker. The latter wrote a number of fascinating romances, e. g., "The Regulators of Arkansas," "Pirates of the Mississippi," "Hunting Tours," etc.,[3] based upon his experiences in this wild territory, and he undoubtedly owed Klingelhöffer a debt of gratitude for having introduced him to many of the scenes he later portrayed so vividly.

St. Louis was the other centre of distribution on the Mississippi River for the Western territory. Settlements soon extended to the north and south on the Missouri and Illinois sides of the Mississippi River, and then along

[1] Cf. Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika*, pp. 208, 323. (Göttingen (2d edition), 1855.)

[2] The name is so spelt by Löher, and Eickhoff; Körner writes "Klingenhöfer."

[3] *Die Regulatoren in Arkansas* (1845), *Die Flusspiraten des Mississippi* (1848), *Streif u. Jagdzüge* (1844), *Mississippi-Bilder* (1847–1848), etc.

the Missouri upstream like a long index finger pointing to the West (see map following p. 436). In these early settlements native Americans of German blood were numerous beyond any doubt. They came from the Ohio Valley or from Kentucky and Tennessee, the districts that had struggled and waited for the opening of the Mississippi. Some came from Maryland and Virginia, or other Eastern states, as, for instance, Henry Geyer from Frederick, Maryland, who became a noted jurist and later a United States Senator from Missouri. In 1817 Missouri had 60,000 inhabitants, and in 1821 it was admitted as a state, but no Germans from abroad had as yet settled there. Soon after, in 1824, two Germans, Gottfried Duden, a graduate in law and medicine, accompanied by Eversmann, an agriculturist, came to the United States with the purpose of founding a home in the Missouri territory. They landed at Baltimore, journeyed by way of Wheeling to St. Louis, where on making inquiries at the land office, they were provided with charts of available land on the Missouri River. On their search they lodged overnight on the farm of a Pennsylvania German, who called their attention to some vacant congressional land in the neighborhood, and offered to take care of them until they had chosen their location. Duden acquiesced, and purchased about two hundred and seventy acres[1] above the Femme-Osage River, about fifty English miles above the mouth of the Missouri. Being possessed of means, he had his land cleared and cultivated for him, while he em-

[1] Most of it was congressional land, bought at $1.25 an acre. Duden's companion purchased about 130 acres adjoining. It is interesting to note that Daniel Boone had lived in the immediate neighborhood from 1795 to 1804, after leaving Kentucky. For want of a title he lost his land again after the United States acquired possession in 1803. But in consideration of his services Congress confirmed his title to another tract in 1812.

ployed his leisure hours writing a romantic description of his journey to America and the attractions of a life spent in the primeval forests of the Far West. His book was published in Germany and went through many editions.[1]

His skillful pen mingled fact and fiction, interwove experience and imagination, pictured the freedom of the forest and of democratic institutions in contrast with the social restrictions and political embarrassments of Europe. Many thousands of Germans pondered over this book and enthused over its sympathetic glow. Innumerable resolutions were made to cross the ocean and build for the present and succeeding generations happy homes on the far-famed Missouri.

At first there came a large number of farmers and laborers from Westphalia and Hannover. They were followed by many people of a higher social class, who settled in the neighborhood of Duden's farm in Warren (then Montgomery) County, Missouri. The latter group consisted of counts and barons, scholars, preachers, gentlemen-farmers, officers, merchants and students, all of them possessing some means and therefore unaccustomed and not willing to do the work of laborers. The plain farmers, after years of toil, prospered almost without exception, but the others as constantly went backward. When they had completely exhausted their means of support, they

[1] *Berichte über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri (in den Jahren 1824, 1825, 1826, und 1827) in Bezug auf Auswanderung und Uebervölkerung, oder: Das Leben im Innern der Vereinigten Staaten und dessen Bedeutung für die häusliche und politische Lage der Europäer dargestellt, (a) in einer Sammlung von Briefen, (b) in einer politischen Abhandlung, (c) in einem ratgebenden Nachtrag. Gedruckt zu Elberfeld im Jahre 1829; zweite Original-Ausgabe, mit vielen Zusätzen* (Bonn, 1834); *Auf Kosten der Schweizerschen Auswanderungsgesellschaft gedruckt.* (St. Gallen, 1832.)

would either go to ruin utterly,[1] or begin life anew with the determination to labor and succeed. Owing to the fact that so many of the colonists had been educated in the German gymnasia, and there received thorough instruction in Latin and Greek, their abode was called the "Latin settlement." The epithet, "Latin farmers," has commonly been applied to the scholarly German settlers, who became quite numerous about the revolutionary periods of 1830 and 1848, a class of cultivated men, yet frequently unpractical, for whom manual labor proved a hard school of experience.

The next German settlement of some size in Missouri was made under the auspices of the so-called "Giessener Gesellschaft." It was an ambitious plan to concentrate German immigration upon some territory of the West which had not yet been admitted as a state. We shall observe similar ventures planned here or in Germany and directed to other localities; for instance, to Texas and to Wisconsin. The idea of immigration on a large scale to the Mississippi territory started with two young men of great ability, Paul Follenius and Friedrich Münch. They were idealists, who began the fight for political liberty in their own country, but saw every effort foiled by the reactionary policy of the German governments. They felt keenly the degradation of paternalism exercised by incapable and tyrannical autocrats, and they were hunted down by an Argus-eyed system of espionage. It was about 1830, a period of blasted hopes, when the day for constitutional government had not yet come for Germany. Münch suggested immigration to Follenius, but the latter shook his

[1] Many committed suicide, some died as beggars on the street; the latter was the experience of a Hannoverian count known to Friedrich Münch (see below).

head, for he considered such a course tantamount to deserting the flag, in their glorious fight for liberty. When he began to see the hopelessness of the cause that animated his youthful ambition, he took refuge in a plan of the following kind, which he concocted together with Münch:[1] "We must not go from here [Germany] without realizing a national idea or at least making the beginnings toward its realization; the foundation of a new and free Germany in the great North American Republic shall be laid by us; we must therefore gather as many as possible of the best of our people about us when we emigrate, and we must at the same time make the necessary arrangements providing for a large body of immigrants to follow us annually, and thus we may be able at least in one of the American territories to establish an essentially German state, in which a refuge may be found for all those to whom, as to ourselves, conditions at home have become unbearable, — a territory which we shall be able to make a model state in the great republic." Paul Follenius, gigantic in stature, impressive in personality, of keen wit, sure tact, and indomitable will, was a man born to take the lead in popular movements.[2] Münch, of a more conservative and practical turn of mind, though pleased with the idea, was aware of the difficulties of so grand an undertaking.

Such was the beginning of the "Giessener Auswanderungsgesellschaft." The company, centralized in and

[1] Cf. the "Reminiscences" of Friedrich Münch in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. i, pp. 188–189. Paul Follenius (or Follen) was the brother of Carl Follen, professor of German literature at Harvard.

[2] Unfortunately he died, at the prime of life, from a nervous fever contracted in 1844 at a time of floods and great hardships in Missouri. He was buried under a group of sugar maples, his favorite place on the farm, the same on which Duden had lived for several years, when he lodged with the Pennsylvania German. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. i, p. 187.

depending for its membership mostly upon the grand-duchy of Hessen, expected first to select for its German state the territory of Arkansas,[1] but, receiving unfavorable reports from those that had gone before, the later bodies of immigrants went to Missouri, settling in various parts of the state. The larger part of them in 1834 settled with Münch and Follenius on the north bank of the Missouri River, in the present Warren County, where Duden had passed his idyllic existence ("das Dudensche Idyll"). This was destined to become the centre of the most widespread settlement of Germans west of the Mississippi. On both sides of the Missouri River, from its mouth, a little to the north of St. Louis, upward a distance of about 125 miles, all is German territory. In all towns from St. Louis to Jefferson City, such as St. Charles, Washington, Hermann,[2] Warrenton, Boonville, and even beyond and including Kansas City, the Germans are very numerous, generally constituting over one half of the population. In 1870 St. Charles, with seven or eight thousand inhabitants, was more than three fourths German. On the north side of the river the Germans numbered nine tenths of the population in Warren County, in St. Charles County over one half. In the latter county Germans from Osnabrück and Oldenburg had settled in the beginning of the twenties, before the arrival of Duden. On the south side of the Missouri Germans formed one half the population of Franklin and Gasconade counties. In St. Louis, Lincoln, Montgomery, and Osage counties innumerable German

[1] Münch suggests in his reminiscences that Iowa would have been the best location. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. i, p. 189.

[2] For a history of the settlement of Hermann (1837) by the German Settlement Society of Philadelphia, its subsequent independence, and the development of its important industry, the production of wine, see the work of William G. Bek, *The German Settlement Society and its Colony, Hermann, Missouri*, Americana Germanica Press, Philadelphia, 1907.

communities were found. In Cole County (Jefferson City), in Moniteau,[1] and to the west and southwest in Morgan, Pettis (Sedalia), and Benton counties, large groups of German immigrants established permanent homes. Westphalia, in Osage, and Deepwater, in Henry County, were German towns. Kansas City and St. Louis owed a large part of their prosperity to their German citizens.

The Germans of the Missouri Valley differed in religion, but that was to them no cause for dissension.[2] Catholics, Protestants, and Sectarians, living in harmony, cultivated the soil side by side. In material resources they developed with the times, their initial difficulties and hardships being relieved somewhat by the better times that followed the Mexican War and the discovery of gold in California. Every acre of the country was soon under cultivation. Neat cottages of frame or brick, large barns and farm buildings, dotted both banks of the Missouri. Like the Pennsylvania farmer, the Missouri German took good care of his cattle and horses, and planted gardens. In course of time the farmers used modern agricultural machinery and put larger areas under cultivation. They took particular pride in keeping the land in their possession generation after generation. German settlers acquired the best land,

[1] Tipton, Missouri, 162 miles from St. Louis, in Moniteau County, with 1000 inhabitants in 1870, was nearly one half German. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ii, p. 8.

[2] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. i, pp. 269–273, contains an article bearing on this point by J. G. Brühl, a prominent German settler. He was a Catholic, and the German townships about him were Protestant. It is curious to note that Brühl served all the colonists, of whatever denomination they might be, as a sort of minister-teacher, in the manner of Holzklo, of Madison County, Virginia. (Cf. Chapter VII, pp. 180–181.) Since they had no minister, he was accustomed to act as leader in prayers and scriptural reading. When the Lutherans became very numerous they appealed to the patriarchal Brühl to get them a Lutheran minister, which he did on one occasion, and on another listened to the trial sermon of a candidate for a Lutheran pulpit in his district, and gave a favorable opinion (p. 270).

as when they bought the valuable estate of Daniel Boone in the beautiful valley of the Femme-Osage in St. Charles County.

The Germans almost to a man were opposed to slavery, and, as will be seen in a later chapter, turned the tide of sentiment in Missouri in favor of the Union cause. The dream of Follenius[1] and Münch was realized in a manner different from their plans. No German state was formed, — such a scheme was nowhere successful, — but Germans accomplished what earlier settlers had not done: they gained a permanent foothold for themselves, their descendants, and thousands of their countrymen, and they nobly served the land of their adoption. Friedrich Münch is a conspicuous example of the high grade of German settlers that appeared in the nineteenth century. He was a "Latin farmer," completely successful. Leaving brilliant prospects behind, he chose not to sacrifice his republican principles, and sailed with Follenius to America. With his own hand he cleared the ground and tilled the soil on his Missouri farm,[2] and adapted himself to every condition of life in the new country. He became a leader of his people, noted for his frankness and clearness of speech. He took a prominent part in politics during the agitations that preceded and accompanied the Civil War, and in 1862 was elected to the state senate. Throughout his political career he was always of the people and for the people, and his intelligent conservatism and plain-spoken honesty made

[1] The widow of Follenius was still living in 1869, and had six married children and about twenty grandchildren. Friedrich Münch was likewise blessed with a numerous progeny.

[2] Münch's settlement was near Dutzow, in Warren County. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. vii, pp. 53–59 (Rattermann, "Ein Besuch bei Friedrich Münch"). *Ibid.*, vol. xi, pp. 316–319 ("Eine deutsche Niederlassung am Missouri," von Fr. Münch).

him stand out prominently in the Missouri assembly. He was a frequent contributor to German newspapers, on political, religious, and social topics, and there also he appeared sane, sound, and public-spirited.[1]

The Missouri Germans as early as 1835–36 made expeditions to the Far Western plains. Captain John A. Sutter, later prominent as the pioneer of California, and August Laufkötter made an expedition into the country of the Apaches for the purpose of trading. Their ventures were not very successful financially, but they made noteworthy explorations; for instance, when Laufkötter, starting from the camp of the Apaches with several Delaware Indian guides, pressed onward to the confluence of the Gila and the Colorado rivers, in the southwestern corner of Arizona.

The site of St. Louis attracted Germans in great numbers. St. Louis was the terminus of the steamboat lines from New Orleans, the starting-point for navigation to the upper Mississippi, Illinois, the Missouri, and, most important of all, to the Ohio River. Before the days of the railroad, Chicago, the metropolis of the Northwest, could not compete with St. Louis. Immigration had not as yet found its way in that direction. St. Louis was then about four times the size of Chicago. About 1845 two German

[1] *Der deutsche Pionier* (vol. ii, pp. 230–235) gives a list of the early settlers of the "Giessener Gesellschaft." Among them was Professor David Göbel, from Coburg. He settled with his family six miles west of Washington, Missouri, and was prominent as a teacher of mathematics and lecturer on astronomy in St. Louis, and as a mathematical expert in the surveying service of the Western States. His son, Gert Göbel, was born in Coburg in 1816, assisted his father as a surveyor, was a successful farmer, hunter, and surveyor. At the outbreak of the Rebellion, he was very active in organizing the "Home Guards" of Washington County. He was elected to the state legislature in 1862, and was an ardent advocate of the emancipation of the slaves. He served six years as a member of the Missouri state legislature. Cf. Gert Göbel, "Länger als ein Menschenleben in Missouri," *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. x, pp. 333 ff. and 361 ff.

newspapers were issued in St. Louis daily. The city was a distributing-centre of the German population for Missouri and the land west of the Mississippi, just as Philadelphia had been for Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

An interesting group of German settlers arrived at St. Louis in 1839. They were the Saxon Lutherans who came under the leadership of their bishop, Martin Stephan. They left Germany for religious reasons, being dissatisfied with the reforms introduced into the established Protestant churches, and they called themselves Alt-Lutheraner.[1] Since most of them came from Saxony, they received the name Saxon Lutherans. Stephan in Dresden, with marked gifts of eloquence and shrewdness, was the natural leader. His defects of character, not his principles, were severely attacked abroad. His many followers, however, were not concerned about these charges, but followed his plan of emigration, which, under the spell of Duden's book, brought them to Missouri. They settled in Perry County, one hundred and ten miles south of St. Louis. It developed that the accusations abroad concerning Stephan's private life had been justified, and he was accordingly deposed.[2] Among the Saxon Lutherans were the Walthers, who became very prominent in the Missouri Synod. Six settlements were founded on the property of the company in Perry County: Wittenberg, Seelitz, Dresden, Altenburg, Frohna, and Johannesberg, none of them, however, becoming important towns.[3]

[1] The reforms meant a greater degree of nationalization, uniting the two Protestant churches, the Lutheran and the Reformed, under one state organization called the Union.

[2] The leaders of the congregation, May 27, 1839, published in the St. Louis paper, *Anzeiger des Westens*, the fact of the deposition and its causes.

[3] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. vi, pp. 157–159 (F. Schnake "Die Einwanderung der Sachsen").

Germans soon found their way into the more southerly counties of Missouri. Iron, Washington, and St. François contain a mixed population with a good representation of Germans. In Scott County were the German towns New Hamburg, Dommüller, Duhlstadt, Morley, and Commerce. Cape Girardeau County, though originally settled by French people, later received a very large German population. Others located in Bollinger, Mississippi, and Butler counties. None of the southeastern counties were affected by the early German immigrations, except perhaps Cape Girardeau (1838). The movement of Pennsylvania Germans to Missouri is illustrated by the fact that on the 25th of March, 1843, a steamer stopped at St. Louis with two hundred and fifty German passengers from Pittsburg, the forerunners of a company of three thousand that were to settle in the neighborhood of Hannibal, Missouri.

(B) BEGINNING OF THE ADVANCE OF THE FRONTIER LINE TOWARD THE NORTHWEST

Looking again at the census map of 1820, we observe that the Northwestern States including northern Indiana and Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, were at that time practically undiscovered territory for the American pioneer. The southern part of Indiana (along the Ohio and Wabash rivers) and the southern and southwestern parts of Illinois (along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers) had already begun to receive permanent settlers. The main current of migration, however, had gone southwestward, following the river courses to the Mississippi and thence along this great avenue of trade toward the Gulf. The immigration northwestward toward the Great Lakes had not yet begun, though George Rogers Clark and his

brave followers had opened the Illinois territory over forty years before.

It is not remote from our subject to recall for a moment the deeds of that gallant leader and his band of adventurous pioneers. Though Clark appealed for aid to the government of Virginia and elsewhere, the entire work of recruiting his army was left to the originator of the plan. Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry foresaw indeed great advantages for Virginia and Kentucky in a successful outcome of the Illinois venture; still, few men could be spared by Virginia from the forces that were defending the liberties of the colonies against the British king. Great secrecy had to be maintained by Clark concerning the real purpose of his expedition. The recruits that were attracted by his name and by the prospects of large land grants in the conquered country were led to believe that they were marching for the defense of Kentucky. With great difficulty one hundred and fifty men were gathered together by May, 1778, when they started from Pittsburg, down the Ohio, touching at Wheeling for stores. Though few in number, the men in this command were a picked lot of young border settlers, acquainted with the woods and Indian warfare. At the falls of the Ohio (now Louisville, Kentucky) Clark built a fort and was there joined by a few Kentuckians with Simon Kenton. Some of his men were left behind at the fort to guard Kentucky, the rest advanced, to conquer Illinois.

The vast territory of Illinois was at that time inhabited by warlike Indian tribes, except here and there on the rivers, where a few French settlements were located, some of them over a hundred years old. It was Clark's purpose to win over the French inhabitants, and through them check the Indian tribes. As he was about to start, he was

rejoiced at hearing that the French alliance with the American colonies had been proclaimed, for he knew that that would help him with the Creoles. Since his plan was to take the French settlements by surprise, he avoided the Mississippi River and continued on the Ohio to the mouth of the Tennessee; from there he started overland to the Illinois towns on the Mississippi. He was fortunate in getting correct information from American hunters, who declared that Kaskaskia could easily be taken by surprise. The latter settlement, the most important of the Creole towns, was commanded by the Frenchman Rochblave, who was faithful to the British flag. The latter had two or three times as many men as Clark, but they were not of the same stamp as the American backwoodsmen. From the Indians the timid Creoles had heard monstrous accounts of the savagery of the "Long Knives," as the Kentuckians and Virginians were called. This unsavory reputation gave prestige to Clark's handful of men, who arrived suddenly, like demons rising from out of the earth. They effected a complete surprise, and put the Creoles into a state of panic, in which conditon they eagerly accepted any terms. Clark diplomatically invited them to become citizens of the American Republic, and thus he converted them into his allies against Great Britain. The light-hearted Creoles were well satisfied, all except Rochblave, who was therefore sent a prisoner to Virginia. The Creoles of Cahokia, the settlement situated opposite St. Louis, followed the example of Kaskaskia,[1] taking the oath of allegiance.

The priest Gibault volunteered to go to Vincennes, and

[1] Kaskaskia was situated on the Kaskaskia River, near its confluence with the Mississippi. It was founded in 1673, over a hundred years earlier than the first white man settled in Kentucky. It was the capital of the Illinois territory until 1818.

succeeded there in winning the inhabitants for the American cause. Since no garrison could be spared to go to Vincennes, Captain Leonard Helm was sent thither alone to take command.[1] This mission, which was of great importance, shows that Clark had a high estimate of Helm's ability. The other three captains of Clark's forces were John Montgomery, Joseph Bowman, and William Harrod. Of these four, Helm and Bowman were German Virginians. They were always assigned the tasks of greatest responsibility, obviously being the two ablest and most reliable commanders under Clark. Captain Helm acquitted himself well at Vincennes, training the young Creoles in military service, winning the population over to the cause of American liberty, and keeping the Indians at peace.[2] His position, like that of his commander, was precarious. Clark's own men were so anxious to return home that he succeeded only in inducing a hundred Americans to serve eight months longer. When he made a pretense of leaving Kaskaskia, the inhabitants begged him to stay for their own protection. This gave him an excuse for drilling the native Creole population. By force, firmness, and diplomacy he kept the Indians pacified, and he also cultivated friendship with the Spanish commandant at St. Louis.

Henry Hamilton, the English commander at Detroit, had planned an attack on Fort Pitt, but Clark's movements put him on the defensive, and he now organized an expedition to recapture Vincennes, which, he heard, was but

[1] Cf. Roosevelt, *The Winning of The West*, vol. ii, p. 49. For a graphic account of the expedition of Clark, see the same work, vol. ii, chaps. 2 and 3, pp. 31–90, on which the above account is based.

[2] "Some volunteers — Americans, French, and friendly Indians — were sent to the aid of the American captain at Vincennes, and the latter, by threats and promises, and a mixture of diplomatic speech-making with a show of force, contrived, for the time being, to pacify the immediately neighboring tribes." Roosevelt, *supra*, vol. ii, p. 55.

poorly garrisoned. In December, 1778, with five hundred men, of whom one hundred and seventy-seven were whites, the rest Indians, Hamilton appeared before Vincennes, after capturing Helm's scouts, and a messenger who carried a note written by Helm informing Clark of what was happening. "Helm showed so good a front that nothing was attempted until the next day. . . . Poor Helm was promptly deserted by all the Creole militia. The latter had been loud in their boasts until the enemy came into view, but as soon as they caught sight of the red-coats, they began to slip away and run up to the British to surrender their arms. He was finally left with only one or two men, — Americans. Nevertheless he refused the first summons to surrender; but Hamilton, who knew that Helm's troops had deserted him marched up to the fort at the head of his soldiers and the American was obliged to surrender, with no terms granted, save that he and his associates should be treated with humanity." [1] Hamilton remained for the winter at Vincennes, believing himself secure against all attacks, because of the impassability (as he thought) of all avenues of approach. In the following spring he expected to complete the re-conquest of Illinois.

He was forestalled, however, by the genius of Clark, who, hearing that Hamilton had kept but a small garrison of eighty men in Vincennes, planned to take him by surprise before reinforcements could arrive. The distance overland from Kaskaskia to Vincennes, situated on the eastern bank of the Wabash (in Indiana), was two hundred and forty miles. The roads were well-nigh impassable and the country was flooded, but nothing could daunt the spirit of Clark. He drew together a little garrison from the French towns, and with some accessions of

[1] Roosevelt, vol. ii, p. 63.

young Creoles, he started on February 7, 1779, with one hundred and seventy men. After hardships that would have discouraged any other leader, and which, indeed, the energetic Hamilton had considered insurmountable, Clark's expedition arrived in the neighborhood of Vincennes, exhausted from the march, numb with cold, and wet to the bone from fording swollen rivers. The example of their leader, however, inspirited the men. They were organized in two companies, Clark leading the first, consisting of two companies of Americans and the Kaskaskia Creoles. The second, led by Bowman, contained his own company and the Cahokians.[1] Vincennes was taken by surprise, the fort resisting some time longer than the town, the Creole population being ever ready to yield to the superior force.

After the fort had surrendered, and Captain Helm, who had remained a prisoner, gained his freedom, he was at once used for important service. Clark sent Helm and fifty men in boats up the Wabash to intercept a party of French volunteers from Detroit, who were bringing to Vincennes bateaux heavily laden with goods of all kinds, to the value of ten thousand pounds sterling. In a few days Helm returned, completely successful, and the supplies, together with the goods taken at Vincennes, were distributed among the soldiers, who "got almost rich."[2]

The expedition of Clark, opening the Illinois territory and making possible the American claim to the whole Northwest Territory bordering on the Great Lakes, was one of the grandest achievements in the history of the winning of the West. The fact that in this expedition the two ablest captains of Clark were Bowman and Helm may

[1] This proves that Bowman was considered the second in command.

[2] Cf. Roosevelt, vol. ii, pp. 85–86.

always remain a source of gratification to the Germans of this country and particularly to Germans of the great Northwestern Territory, in which fertile and progressive area they were destined to outnumber every other national element.

Small colonies of American settlers soon gained a foothold about the conquered French towns in Illinois and Indiana, as we see indicated on the census map of 1790, but it took a score of years before that territory received permanent settlers in large numbers. The sections along the Ohio River were settled first, and in those early settlements there were some Germans. In Indiana the Swiss settlement of Vevay was founded, in 1796. In that year a number of wine-growers had been sent from the Canton of Vaud (Waadt) to produce vintages on the Ohio, "the Po of the New World."[1] The settlement (in present Switzerland County, Indiana) perhaps dates from 1802, when Dufour and a number of others bought thirty-seven hundred acres, and started vineyards. A number of German farmers followed the original French Swiss, and in 1810 the colony pressed their first good vintage, of twenty-four hundred gallons. In 1817, five thousand gallons of wine were produced. Extravagant hopes of supplanting the French wines were not realized, however, either in the quality or the quantity of the American product. The colony made no great progress, and many of its best men left Vevay for Cincinnati.[2]

Very successful as long as it lasted was the commun-

[1] A metaphor of Freiherr D. von Bülow, who had traveled in the West shortly before. For an account of the German settlements in Indiana, see W. A. Fritsch, *Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Indiana. Eine Festschrift zur Indiana-Feier im Jahre 1900.* (New York : Steiger, 1896.)

[2] Among them was Captain Weber, the founder of the William Tell Hotel, in Cincinnati, which once had a considerable reputation. Cf. Eickhoff, *In der neuen Heimat*, pp. 276–277.

istic settlement of the Rappists, who in 1815 located on the Wabash, in Posey County, Indiana. This society had been founded by Johann Georg Rapp, a native of Würtemberg, a weaver and tiller of the soil, who in his native land had founded a religious sect called the Harmonists. He left Würtemberg in 1803, and sought refuge for himself and his community in America. In 1805 he founded the colony of Harmony in Butler County, Pennsylvania, where he continued until 1815.[1] In the mean time the farms and property of the Rappists had increased enormously in value, and Rapp was enabled to realize $100,000 from their sale. He then bought thirty thousand acres on the Wabash, where in a few years, through industry and thrift, the colony rose to still greater prosperity. Another sale was effected in 1824 to Robert Owen,[2] and this time fully $200,000 was the price, exclusive of seven thousand acres sold to William McClure for his reform school. The Rappists then returned to Pennsylvania, where they established their third colony, at Economy (Beaver County), and where the properties of the sect increased to the value of millions.[3] The Rappists in Indi-

[1] Rapp was a benevolent autocrat, who held the material and religious affairs of his communistic order firmly in hand. Industry and economy were the secret of the extraordinary success of his model farms and mills. Rapp died in 1847, at the age of ninety. When there were withdrawals from the order, property was restored or services paid for; generally the members were fanatically devoted to the founder.

[2] Robert Owen, founder of English socialism, established his socialistic community at New Harmony in 1825. It failed in 1827.

[3] An excellent account of the Harmony Society is to be found in the *German-American Annals*, vol. ii, pp. 274, 339, 403, 467, 571, 597, 665; *The Harmony Society; a Chapter in German-American Culture History*, by John A. Bole. Many illustrations accompany these articles. The membership of the order reached its highest point in 1827, when there were 522 members. There was a defection in 1832, when 175 members withdrew in a body with Count Leon, receiving $175,000. In 1844 the membership rose again to 385, but since celibacy was enforced from the beginning, the order was not self-

ana did not isolate themselves entirely, as did many of the other communistic societies. Friedrich Rapp, adopted son of the founder, and from an early period head of all the industrial activities of the Rappists, was one of the representatives of the county in the political affairs of the territory. He was, in 1820, one of the ten commissioners of the state who chose a site for the state capital. Their choice was Indianapolis, a city which subsequently received a very large German population.[1]

In Illinois there were some Germans who settled in St. Clair County before 1820. L. Schönberger was a grand juryman in 1792; Friedrich Gräter in 1796 bought the first piece of land sold by the sheriff in Cahokia. In the latter place lived also the German Kramer, whose French neighbors changed his name to Cramour.[2] Julius A. Barnsbach (Bärensbach) settled with his family in Madison County as early as 1809, and many of his relatives located near by. Dutch Hill, in St. Clair County, had its suggestive name before 1816, and was farmed by several Swiss families, under the leadership of Leonhard Steiner, from Aargau. The large current of German immigration, however, came after 1830, the possibilities of the Northwest Territory having been discovered during the Black Hawk War.[3]

perpetuating. Few new members joined, and in 1894 there remained but eighteen, in 1903 but four members (of whom three were women), who are the owners of a vast property.

[1] Cf. Eickhoff, p. 286. Evansville (Posey County) and Fort Wayne (Allen County) likewise received large German populations. Tell City on the Ohio (Indiana side) was founded by Swiss Germans.

[2] Cf. the researches of E. B. Hoffmann in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xiii, p. 21. Cf. also E. Mannhardt, "Die ältesten deutschen Ansiedler in Illinois," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, I Jahrgang, Heft 4, pp. 50–59. Vierteljahrschrift hrg. v. d. D. A. Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois. (Chicago, 1901.)

[3] The Black Hawk War took place in 1830–32. Under the provisions of

St. Clair County became one of the centres of German influence in Illinois. Across the river from St. Louis, beginning at the north opposite the mouth of the Missouri and stretching southward to the outlet of the Kaskaskia River a little above Chester, there is a stretch of fertile upland about a hundred miles in length and six to ten miles in breadth. The higher portions of this plateau are wooded, and the bottoms, stretching toward the Kaskaskia, are varied with woodlands, prairies, and lakes. Into this territory was poured the German immigration, far outnumbering the few wealthy Virginian and American landholders, the latter often of German descent, coming from Pennsylvania or North Carolina. The German immigrants had among them large numbers of born leaders and "Latin farmers." There were clustered together, notably at Belleville, a large group of men who had been members of the "Burschenschaften," the German student fraternities of a political cast, which had been made special objects of vengeance by the arbitrary governors of the reactionary period. Many friends of gymnasium or university days were now gathered together within the radius of a few miles. Such were Dr. G. Engelmann, Dr. G. Bunsen, Dr. A. Berchelmann, Gustav Körner, Theodor Hilgard, Theodor Kraft, Georg Neuhoff, Theodor and Adolf Engelmann, Karl Schreiber, Karl Friedrich, Ernst Decker, Wilhelm Weber, August Dilg. In 1849 there was added Friedrich Hecker, the leader of the in-

the treaty with the chiefs of the Sac and Fox Indians at Prairie du Chien, July 15, 1830, the land east of the Mississippi was ceded to the whites. The chief Black Hawk refused to submit to the treaty. In 1831 he made an attack on some Illinois villages, but was driven off by a force of militia under General Gaines. The next spring Black Hawk returned with a strong force and renewed his attacks. United States troops were called against him, and upon his defeat on July 21, and on August 2, 1832, the war was ended. *Encyclopædic Dictionary of American History*, vol. i, p. 80.

surrectionary forces in Baden during the revolution of 1848–49. At the university Hecker had fought a duel with Gustav Körner; now these men extended to one another the hand of comradeship in their new home.

Besides showing the usual German qualities of industry and thrift, the Germans of St. Clair County were interested and wide-awake in politics. In Belleville, with over fifteen thousand inhabitants, it happened that for years no native American sat in the city council, and that all civic offices were filled by Germans. The county officers likewise were generally German, and their influence extended beyond the county limits. Eduard Retz was three times state treasurer, and Gustav Körner was lieutenant-governor of Illinois in 1852.[1] Under Julius Raith[2] a German company was recruited for the Mexican War, and during the Civil War all men capable of bearing arms fought for the cause of the Union. It is estimated that at present three fourths of the population of the county are German or of German descent. As early as 1836 a "Deutsche Bibliotheks-Gesellschaft" was formed in Belleville, which founded a library that in 1879 contained fifty-five hundred volumes, exclusive of public documents presented by Congress. For that time and in that section this fact may be recorded as noteworthy. The appellative "Latin settlement" or "Latin farmers" was probably first used in connection with the cultivated settlers of Belleville.[3]

[1] In 1862–1865 he was minister to Spain.

[2] Julius C. Raith (b. 1820 in Würtemberg) served as captain in the Mexican War and in the Rebellion as colonel of the Forty-Third Illinois Regiment. He was killed in the battle of Shiloh (1862). Cf. Rosengarten, *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States*, p. 231.

[3] Cf. Körner, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818–1848*, p. 265.

Twenty or thirty miles east of St. Louis, in Madison County, Illinois, was founded a Swiss colony named Highland. The plateau, called the Looking-Glass Prairie, was settled by the families Köpfli and Suppiger, in October, 1831. They became the permanent owners, though Americans had settled there ten years before. Proximity to St. Louis was an advantage for the disposal of their products. Alton, in the same county, was the most important commercial city in the state, in the early thirties, and interested enthusiasts predicted that it might sometime surpass St. Louis. It attracted many Germans at that time; indeed all the cities that rose up and gave promise of a great future received a good contingent of German immigrants at the very beginning of their hopeful career. Such were Vandalia, Peoria,[1] Quincy,[2] Springfield, Peru, and Chicago. With the building of railroads the country opened more and more toward the Northwest, and the centre of population moved in that direction. Chicago in 1848 had scarcely ten thousand inhabitants. The Germans were there early[3] and grew in numbers and influence. The "Illinois Staats-zeitung" was started in 1848 as a weekly paper, while St. Louis already had two German dailies in the same year. The years 1850–1854 mark the crest in the wave of the German immigration of the nineteenth century before 1880. The largest part of the flood

[1] G. F. Müller was the first German settler in Peoria (1836); he was an alderman of the city in 1852.

[2] A Tunker named Georg Wolf, a native of the lower Rhine, settled there in the summer of 1822, a year after the first settler, John Wood (later governor), from whom Wolf bought his land. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, p. 222, etc. ("Highland, Illinois," von A. E. Bandelier.) Cf. also: *Geschichte der Deutschen Quincys*, von H. Bornmann. *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, Erster Jahrgang.*

[3] Mannhardt: *Die ersten beglaubigten Deutschen in Chicago, Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, Bd. I, Heft 1, pp. 38, 46.

poured into Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, and Iowa. In Chicago the German spirit had its first awakening in 1844, when a meeting was held in opposition to nativistic influences. But these beginnings cannot be compared with the political influence of the Chicago Germans in the days of Franz A. Hoffmann, merchant and banker, who, an ardent supporter of Lincoln, became lieutenant-governor of Illinois in 1860.

The settlement of the state of Iowa came late, but was very rapid when once begun. In May, 1842, the newspapers of St. Louis announced that during the first three months of that year 529 steamers had arrived in the harbor of St. Louis with more than thirty thousand passengers destined for Iowa. The causes for this rapid filling-up of the new territory were: the good soil, the fine climate, and the discovery of lead-mines in the neighborhood of Dubuque.[1] Along with native Americans, many Germans were drawn from Missouri and Illinois toward pastures new in Iowa and Minnesota. Since the avenue of entrance was the Mississippi River, there were soon established on its banks the cities Keokuk, Burlington, Davenport, and Dubuque. Iowa City was built on the Iowa River, Des Moines on the river of the same name, and on the Missouri rose the town of Council Bluffs. New cities sprang up like mushrooms and new immigrants were always at hand to link their fortunes with new localities. Dubuque, once first, now second city in size in the state, contained a population more than one half of German blood. There were among them Germans, Swiss, Alsatians, and Luxemburgers. In 1880 there were two large Ger-

[1] The first white man to come to Dubuque, after the French fur traders left, was, in 1832, the German, Peter Weighle, whose descendants still reside in Dubuque. A year later came the Swiss, Nikolaus Hoffmann. Eickhoff, p. 352.

man Catholic, one Lutheran, one German Presbyterian, and three or four small German Protestant congregations. Five of the ten state councilmen and two or three county supervisors were Germans. In state politics the latter were likewise very influential, as for example J. H. Thedings (b. in East Frisia, Prussia), who was in turn justice of the peace, mayor, president of the county council, and head of the school system.

Northwest of Dubuque there was the German Catholic town of New-Wien (New Vienna), and to the west of it, on the Mississippi, the town of Guttenberg, founded by Germans from Cincinnati. In Clayton County, on the so-called "Potato Prairie," there was a colony of communists, founded by Heinrich Koch in 1847, after his return from the Mexican War, in which he had served as captain. Another communistic society, the "Icarians," settled at Corning, Iowa, after leaving Nauvoo. They had first bought the deserted properties of the Mormons, who were driven out of their Illinois settlement, Nauvoo, in 1850. The Frenchman Etienne Cabet was their leader until his death in 1856, and their removal to Adams County, Iowa. They called their new settlement, at Corning, the Icaria Commune in reminiscence of Cabet's book "Icarie." Although most of the members were French, the most influential of them after Cabet's death were Germans.

The three leading cities, Des Moines, the capital of the state, Dubuque, and Davenport, the city third in size, received large German populations, Davenport getting a large contribution from Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark. From Davenport as a centre grew a number of German colonies; such as, Avoca, Minden, Walcott, Wheatland, Dewitt, etc.[1]

[1] Cf. Eickhoff, p. 355.

The northern and western parts of Michigan long remained untouched by the American pioneers, because of the cold climate and the presence of hostile Indian tribes. The German blood is nevertheless represented in the early history of Michigan, through the distinguished service of Friedrich Baraga, the Indian missionary. He was born in Carniola, Austria, in 1797. His mother was an aunt of the noted German poet Auersperg (whose pseudonym was Anastasius Grün). Of noble birth and with every advantage of social influence and education (he studied jurisprudence at the University of Vienna), Baraga entered the priesthood, contrary to the counsels of relatives. In 1830 he decided to enter the missionary service among the American Indians. Stopping long enough in Cincinnati to learn the language of the Ottawas from an Indian in a Catholic school of that city, he traveled by way of Detroit to the northern part of the Michigan peninsula, and established himself at Arbre Crochu. There he taught the Indians of the Lake Superior region (including the Ottawas, Pottawottomies, Chippewas, or Ojibwas) how to read, write, and count, and also the simple principles of Christianity. He would not use the books of the French in the Algonquin language, but prepared his own text-books and catechisms in the Chippewa language, with materials from the Old and New Testaments; he wrote a grammar of the Chippewa dialect, and compiled a reader in the Ottawa language. In 1853 Baraga was made bishop of the Northern Indian Missions, his residence being Sault Sainte-Marie, and later Marquette, on Lake Superior. He died at Marquette in 1868.[1]

If we look again at the census maps, we find that, with

[1] A sketch of his life can be found in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. i, pp. 291-295. ("Ein Vorkämpfer der Civilisation.")

the exception of the district around Detroit, Michigan was practically uninhabited when the census of 1830 was taken. In 1840 the region to the north of Detroit and the area extending westward to Lake Michigan were settled, though not densely. There are proofs that the Germans had come during the interval. In 1839 the Catholic priest and missionary Dr. Hammer wrote concerning the Germans as follows:[1]

Real German life as it is found in many American states, one can find in Michigan only in three places, for in all other places our people [meaning the Germans] are too scattered to form congregations that might support a German preacher: (1) In Detroit, there are two large German congregations, the stronger being Catholic and having built a cathedral, the other, also having a church of its own, being Protestant (the Reverend Mr. Schade). The members of the two congregations live in harmony with one another, and never allow their religious differences to interfere with their social intercourse. At marriages and baptisms they are never concerned about which preacher they should choose, but that they should have a good time in the German fashion. A large number of the Germans remain in the city only so long as to earn money enough to buy land outside and establish farms. (2) The second German colony, and the most prosperous, is that near Ann Arbor. The Germans there come largely from Würtemberg, and are under the Protestant preacher, the Reverend Mr. Schmid. Their grain and cattle are unsurpassed in Michigan. (3) The third German colony is that on the Grand River, in the neighborhood of Lyons, Ionia County, under the Reverend Mr. Kopp, from Westphalia. The colony is called Westphalia.

The German traveler, J. G. Kohl (in 1855), adds a few more facts about the Ann Arbor Germans.

The first were some few who came from the villages near Stuttgart about 1830. It was just the time when Michigan was

[1] Eickhoff, pp. 376–377.

lauded to the skies, just as twelve years later everybody talked about Illinois and Indiana, and after another twelve years, it was Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The early settlers helped to build the city of Ann Arbor, and wrote home about their prosperity. The word was passed from village to village; first a dozen men, then a dozen families, crossed the ocean until about five to six thousand Swabians had settled around Ann Arbor (1855). The native speculators bought up the land near the prosperous settlers, but the increased price of land did not stop the purchasers; for the Swabians kept on extending their farms. Detroit's German newspaper, already in existence toward the end of the forties, did not prosper greatly until the large German immigration of the fifties was added to the Michigan population.

An interesting episode in the westward movement of the German element was the settlement of Waterloo County, in the Province of Ontario, Canada. Waterloo was settled by German Mennonites from Pennsylvania, beginning in the year 1800, and became the earliest settled inland township in the western peninsula of the Province of Ontario.[1] The pioneers were Joseph Sherk (Schörg) and Samuel Betzner, who left Franklin County, Pennsylvania, in the autumn of the year 1799, and spent the winter in the Niagara Peninsula. The following spring they went in search of a better location, and penetrated the woods

[1] Cf. *The Biographical History of Waterloo Township and other Townships of the County, being a history of the early settlers and their descendants, mostly all of Pennsylvania-Dutch origin.* By Ezra E. Eby. (Berlin, Ontario, 1895.) Also, *The Consolidated By-Laws of the Township of Waterloo up to the year 1888, to which is appended an historical sketch of the early settlement and subsequent development, etc.* By Alex. Shoemaker. (Galt, Ontario, 1888.) *The Romance of Ontario, or the Peopling of the Province.* By C. C. James, M.A. Appendix to the report of the Ontario Bureau of Industries, 1897. (Toronto, 1899.) *The Ethnographical Elements of Ontario.* By A. F. Hunter. (Ontario Historical Society.) For the books and materials above-named I am indebted to Professor G. H. Needler, University College, Toronto, Ontario, who has carefully investigated the subject of the Germans in Canada.

about thirty miles beyond the limits of human habitation, having heard vaguely of "a fine river traversing that region." Only a few traders had entered these forests, and but one, named Dodge, remained as a "permanent and prominent landmark of the community." Sherk and Betzner, having satisfied themselves as to the quality of the land, bought from Richard Beasley a tract of land on the Grand River, and at once brought their families there. Later in the same year a second party of Mennonites, from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, settled on the Grand River, coming in their large four-horse wagons filled with farm implements and household effects. Reichert, Gingerich, Bechtel, Rosenberger, Bricker, Kinsey (Kinzie), Biehn (Bien, then Bean), Clemens, were the names of some of the earliest German settlers. They brought their families and possessions, including many horses and small droves of cattle. The journey from Pennsylvania, about five hundred miles, was made with covered wagons,[1] and lasted about ten weeks. The greatest obstruction was found at Beverly Swamp, just before reaching Waterloo, and teams would lie for two weeks at Horning's (the last settlement), until the men had made the road through the swamp passable. The Pennsylvania German pioneer, George Clemens, drove the first team that ever went through Beverly Swamp.

It was found after the country had received quite a number of German settlers (1804), that all of their land, sold to them by Richard Beasley, was incumbered by a large mortgage, of $20,000, duly recorded. Fearing to be dispossessed at a future time, they sought aid of their brethren in Pennsylvania, and, after some vain attempts, succeeded in getting the Mennonites of Lancaster County,

[1] Described as Conestoga wagons in a previous chapter (v), pp. 135–136.

Pennsylvania, to form a company and take up the mortgage. This was accomplished mainly through the persuasive powers of Samuel Bricker, who also performed the feat of carrying the coin, $20,000 in silver dollars, in a light conveyance ("leicht pläsier weggli") safely from Lancaster to Niagara, where on June 29, 1805,[1] sixty thousand acres of land were duly conveyed to the representatives of the Mennonites for £10,000 Canadian currency. The immigration from Pennsylvania ceased during the years of the war with England, but after 1815 German settlers came again into Waterloo and neighboring townships, not alone Mennonites, but Lutherans, Reformed, and Catholics in quite as large numbers. As everywhere else the German settlers bought the best land only, and established a reputation for model farming. They were very successful also as manufacturers, the towns of Berlin, Waterloo, Preston, Hespeler, in Waterloo County, and Hanover, Neustadt, and Ayton, in Grey County, becoming thriving German manufacturing towns. In 1846 the town of Berlin had four hundred inhabitants; in 1908, twelve thousand; its wealth is self-made, as that of the farms. The furniture manufacturing industry in Canada is very largely in the hands of Germans.[2] But the limits of this work will not admit of a consideration in detail of the Germans beyond the borders of the United States.

[1] *History of Waterloo*, pp. 30 ff. The Mennonites of Waterloo County were not United Empire Loyalists; their migration was undertaken in search for good land for settlement. Their brethren in Pennsylvania hesitated to support them because they were in a country belonging to the British crown

[2] H. H. Miller, M.P., "The Germans in Canada," *Busy Man's Magazine*, July, 1908, pp. 17–31.

CHAPTER XV

THE WINNING OF THE WEST

IV. THE NORTHWEST, THE SOUTHWEST, AND THE FAR WEST

(A) The Northwest opened by the Black Hawk War, 1832 — First German settlers in Wisconsin — Milwaukee as a distributing-centre — "Deutsch-Athen" — The causes for Wisconsin receiving so large a share of German immigration: the plan of a German state; favorable soil; climate; reports and literature; sale of school lands; commissioners of immigration — Distribution of Germans in Wisconsin — Minnesota's first German settlers from the Red River district — Founding of New Ulm — Indian troubles — The attack on New Ulm by the Sioux.

(B) The Southwest — The earliest settlers in Texas — The "Adelsverein" and its plans of colonization — New Braunfels and Friedrichsburg — Wreck of the "Adelsverein" — Stability of German colonies in Texas — The agricultural area: Seguin, New Braunfels, San Antonio — Germans prominent in Texas: Congressmen Schleicher and Degener.

(C) The Far West — German Mennonites in Kansas and Nebraska — The Pacific Coast: Oregon Germans — H. L. Yesler, founder of Seattle, Washington — John Sutter, pioneer of California; his career; gold first discovered on his estate; cause of his misfortunes — The Germans of California — Sutro and Spreckels of San Francisco.

(*A*) *The Northwest — Wisconsin*

The military expeditions incident to the Black Hawk War in 1832 opened the state of Wisconsin for settlement. The mineral wealth, the fertility of the soil, and the good climate became known for the first time through the militia who took part in these expeditions. The good reports spread eastward and across the ocean. In 1830 the population of Wisconsin was 3635, and the inhabited region belonged to the territory of Michigan till 1836. Soon the population of the new area increased by leaps

and bounds: in 1840 Wisconsin had 30,945 inhabitants; in 1850, 305,391; in 1860, 775,881. Every ten years thereafter showed an increase of about 300,000, until at the census of 1900 the population numbered 2,069,042. The same census states that 709,969 of the inhabitants are of German blood, i. e., either born in Germany or having one or both parents born in Germany.[1] In this wonderful increase of population the German immigration contributed a larger share than any other stock. The periods of their greatest immigration were the decades 1840–50, 1850–60, 1880–90. More exactly, the periods were 1846–54 and 1881–84, corresponding to the years of the largest German immigration to the United States. During these two periods Wisconsin probably received a much larger proportion of Germans than any other state.[2] In 1900 the population of German blood numbered 34.3 per cent of the entire population of Wisconsin, very close to fifty per cent of the total population of foreign parentage, the latter numbering 71.1 per cent of the entire population of the state.

Though it is not definitely known when the first Germans settled in Wisconsin, it must have been in the beginning of the thirties. Among the pioneer stations of Green County, there was the "Funk" blockhouse, which existed in the year 1832.[3] At the same time a man by the

[1] Cf. *Twelfth Census of the United States*, vol. i (Population, part 1), pp. 812, 820, 828.

[2] Cf. Everest-Levi, "How Wisconsin came by its large German Element," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, vol. xii, pp. 299–334. For the history of the Germans in Wisconsin see also, *Wisconsins Deutsch-Amerikaner bis zum Schlusz des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, vol. i, by Wilhelm Hense-Jensen; vol. ii, by Hense-Jensen and Ernest Bruncken. Cf. also Eickhoff, *In der neuen Heimat* (chapter contributed by P. V. Deuster), pp. 365–375.

[3] *Annual Report of the Wisconsin Historical Society*, vol. vi, p. 411. Funk

name of Westphall was living in the northern part of Calumet County. The first German to settle in Milwaukee County was Wilhelm Strothmann, in 1835.[1] The German immigration began properly in 1840, when in the summer months there arrived in Milwaukee two to three hundred Germans every week. Milwaukee was at first the point of attraction, and subsequently became the great distributing-centre for the German immigration. A large increase came in 1843–44, when from a thousand to fourteen hundred Germans arrived every week during the summer season. They no longer remained in Milwaukee in such large numbers, but penetrated into the interior of the state. The flood of immigration brought along a number of prominent individuals, such as F. W. Horn, who in 1848 was a member of the first legislature of the newborn state, and in 1851 was Speaker of the House (Assembly). He was a member of the legislature as late as 1882. Dr. Franz Hübschmann, a graduate in medicine of the University of Jena, was one of the delegates to the convention in 1846 which framed the constitution of the prospective state of Wisconsin. Two other Germans, Janssen and Kern, both of Washington County, were also members of this constitutional convention. In 1844 Moritz Schöffler, the printer, founded the first German weekly (later a daily paper), "The Wisconsin Banner"; Schöffler was a member of the second convention for the drafting of the constitution, in 1847. As early as 1843 the Ger-

is also mentioned with a family of seven in the first territorial census of Wisconsin. Cf. *Ibid.*, vol. xiii, p. 260.

[1] A number of other Germans came in the same year: Andreas Eble, Wilhelm Baumgärtner, N. Esling, Walter Shattuck, Alfred Orendorf, Edward Wiesner. In 1836 there came George Hahn, Louis Treyser, George Abert, F. and H. Harmeyer, Henry Bleyer; in 1837, Mathias Stein, C. W. Schwartzburg, David Knab. Cf. Eickhoff, p. 365.

mans united in a demonstration connected with a public festival in Milwaukee.[1] They soon found it necessary to unite against "Knownothingism," which as it spread over the country also entered Wisconsin.

The foundation of a bishopric[2] at Milwaukee by the Catholic Church aided immigration to the new state, particularly from South Germany. John Martin Henni, a native of Switzerland, was appointed the first bishop of Milwaukee. An Austrian priest, Dr. Salzmann, founded the Catholic seminary of St. Francis near the same city, and subsequently a teachers' seminary was added, which furnished German teachers for various parts of the country. The influence of the German Catholics was exhibited in the choice of a successor to Archbishop Henni. This successor, Michael Heisz, was also chosen from the German element, and two other German bishops were appointed for Wisconsin. The Lutheran congregations were likewise numerous and vigorous, and under the influence of their pastors,[3] churches were built that became centres of moral and educational influence. The Protestants erected two colleges in Wisconsin, Northwestern University at Watertown and the Concordia Gymnasium at Milwaukee, both still existing as denominational institutions. A school which performed continuous and excellent service, not confined to the German population, was the Deutsch-Englische Akademie,[4] founded in 1851. The

[1] On the occasion of the movement to improve the harbor of Milwaukee.

[2] This was subsequently made an archbishopric, when the population grew larger. Henni was the first archbishop.

[3] Among the earliest there were the Reverends Krause, Kindermann, Dulitz, Streiszguth, Lochner. Very noteworthy was the so-called "Mühlhäuser Kirche" (Gnaden-Kirche), popularly named after the first pastor, the Reverend Mr. Mühlhäuser, a man noted for his charity and devotion. Cf. Eickhoff, p. 368.

[4] This school will be mentioned again in Volume II, Chapter v, "German Influence on Education in the United States."

most noted teacher of this school at the early period was Peter Engelmann, who taught for the love of it and impressed his character on several generations of pupils.

The Germans of Milwaukee introduced their social life into the new state, e. g., their "Turnvereine" and their "Gesangvereine." The first German singing-society began in 1847 with sixteen members, and the famous Milwaukee "Musikverein" was founded May 1, 1850.[1] The first musical director was Hans Balatka, a German Bohemian, the real founder of the society. In the winter of 1849–50, a dramatic performance was attempted by an association of amateurs, and a theatre was established in 1852 by Joseph and Heinrich Kurz. The tradition was begun of having a permanent German theatre in Milwaukee, and even at the present day few other cities have given the German drama such kindly shelter.[2] In 1852 the first "Turnverein" in Milwaukee was established by Edward Schultz, a political refugee from Baden. The years 1853–54 were considered the "flowering-time" of Milwaukee's musical and literary activities, and from that period dates the name: "Deutsch-Athen" (German Athens). The hyperbole is excusable when we compare the good musical and literary attainments of Milwaukee with the low plane of culture existing at the time in most American cities, whether in the East or in the West. The accounts of cultivated European travelers furnish abundant evidence of the deplorable absence of literary and musical aspirations.

Among the early influential Germans in Wisconsin,

[1] In honor of the fiftieth anniversary celebration of this musical association, a volume containing its history was published, entitled, *Der Musikverein von Milwaukee, 1850–1900: Eine Chronik.* (Milwaukee, 1900.)

[2] See Volume II, Chapter VII.

there were the orator and poet, A. H. Bielefeld, and the teacher and advocate, Eduard Salomon. The latter was elected lieutenant-governor of Wisconsin in 1862, and when Governor Harvey died in office, Salomon became war-governor, a great distinction for the first German governor of the state. As journalists, teachers, and physicians many Germans became prominent, but even more important for the development of the state was the share of the German element in commerce and industrial enterprises. Some of their establishments became famous all over the United States. Their breweries, tanneries, tobacco storehouses, banks, hotels, their trade in iron, lumber, and drugs, built up the wealth of Milwaukee, and gave the state a commanding position in the commerce of the Great Lakes and the Northwest.

There were several causes for Wisconsin's receiving so large a German population. In the first place there was an effort made, as in the case of Missouri and Texas, to individualize Wisconsin as a German state. The plan to found a German state in the Wisconsin territory failed as it had elsewhere, but as in the other cases the result was favorable for the state selected, the latter being thereby rapidly supplied with a desirable and abundant population. We observed above the foundation of the "Giessener Gesellschaft" in 1833, and the large consequent immigration entering Missouri. In 1835 a society called "Germania" was formed on this side of the ocean, with the purpose of maintaining German customs, speech, and traditions against all destructive influences, and assisting German refugees and immigrants arriving in the United States.[1] After a rebuff met by their memorial to Congress, asking that land be set aside on easy terms for

[1] Cf. Gustav Körner, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von*

German[1] fugitives, their next plan was to direct German immigration to specific areas, of which they might gain control through their numbers, so as to make of them German states. The promoters could not agree on the region to be settled; Texas and Oregon were desired by some, while the majority favored the Northwest Territory, between the Mississippi and the Great Lakes. The society did not have a long life. A similar movement took place in 1836, started in Philadelphia by the German-American Settlement Society,[2] the final result of which was the founding of the town of Hermann, in Gasconade County, Missouri. Franz Löher, perhaps the first German traveler and man of letters who felt sincerely interested in the German-American population of the United States, and who wrote the so-called "romantic history" of the Germans in America,[3] advocated as the best place for German settlers the territory between the waters of the Ohio and Missouri, and thence to the northwest. The Irish, he argued, remained in the East or in the cities, whereas the native Americans were scattered through the Far West. That left the centre and northwest, the real pick of the territory, to the German immigration. He favored concentration, and spoke in favor of Wisconsin and Iowa, for

Nordamerika, 1818–1848, p. 108. (Cincinnati, 1880.) Cf. also Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika*, pp. 281–282. (1847.)

[1] There had been a precedent. June 30, 1834, thirty-six sections of public land, in Illinois or Michigan, had been granted to 235 Polish refugees by Act of Congress.

[2] The "Deutsche Ansiedlungs-Gesellschaft," in which J. G. Wesselhoeft, editor of the *Alte und neue Welt*, and many others were interested. Cf. the work already referred to: W. G. Bek, *The German-American Settlement Society of Philadelphia and its Colony, Hermann, Missouri*. (Americana Germanica Press, Philadelphia, 1907.)

[3] The book already referred to: Franz Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände in Amerika*. (2te Ausgabe, Göttingen, 1855.) Cf. pp. 501–505: Länder für deutsche Staatenbildung; and pp. 280–285: Staatenpläne.

German settlement, and if elsewhere, Texas. The same general plan is advocated in numerous other works.[1]

An influence still stronger were the favorable reports sent home by immigrants who were well pleased with their location in Wisconsin. "Nothing succeeds like success" is an adage nowhere more applicable than to immigrations. The climate of Wisconsin was such as to encourage them. Though the winters were cold, the air was dry, and fevers incident to new settlements were not so frequent as elsewhere. The climate and soil closely resembled what the Germans had left at home. The products of the soil were the same as they had raised in Germany for generations, — wheat, rye, oats, and garden vegetables. Moreover there was no competition with slave labor, and, after the period of slavery, with free negro labor, felt to be degrading by the self-respecting German, who had been attracted by the reports he had heard of the dignity of labor in America.

Several other well-marked causes united in bringing Wisconsin so large a foreign and particularly a German population. In the first place, Wisconsin, when admitted to statehood in 1848, was unincumbered by public debts arising from internal improvements on a large scale.[2] No burdens of taxation, therefore, were to be feared by the immigrant In the second place, the constitution adopted

[1] Cf. A. E. Hasse's book, published in Grimma, 1841, in which he directly counsels the Germans to settle in Wisconsin, basing his advice on his "own observations and experience." Cf. also Everest-Levi, *How Wisconsin came by its Large German Element*, pp. 303–312. Cf. Theodor Wettstein, *Berichte aus Wisconsin.* (Elberfeld, 1850.) The author regards the state as best suited for Germans because of its natural advantages of soil and climate.

[2] The *Milwaukee Courier*, quoting the *Mohawk Courier* (N. Y.), says, August 31, 1842, "Immigration now turns to Wisconsin, Missouri, and Iowa, for Michigan, Illinois, and Indiana have public debts." Everest-Levi, p. 314. (Reprint, p. 18.)

by the state was very liberal toward foreigners. To secure the right of voting, only one year of residence was required. This unusual privilege[1] was the result, to be sure, of a struggle, one in which two Germans had been very influential. These two were Dr. Franz Hübschmann, the representative of the Germans in the first convention of 1846, and Moritz Schöffler, their able spokesman in the second convention of 1847–48.[2]

Another feature favorable to the immigration was Wisconsin's liberal land policy. The land granted her by the government for the maintenance of schools was sold at low prices and without delay to the immigrants. Altogether the state received nearly four million acres of land[3] for the benefit of schools and the University, and the greater part of these lands were offered for sale at the minimum government price of $1.25 per acre. Some sections in remote regions sold for less, others were appraised higher, but excellent pieces of land were even sold on credit. Naturally the liberality of this system bore fruit,

[1] Wisconsin was the only state possessing so liberal a franchise in 1848; in 1851 Indiana put a similar clause into her constitution; Minnesota in 1857. Other states followed in ten or fifteen years. Everest-Levi, *supra*. (Reprint, p. 18.)

[2] Dr. Franz Hübschmann was a native of Weimar, who settled in Milwaukee as a physician in 1842. He was interested in all public affairs of the city and state, became instrumental in getting the appropriation for the harbor of Milwaukee, was leader in all political, social, and musical activities of the German element, and brought to the city other men of talent, such as the journalist, Moritz Schöffler. Hübschmann's speech on the franchise was published in the *Wisconsin Banner*, November 7, 1846. Under the editorship of Schöffler, the *Wisconsin Banner* became the leading organ in the movement for the liberal franchise for foreigners. The Germans were joined in their efforts by the Irish element. In the earlier years of the struggle, 1843–44, the Germans, K. J. Kern, H. Härtel, F. A. Lüning, were also influential. Cf. R. A. Kosz, *Milwaukee* (Milwaukee, 1871), pp. 231, 258; Hense-Jensen, *Wisconsins Deutsch-Amerikaner*, vol. i, pp. 103–109.

[3] Everest-Levi, *supra*, pp. 321–322. (Reprint, p. 25.)

for even the poorest immigrant, after some years of honest toil, was enabled to meet the financial obligations thus assumed.

Still another circumstance favoring the Germans was the appointment by the state of a commissioner of immigration. The law passed in 1852 required the commissioner to reside in New York City throughout the year and to give immigrants information favorable to Wisconsin. The first appointee, G. Van Steenwyk, was followed in 1853 by Hermann Härtel. Both men distributed pamphlets, and advertised in German newspapers in the East and in Europe. Leipzig, Kassel, Nuremberg, Basel, Bremen, and other places in Germany were made acquainted with the advantages of Wisconsin's soil and climate. Härtel reported that within eight months he had answered three hundred and seventeen letters from Europe, and that, of the three thousand people who had visited his New York office, two thirds were Germans. Often money was sent to him from settlers in Wisconsin to assist their relatives on arrival at New York. The American consul at Bremen, Dr. Hildebrandt (a German of Mineral Point, Wisconsin), gave valuable assistance in circulating information. Nearly thirty thousand pamphlets were distributed, one half of them in Europe. The third commissioner, F. W. Horn (of Ozaukee County, Wisconsin), appointed in 1854, used similar means of advertising, and of directing immigrants to Wisconsin. A branch office was established in Quebec, though not with satisfactory results.

The existence of the Wisconsin Bureau of Immigration became widely known throughout Europe, and its square dealing strengthened the good name the state had already gained. The office was discontinued in 1855, but in 1867 the state established a board of immigration. The gov-

ernor, *ex officio* a member, was authorized to appoint a local committee of three citizens in each county to assist the board, particularly in making out lists of the names and addresses of European friends of Wisconsin settlers, so that information in regard to the state might be sent to them.[1] For some years Bernhard Domschke, a German editor of Milwaukee, was a member of the board, and German pamphlets were distributed in large numbers. In 1871 the board was abolished, and the office of a state commissioner of immigration was created, to be elective for a term of two years. The incumbent was to reside in Milwaukee and to appoint a local agent for Chicago. The duties of the commissioner were to prepare and distribute pamphlets, giving information about the resources of the state and the land still available for settlement. In 1879 the experiment of a board of immigration was renewed, and it was maintained from 1881 to 1887; J. A. Becher was the well-qualified president of the board. During this period Wisconsin was well represented in Europe, especially in Germany.[2] The Wisconsin Central Railroad sent its agent, K. K. Kennan, to Basel, Switzerland. He found it to his advantage to be under the state authority and to represent the interests of the whole state of Wisconsin, rather than those of a private corporation. Through his efforts and those of the board, about five thousand immigrants were secured, mainly from the forest lands of Bavaria, and were distributed along the line of the Wisconsin Central Railroad from Stevens Point to Ashland. The inducement held out to them was good wages in the

[1] Cf. Everest-Levi, *supra*, pp. 327–328. (Reprint, pp. 31–33.)

[2] Twenty thousand pamphlets and nine thousand copies of a pocket map, with a description of Wisconsin, were printed in 1882 and largely distributed in Germany. *Ibid.*, p. 33, note.

lumber camps, where they might in a short time earn enough to buy land and build homes. Some provision was made by the Wisconsin Central to accommodate the settlers; e. g., in Medford, where a house was used to shelter from seventy-five to one hundred immigrants for two weeks free of charge, with the use of a large cooking-stove.[1]

The German books and pamphlets, published for distribution, and written by travelers in Wisconsin, are too numerous to enumerate with a view to completeness. A few of the important titles are as follows: —

A. Ziegler, "Skizzen einer Reise durch Nordamerika und Westindien mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des deutschen Elements, der Auswanderung und der landwirthschaftlichen Verhältnisse in dem neuen Staat Wisconsin" (Dresden and Leipzig, 1849); Dr. Carl de Haas, "Nordamerika" (Wisconsin, Calumet, 1848), "Winke für Auswanderer"; Freimund Goldmanns "Briefe aus Wisconsin in Nordamerika," herausgegeben von Dr. G. Goldmann (Leipzig, 1849); Wilhelm Dames, "Wie sieht es in Nordamerika aus?" (1849). Other books were those of Theodor Wettstein (1848), on the physical features of Wisconsin, and of W. C. L. Koch (Göttingen, 1851), on the mineral wealth about Lake Superior and the Mississippi River; also K. K. Kennan's "Der Staat Wisconsin, seine Hülfsquellen und Vorzüge für Auswanderer" (Basel, 1882); Gustav Richter, "Der Nordamerikanische Freistaat Wisconsin" (Wesel, 1849).

The geographical distribution of the Germans in Wisconsin is as follows: They are most numerous in the eastern and north-central counties, which correspond to the heavily wooded districts of the state. Their preference was first for the wooded lands near the main routes of travel, viz., the eastern counties. Thence they spread to

[1] Everest–Levi (Reprint), p. 36.

the counties in the north-central parts of the state in the deep forests. This selection was by no means accidental, since the German agriculturist knew that heavy timber grows only on fertile soil. His progress could, of course, not be so rapid as on prairie land, but the results after laborious industry would be permanently good. R. G. Thwaites,[1] secretary and superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, makes the following statement concerning the distribution of the Germans in Wisconsin:—

The Germans number seventy-five per cent of the population of Taylor County, sixty-five per cent of Dodge, and fifty-five per cent of Buffalo. They are also found in especially large groups in Milwaukee, Ozaukee, Washington, Sheboygan, Manitowoc, Jefferson, Outagamie, Fond du Lac, Sauk, Waupaca, Dane, Marathon, Grant, Waushara, Green Lake, Langlade, and Clark counties. There are Germans in every county of the state and numerous isolated German settlements, but in the counties named these people are particularly numerous. Sometimes the groups are of special interest, because the people came for the most part from a particular district in the Fatherland. For instance, Lomira, in Dodge County, was settled almost entirely by Prussians from Brandenburg, who belonged to the Evangelical Association. The neighboring towns of Hermann and Theresa, also in Dodge County, were settled principally by natives of Pomerania. In Calumet County there are Oldenburg, Luxemburg, and New Holstein settlements. St. Kilian, in Washington County, is settled by people from Northern Bohemia, just over the German border. The town of Belgium, Ozaukee County, is populated almost exclusively by Luxemburgers, while Oldenburgers occupy the German settlement at Cedarburg. Three fourths of the population of Farmington, Washington County, are from Saxony. In the same county Jackson is chiefly

[1] *Preliminary Notes on the Distribution of Foreign Groups in Wisconsin*, by Reuben G. Thwaites. (Extract from the *Annual Report of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1890*, pp. 53–59.)

settled by Pomeranians, while one half of the population of Kewaskum are from the same German province. In Dane County there are several interesting groups of German Catholics. Roxbury is nine tenths German, the people coming mostly from Rhenish Prussia and Bavaria. Germans predominate in Cross Plains, the rest of the population being Irish. The German families of Middleton came from Köln, Rhenish Prussia, and so did those of Berry, a town almost solidly German.

In Wisconsin, whose population is three fourths of foreign origin, the German element has always predominated. The industrial, agricultural, and commercial prominence of the state is due more largely to the Germans than to all other foreign elements combined. They have also been more successful in maintaining their social life than elsewhere, including their introduction of music, their singing-societies, their Turnvereine, their opposition to the Puritanic spirit. The traveler through Wisconsin is now and then impressed with a similarity in landscape to parts of Germany.[1] This is particularly true of the eastern and north-central counties of the state, where, as before mentioned, the Germans are most numerous. The well-kept farms, the neat houses, commonly of light-colored brick, the generous barns, and the normal appearance of order, cleanliness, neatness, and substantial prosperity are as impressive as they are in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, while German traditions and German speech, owing to later settlement, are still more live in Wisconsin than in that earlier stronghold of German influence, the Keystone State.

Minnesota

The history of Wisconsin's neighbor on the west also exhibits an extraordinary development within a few years.

[1] Cf. K. Lamprecht, *Americana*, p. 24 (Freiburg i, B. 1906): "An den schönsten Stellen scheint es, als seien wir nach dem Lande gekommen, wie es

Minnesota was organized as a territory in 1849. The census of the following year gives it 6077 inhabitants.[1] In the next decade came the record-breaking increase to nearly thirty times that number, viz., 172,023. By December 1, 1862, Minnesota[2] had sent 11,877 men into the Union army, and Governor Ramsey could truthfully say that Minnesota had sent a larger number of men into the field than it had had inhabitants in 1850; the fact is, she sent nearly twice as many.

The German population of Minnesota has always been large, though not maintaining the same ratio to the remaining population as in Wisconsin. According to the last census, the total foreign population of Minnesota in 1900 was 1,312,019. Of these 289,822 were of German parentage. The German population was larger than that of any other nationality, but second to the Scandinavian element if Norway and Sweden be taken together as one people.[3]

Excepting the men in military stations the earliest pioneers of Minnesota were a company of German Swiss, who migrated from the Red River settlements in British America. In 1822 five families went with the American cattle-drivers who returned from the north to the United States. The Swiss received aid at Fort St. Anthony (later called Fort Snelling), at the confluence of the Minnesota

sich der deutsche Landwirt träumen mag : ein verbessertes Deutschland, eine Gegend, von der der Dichter ahnend sagte : Und wie ein Garten war das Land zu schauen. Das ist deutsches Farmerland, Land deutschen Fleiszes."

[1] They were located almost without exception on the Mississippi River, as far as it was navigable.

[2] Minnesota was admitted as a state in 1858.

[3] Sweden numbered 211,769 ; Norway, 224,892. The total population of the state, including the native element, was 1,751,394, the population of foreign and mixed parentage being 74.9 per cent of the whole. Cf. *Twelfth Census of the United States*, vol. i (Population, part 1, pp. 806, 808, 810).

and the Mississippi rivers. There they remained for the winter, and the next spring settled on the military reservation, selling their farm products to the garrison.[1] In the spring of 1823 thirteen other colonists with their families from the Red River country braved the raw climate, the trackless woods, and hostile savages. They used for transportation the so-called Red River carts, constructed without iron, untanned hides being drawn over the rudely fashioned wooden wheels, in place of tires.[2] They tarried for some time at Lake Traverse, about two hundred miles from Fort Snelling, and then went on, descending the St. Peter (Minnesota) River, in dug-outs. After a journey of twelve hundred miles through a country, part of which had never been traversed by white men, they reached the Mississippi, and at length St. Louis. The end of their wanderings, however, had not yet come, for they found the climate of St. Louis unsuitable, and decided to settle farther north. They finally located about fifteen miles northeast of La Pointe, where they found employment in the lead-mines.[3] The large migration of the Swiss colony on the Red River did not come, however, until 1826. The severe winter of 1825–26 and the terrible floods of the succeeding spring destroyed the property and food-stores of the Red River colonists and threat-

[1] The names of the first pioneers of Minnesota were : Louis Massie, Jacob Falstrom, Antoine Pepin, Joseph Rösch, Joseph Bisson. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, p. 15.

[2] Such carts were frequently seen in St. Paul before the opening of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, p. 15 (illustration).

[3] The location is about the present town of Galena, in the northwestern corner of the state of Illinois. A number of others of the Red River colonists settled the towns of Bern and Zurich, in Hay Township, Ontario. The leaders of this group of about ten families were : Christian Hay, Georg Hess, and Johann Rothermühl. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, p. 18.

ened them with famine. In June, 1826, two hundred and forty-three people left Fort Garry, and followed the path of their predecessors by way of the Red River to Lake Traverse, thence to Fort St. Anthony, and then by steamer on the Mississippi to their destination, La Pointe, where they were warmly received by the earlier Swiss settlers. They settled mostly as agriculturists, but some became miners. In the Black Hawk War, six years later, almost all of the men volunteered under Captain Schneider. Their descendants spread over the Northwest, but are to be found in the greatest numbers in the lead districts.

The Red River Swiss, though the first settlers, did not select Minnesota for their permanent homes. The German element had numerous other representatives, however, who pushed the frontier line of Minnesota to the westward. There was the German settlement at Henderson on the St. Peter (Minnesota) River, forming a nucleus for log houses scattered through the forests and over the prairies. But the most interesting settlement, historically, was one farther west, called New Ulm, which to-day is a prosperous town of over 5400 inhabitants. An organization of workingmen in Chicago was responsible for the settlement. Their membership having grown to eight hundred in 1854, their ambition was to leave the city's labor market and establish farm homes on cheap land on the western frontier of Minnesota. The pioneers that were sent to settle had some difficulty in finding their destination, but they were fortunate finally in obtaining a good location on the Cottonwood River, a tributary of the Minnesota. They measured off their land in 1855, but their coming occasioned great wrath among the Sioux, who pulled up the surveyors' stakes and annoyed the whites until the latter drove them off. The dispute was referred to the governor

at St. Paul, who decided that the settlers would have to move if they were not on congressional land. It was found, however, that the reservation of the Indians began nine miles beyond the new settlement, called New Ulm, and therefore the German settlers were left in possession.[1] A society of Chicago Turners[2] soon united with the first organization, so that by 1857 a considerable number of settlers had arrived, making a respectable village. Two steam-mills were erected, farm-houses spread out in all directions, and in the autumn of the same year New Ulm was incorporated as a town in the territory of Minnesota. The new town proved its virility in 1861, by organizing a company of militia to be sent to Fort Ridgely, about fifteen miles distant, on the Minnesota River, and also by placing many recruits in the service of the Union army. After the departure of most of the fighting element, a disaster befell the settlers which nearly destroyed New Ulm. This was the massacre of 1862, by the Sioux or Dakota Indians.

The Indians had some grounds for discontent, but as frequently happened on the frontier the penalty for the wrongs committed was paid by the innocent pioneers. The annual sums of money which had been promised the Indians by the United States government, for lands ceded by them in 1858 on the north bank of the Minnesota River, were promptly paid out of the United States Treasury, but very rarely reached the Indians. The money went

[1] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. iii, pp. 13 ff.: vol. iv, pp. 122 ff.: vols. viii and ix, "Geschichte von New-Ulm, Minnesota," von Alex. Berghold. The twentieth anniversary of the settlement of New Ulm was celebrated October 11, 1874, making the date of the original settlement 1854. It was at that time the westernmost point of settlement in the territory of Minnesota.

[2] "Der Ansiedlungsverein des sozialistischen Turnerbundes von Nordamerika."

into the pockets of the Indian agents and traders, who resorted to the most varied pretexts for defrauding the Sioux. One method employed by the Indian traders was to set up storehouses, where supplies were sold at enormous rates. The Indians, having no money, were given credit, in consideration of which they were made to sign papers whereby ultimately they transferred their claims to white thieves. The Indians could not read or write, and did not understand the papers which they marked. Again, heavy fines were sometimes imposed upon them; a white man in Sioux City, for instance, received five thousand dollars for stolen horses, which sum was simply taken out of the congressional funds, and charged against the Indians.[1]

Danger from the Indians began as early as 1857, in which year about forty settlers were killed or captured. The insurrection was put down with the aid of friendly Indians, among them Chief Little Crow, who in the succeeding struggles became an implacable foe of the white man. In 1861 the crops of the Indians turned out badly and famine stared them in the face. By the middle of December fifteen hundred of them had to be supplied with food to keep them from starvation. The hope of early hunting was dispelled by the heavy snows. Under these circumstances the pay-day of 1862 was looked forward to with desperate eagerness. The Indians had some knowledge of the progress of the Civil War, and were in fear that the government could not pay. When from five to six thousand Sioux gathered about the agency clamoring for their money, they were told that they would receive it, but that they would have to wait. A great many were on the verge of starvation, and the

[1] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. viii, pp. 229–230.

more reckless element, the young braves, took advantage of the situation. The older Indians opposed the plan of an insurrection on a large scale, but the younger warriors prevailed, and determined to wipe out all the pioneer settlements at one fell swoop. The plan matured quickly, and the first deed of violence was committed August 4, 1862, when four hundred mounted Indians and one hundred and fifty on foot broke open the door of the storehouse, shot down the American flag, and took out one hundred and fifty sacks of flour. The storehouse was retaken, but the fact that no Indians were punished made the latter all the bolder. As mentioned above, the departure of recruits for the war (the McKeeville Rangers) weakened the resisting power of the pioneers and gave the Sioux a golden opportunity.

The German settlement of New Ulm, being farthest west, had to endure the brunt of the attacks. Jacob Nix, a native of Bingen-on-the-Rhine, was commandant of the defenses of the town, such as they were, during the first days of the hostilities. He had much trouble in convincing the people of their danger. He had come from Fort Ridgely, and had seen the unmistakable signs of Indian outrages. The outlying Upper Settlement, seven miles west of New Ulm, was totally destroyed and every inhabitant killed. There was no hope for the farmers in solitary places. Men, women, and children were slaughtered, or tortured to death. The Indians employed their usual tactics, approaching in a friendly manner and catching their victims off their guard. New Ulm was almost taken by surprise, so quick was the approach of the Indian advance guard. The story[1] goes that a number of New Ulm citi-

[1] This account is based on the articles of Alex. Berghold in *Der deutsche Pionier*, vols. viii and ix.

zens were making an excursion in wagons to gather in volunteers for the Union army. With fluttering banners and cheering music they drove directly in the direction of the scene of the massacres. The Indians, hearing the sounds, waited for the wagons to approach and then received them with a murderous volley. Most of those in the first wagon were killed, but those behind found time to turn and effect their escape from the Indians, who did not pursue them. The survivors then gave the alarm, though they also experienced difficulty in impressing the citizens of New Ulm with the imminence of their danger. Settlers from all directions now hastened to the town, which was surrounded by the Sioux on the seventeenth of August, 1862. Their attack lasted into the night, and they advanced into the middle of the city. The settlers were under the disadvantage of not having their fighting strength at home and of being poorly provided with arms and ammunition. They fought from behind barricades set up in the streets, their desperation making up for their handicaps. The first attack was probably made only by the outposts of the Indians, who withdrew next morning, Little Crow taking them westward to Fort Ridgely, which they then besieged. The defenders succeeded, however, in communicating their danger to the settlement of St. Peter and they received aid. When the fort proved its ability to make a stout resistance, the Indians returned upon New Ulm, laying waste all the country that lay between the two points.

The second battle at New Ulm occurred on the twenty-third of August, but the settlers had in the mean time improved their barricades and had also received a reinforcement of seventy-five men under Captain Cox. The attacks continued Saturday and Sunday, after which the

Indians withdrew to try their fortunes at other places. The losses at New Ulm are variously estimated, but the property loss was no doubt greater than the loss of life.[1] The terrors of the massacres fell more heavily upon the smaller settlements, such as Newton, about six miles north of New Ulm. The experiences of the German pioneers during the Sioux massacres, though of shorter duration, were no less terrible than during the border warfare in the Mohawk or the Ohio Valley, in the eighteenth century. The story of Maria Hartmann rivals that of Mary Inglis and the "Dutch woman," in the pioneer history of the Kanawha, for its harrowing experiences and hairbreadth escapes, continuous for more than a month.[2]

At the direction of the government, the town of New Ulm was deserted by its inhabitants after the second attack, though many settlers were loath to go. A train of one hundred and fifty wagons made its way toward points more easterly, that could be more easily defended. Such as were able to bear arms remained at Mankato, in order to defend that town; the others went on to St. Peter,[3] where they were well provided for, or even to St. Paul, the capital of the state. Some of the bolder spirits returned to New Ulm as soon as they heard that militia had been sent out in pursuit of the Indians. The new settlers found the farms in good condition, and prosperity quickly followed. The German element continued to predominate, and at the present day New Ulm is still a German town.

[1] One estimate is that New Ulm lost eight killed and seventy wounded, and that one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy-five houses in that place were burned by the enemy.

[2] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ix, pp. 106–109.

[3] St. Peter, Mankato, and Fort Ridgely are all located on the Minnesota River.

The punitive expedition[1] which was sent out by the government captured a large number of Indians, three hundred and three of whom were sentenced to death. They were pardoned, however, all but thirty-nine, some of the latter being half-breeds. The thirty-nine were executed publicly December 7, 1862, and the terror which this act inspired brought the Indian attacks to an end. Official reports gave the number of those killed by the Sioux as somewhat over seven hundred, the number of fugitives from outlying settlements as thirty thousand, and the property loss as about $2,000,000. The German pioneers suffered a large part of this loss in life and property, and thereby contributed once more to the defense of the American frontier, a service which the same stock had continuously performed since the beginning of the eighteenth century.

(*B*) *The Southwest — Texas*

The history of the German element in the state of Texas presents some important individual traits. The tale is one of increased hardship and suffering, due to the treacherous climate, to unfamiliarity with the products of the soil, and to hostile encounters with warlike Indian tribes; yet the sequel is the same as in other German colonies, — victory hard-earned and prosperity well-deserved. Lured by speculators, dishonest or unsophisticated, German settlers poured into Texas after the revolt of the "Lone Star" against Santa Anna. Before the territory became a part of the United States the German pioneers joined the American forces in their invasion of Mexico, which

[1] Four thousand Sioux were pursued in 1862–63 by an American army under the command of General Sibley. They were brought to a stand at Devil's Lake, Dakota. Little Crow was not captured, but he was killed later in Minnesota, probably by accident.

guaranteed the future of Texas. They were expected to do more by their European promoters, who had unscrupulously cast them upon the fever-ridden swamps or torrid deserts of the Gulf coast. But the extravagant hope of creating a German state in the Far Western territory was doomed to failure a third time,[1] with the resultant gain to Texas of a large German element in her population, easy of assimilation and sturdy in character.

In 1823, when Texas was still a part of Mexico, Baron von Bastrop founded a German colony on the Colorado River. Named Bastrop[2] after the founder, it was the earliest settlement by the Germans in Texas, and until the foundation of Austin was the northernmost white settlement in the valley of the Colorado. The inhabitants were mostly Oldenburgers of the County Delmenhorst. They were often harassed by the Indians, and were compelled from time to time to leave their settlement. Most of them, however, returned as soon as the troubles seemed over. About the end of the twenties and at the beginning of the thirties, many German families had located between the Brazos and the Colorado rivers.[3] The settlers shared the fortunes of the province in which they lived, and when, in 1836, Texas revolted against the dictatorship of Santa Anna, the Germans fought for their adopted country. In proportion to their numbers they assisted in gaining the glorious victory of San Jacinto,[4] in which the

[1] The attempts at forming a German state in Missouri and Wisconsin have been described above.

[2] The name has survived for town and county.

[3] Cf. Eickhoff, *In der neuen Heimat*, pp. 321–323.

[4] The historical novelist, Charles Sealsfield (Carl Postl), in his masterpiece, *Das Kajütenbuch*, depicts the Texan war of independence as the historical background of his romance. The book has been translated into English several times, under the title of the "Cabin Book," and is frequently spoken of as the gem of Sealsfield's tales describing American frontier life.

Germanic overcame the Latin races, as they had done before in Canada, Louisiana, and Florida. A number of young Germans had crossed the American border as volunteers in this Texan war of liberation, and an increase of immigration to Texas followed after the war. In New York City there was formed in 1839 a society with the name "Germania," whose aim was to establish a colony in Texas. The first division of settlers, numbering one hundred and thirty persons, sailed from New York on November 2 of the same year, contracting to cultivate in common an area of ground for three years, after which it was to be divided among the members. The company was provided with rations for six or eight months and with implements necessary for building houses. Galveston was to be made the depot for the succeeding immigrations; the first division, however, did not carry out its programme, but dissolved in Houston. Its president and some others of the more well-to-do returned to New York; the others were left to shift for themselves.[1] Such was the fate not only of German immigrants, but of most early immigrants to Texas, who were generally duped by luring advertisements and brilliant prospects. As elsewhere, so in Texas, the German immigration seemed very desirable to promoters. In the early forties a Frenchman, Henri Castro, received a land-grant west of San Antonio, and founded Castroville, in the present Medina County. A number of German, Alsatian, and Swiss immigrants settled there. A proof of the increasing German immigration was the establishment at Austin in 1841 of the "Teutonia-Orden," the purpose of which was to preserve the national German traits, to encourage German immigration, and to carry on a correspondence with Germany in the interests of Texas.

[1] Eickhoff, p. 323.

About the same time, and possibly encouraged by the example of Castro, a plan was matured to arouse German immigration on an unprecedented scale. Count von Castell, an adjutant of the Duke of Nassau, conceived the idea of concentrating the German immigration from Hessen and surrounding countries upon one area. Castell succeeded in interesting a large number of minor princes and influential noblemen. They formed a company,[1] each member depositing a moderately large sum of money. In May, 1842, two representatives, Count von Boos-Waldeck and Victor von Leiningen, were sent over to Texas to inspect the ground. Boos remained in Texas, founding a plantation at Jack Creek (called Nassau), which is still in existence.[2] Leiningen returned in the following year with favorable reports. The "Mainzer Adelsverein," as the company styled itself, then issued its programme [3] advertising Texas as the one desirable place for the German immigrant. The "Verein" was not fortunate in its first purchase of land, from Henry Fischer, a native of Cassel, who had lived several years in Houston, Texas. Fischer sold to them a large stretch of land on the San Saba River for sixteen thousand dollars and a share in the profits. The prospects appeared brilliant for the settlers, and

[1] The members were : the Duke of Nassau, Protector of the Society ; the Duke of Meiningen ; the Duke of Coburg-Gotha ; the Prince of Prussia ; the Landgrave of Hessen-Homburg ; the Prince of Schwarzburg-Rudolstat ; Prince Moritz of Nassau ; the Princes of Leiningen, Neuwied, Solms-Braunfels, Colloredo-Mansfeld, and Schönburg-Waldenburg ; the Princes Alexander and Carl of Solms-Braunfels ; Counts of Neu-Leiningen Westerburg and Alt-Leiningen Westerburg (Friedrich, Victor, and Christian) ; Counts Ysenburg-Meerholz, Hatzfeld, Knyphausen, Colloredo-Mansfeld, Carl von Castell, and several others.

[2] Cf. Eickhoff, *In der neuen Heimat*, p. 324.

[3] Cf. Eickhoff, *In der neuen Heimat*, pp. 323–333, for a complete account of the plans and activities of the "Adelsverein." Cf. also Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika*, pp. 349–353.

even conservative men like Herr von Wrede spoke favorably of the outlook, and he himself made a second journey to Texas, where unfortunately he was killed by the Comanches. The "Verein" demanded three hundred gulden from a man, or six hundred gulden from a family, and for these sums would furnish their transportation to the place of settlement, and would give them a log house and one hundred and sixty acres[1] of land for every male inhabitant and double the number of acres for every family. Cattle and agricultural implements were to be obtained at cheap rates. Churches, schools, drugs, and hospital care were all to be furnished, provided the settler would cultivate fifteen acres of land for three years and would occupy his house. Concealed beneath these favorable terms was the plan to bring German settlers to Texas in such numbers that by and by the German population should predominate over all other national elements. Texas did not then belong to the Union, and the English government, which opposed the annexation of Texas by the United States, looked with satisfaction upon the ambitious undertaking of the German noblemen.

In May, 1844, Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels started for the new land, and was followed by about one hundred and fifty families, who sailed in three ships from Bremen. They arrived in December in Lavaca Bay (Indianola), and then were transported in ox-carts through trackless and swampy areas into the interior. In March, 1845, they arrived at the banks of the Comal River, where Solms had bought one thousand acres of land for the site of a city, after finding that the land bought from Fischer was

[1] The "Adelsverein" was granted three hundred and twenty acres for every male settler, and six hundred and forty acres for every family brought over. Retaining one half the land, the organization, if well managed, could have become wealthy.

too remote. The new city was named New Braunfels, in honor of the leader. Each immigrant received a building-lot of one half an acre, besides ten acres in the vicinity, all this independent of the one hundred and sixty acres guaranteed by the company. The people went zealously to work, and a second train of immigrants that followed were also satisfactorily located. But when through neglect of economy the funds of the society had become nearly exhausted, the management proved altogether incapable of carrying forward the difficult undertaking. The "General Commissär," Solms-Braunfels, who had squandered much of the company's resources, resigned and returned to Europe. The colonial council, consisting of his advisers, was dissolved. A successor was appointed, Von Meusebach, who, arriving from Europe in 1845, had little experience and no acquaintance with Texas. He wisely economized wherever he could, but thereby made enemies, especially among the indolent. In the autumn of the year he led an expedition into the Indian country and selected a site for an additional colony, distant about ninety English miles, or three days' journey on horseback, from New Braunfels. This became the city of Friedrichsburg (Fredericksburg).

When he returned he received word that within a short time several thousand immigrants would arrive in Galveston. He repaired thither to make arrangements for their transportation, but when he arrived at Galveston he found that the directors of the "Adelsverein" had sent over several thousands of human beings, but not a cent of money for their future sustenance and transportation. Even the money which the immigrants had deposited in Germany, and which was to be paid out to them on their demand, had not arrived. As a result even people who

had been well-to-do at home, and thought they had provided themselves with ample means, remained destitute for months after their arrival, until they could get back their money.

Meusebach hastened to New Orleans to borrow funds, and the immigrants were gradually taken from Galveston to Indian Point, a harbor on Lavaca Bay, whence they were to be transported overland to the place of settlement. We know the facts concerning this ill-fated immigration from the work of Alwin Sörgel,[1] who was on board the *Franzisca*, one of the last ships to arrive.

Their experiences on shipboard remind one of the sufferings of immigrants in the eighteenth century. Their experiences on land would tempt the pen of a Balzac. Of the twenty-five hundred passengers, about twenty-three hundred landed at Galveston. Fifty men were sent in advance to prepare the colony in the interior, while the rest were huddled together at Indian Point, on Lavaca Bay, where under rudely constructed sheds or tents, surrounded by their chests and mounds of baggage, they were exposed to the fevers and excesses of a tropical climate. Many a man vainly sought for work at Galveston, and German barons were glad to push wheelbarrows in the streets of the town to earn the means of mere subsistence. Money could not be had; for that the immigrants were directed to wait until they got to New Braunfels. Nothing could be done for the betterment of their unhappy condition until the spring, and then came swarms of mosquitoes to add to their misery and increase their mortality. The evils

[1] A. H. Sörgel: *Neueste Nachrichten aus Texas, zugleich ein Hülferuf an den Mainzer Verein zum Schutze deutscher Einwanderer in Texas.* (Eisleben, 1847.) Cf. also: Ferd. Römer, *Texas. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf deutsche Auswanderung und die physischen Verhältnisse des Landes nach eigener Beobachtung geschildert.* (Bonn, 1849.)

of the situation at Indian Point were aggravated, because all means of transportation had been requisitioned by the military authorities. The country was on the eve of the war with Mexico, and forced preparations for the movement of soldiers and supplies interfered with contracts already entered into. Von Meusebach had had such a contract with the merchants of Houston for the transportation of the entire body of immigrants. Several hundreds of the German immigrants, giving up all hope of ever reaching New Braunfels, formed a volunteer company and joined the United States army that invaded Mexico.

Alwin Sörgel and two companions were fortunate in securing means of transportation and getting to New Braunfels.[1] There they found that the town had gone backward since the collapse of the association's treasury. The hostility of the Indians had kept the settlers near together and prevented their spreading out into neighboring territory. Harvests had not been plentiful, and many of the inhabitants, accustomed to receiving supplies from the "Verein," had grown indolent and thriftless. Many would work for a few dollars in the service of those who still had a little money. Some in their desperate plight, surrounded by disease[2] and ruin, sought to enjoy after their own fashion the brief span of life still left them. Resorting to a wooden booth where there was

[1] Along the way they frequently met stragglers, — one, for instance, a German, who had gone from Indian Point to seek employment. He had left his wife and children at Indian Point, and expressed the hope that the "Verein" might transport them to New Braunfels. This is an instance among hundreds of the separation of families.

[2] There was but one physician in New Braunfels, Dr. Köster, and so many died under his hands that the cemetery of the settlement was called "Köster's Plantation." Whether this was due to a lack of skill on his part or to other causes is not stated. He was the physician of the "Verein."

dancing every night, the hale and the sick together raved in a dizzy reel of enjoyment to the shrill music of a clarionetist, an individual who was also the professional grave-digger of the place. This midnight dance of death was the dreadful culmination of the sights the travelers had witnessed on their way to New Braunfels, — human bones, cast-off pieces of clothing, beds, tools, chests strewn along the desert path between Indian Point and New Braunfels. But not all the settlers went to destruction, for the next summer, in 1846, New Braunfels[1] received additions to its population and gained in stability. The annex, ninety miles north, called Friedrichsburg, also had one thousand inhabitants the next winter. Disease became less frequent and the harvesting of crops placed a premium on work. As soon as the colonists were made to stand on their own feet, the sturdy class prospered and the idlers fell away like frost-bitten leaves in autumn.

Meusebach had contributed much to the welfare of the colony, though his services were not appreciated. He was made the scapegoat for all the mismanagement committed by his predecessors and the home office. At one time a mob appeared before his house and threatened to kill him. In spite of all he maintained himself as head of the colonies until the "Adelsverein" sold its properties. The princes and noblemen of the organization had, through their incapacity, brought untold sufferings upon the thousands of German settlers whom they had, by fair promises, induced to immigrate. The "Verein" was no doubt well-intentioned, but, committing error after error, it fortun-

[1] New Braunfels, at present a prosperous town of a little more than two thousand inhabitants, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1870, making the date of foundation 1845. Fredericksburg celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1871. The latter, not so favorably located, has about twelve hundred inhabitants.

ately came to an end. The German immigration received a setback from the reports of the mishaps of the Texas colonists, yet the check was only temporary.

After 1848 the current of German immigration first turned toward the earlier settlements already described, and then spread northward and westward, yielding additions also to the population of the principal towns, such as San Antonio,[1] Dallas, Galveston, Houston, and Austin. The entire country, almost without exception, in the triangle between Seguin, New Braunfels, and San Antonio is in the possession of Germans, who have upheld what may be called the ancient reputation of German settlers in the United States, that of being the best farmers in their particular state and exemplary as law-abiding and patriotic citizens. The census of 1900 gave Texas a foreign white population of 466,651, of which 157,214, or thirty-three and seven tenths per cent, were Germans. The influence of the German element in the state is seen also in their representation in the United States Congress at various times. The most conspicuous congressmen were Gustav Schleicher and Eduard Degener. Gustav Schleicher was born in Darmstadt, Germany, in 1829, and came to Texas about 1847. With a group of companions he had decided to build on the Rio Grande an "Icarie," after Cabet's plan. Since there were just forty young comrades, they called themselves the "Vierziger," but their existence as a community was shortened through

[1] About 1840 the population of San Antonio was almost exclusively Mexican; about thirty years later its population was about one half German. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. i, p. 282. In Kendall County are the German settlements Börne and Comfort; in Dewitt County, Yorktown; High Hill, in Fayette County, was originally called Blum Hill, in honor of Robert Blum, lover of liberty, executed in Vienna in 1848. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. i, p. 349.

robbery by the Comanches and deception practiced upon them by speculators. After the colony's failure Schleicher withdrew and became a farmer on his own account. Subsequently he joined some other members of his family at San Antonio, and there was engaged in the practice of his profession as engineer. In 1853 he was a representative in the state legislature, and six years later a member of the state senate, where he was noted for his public spirit, his clear and thorough thinking. He opposed the secession movement in 1861, but when the state decided to join the Confederacy, he went with the majority. He served in the war, principally as an engineer, building several forts, notably Fort Sabine. In 1874 he was elected a member of the United States Congress from Texas, and was twice reëlected, in 1876 and in 1878. He served on some of the most important committees, — on railroads, foreign affairs, and ways and means, — and died in office in 1879. Memorial addresses by James A. Garfield and Thomas F. Bayard prove how deeply his loss was felt by the nation.[1]

Eduard Degener was born in Brunswick, Germany, in 1809. He left Europe in 1850 and traveled in the United States before settling in Texas. Like Schleicher, he was also for some time a "Latin farmer." When the Civil War broke out, Degener remained faithful to the Union, though he incurred the danger of assassination. Both his oldest sons fell in battle against a regiment of Confederates, and he himself was taken as a prisoner to San Antonio, where for some time he languished in a filthy dungeon in an old Mexican house. He was finally released on the bail of two Confederate friends, and became a successful merchant in

[1] Cf. Körner, *Das deutsche Element i. d. Vereinigten Staaten v. Nordamerika, 1818–1848*, pp. 365–368. (New York, 1884.)

San Antonio. In 1866 he was elected (reëlected, 1868) a member of the constitutional convention of Texas, and advocated universal suffrage without distinction of race. The Republican party, in 1869, elected him a member of the United States Congress from western Texas.[1]

(*C*) *The Far West*

The settlement of the western highlands of the United States followed rapidly after the Civil War, as is seen by the census map already referred to. Kansas and Nebraska received the earliest immigrations, native as well as foreign. In the other states of the Far West the population centred about the mines, and such other areas where it was possible for human beings to exist and acquire wealth. Germans, Swiss, Scandinavians, and Mennonites (mostly German-Russians), were abundant in those islands of population that were scattered about on the plains and plateaus of the arid West. Their history does not differ from that of the native pioneers, and their national peculiarities were almost immediately lost in the types which the frontier imposed upon all pioneers alike. Miners, ranchmen, cow-boys, hunters, were all similar in appearance and habits, whatever their place of birth, especially after some years of residence on the plains. As for the Mennonites, they kept together, forming large settlements in Kansas, between 1876 and 1878; entire communities of Mennonites also made Nebraska their home. These people originally hailed from West Prussia, and migrated thence to Southern Russia, where they remained until they heard of the prospects in the great republic across the seas. A representative colony is that of Germania, on the Atchison, Topeka & Sante Fé Railroad, in the south-

[1] *Deutsch-amerikanisches Conversations-Lexikon* (Schem), vol. iii, p. 573.

western part of Kansas. It is a country of big farms, where wheat, corn, rye, and barley are raised on farms of from sixty to one thousand acres in size. The Mennonites quickly learned to use American machinery and were reliable in the payment of their debts. They also brought fruit-trees — e. g., apricots — from Russia.[1] In larger cities, such as Leavenworth and Topeka, wherever the Germans clustered in larger groups, they preserved much of their nationality. But most of them are scattered over the state, and are engaged in the business of agriculture.

Even on the frontier line farthest west, — that is, on the Pacific coast, — the German pioneers arrived among the earliest. The route to Oregon, over the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River, by way of the South Pass, was known to American pioneers early in the nineteenth century. The expedition of Lewis and Clark in 1804–05 had opened the way, but for a long time no settlers followed thither. In 1808 the Missouri Fur Company sent some trappers and hunters into that region, and three years later John Jacob Astor, the leading merchant of New York City, founded Astoria, on his own independent means and at his own risk.[2] Astor's brilliant plan

[1] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. x, pp. 147–150; C. L. Bernays, *Unter den Mennoniten in Kansas*.

[2] John Jacob Astor was born at Walldorf, near Heidelberg (Baden), in 1763. His parents were poor and he migrated first to England, where he had an older brother. He came to America after the close of the Revolutionary War. While on board ship his attention was called to the possibilities of the fur trade in the colonies, by a fellow passenger. Upon his arrival in New York he exchanged the musical instruments he had from his brother for furs. These he sold in London at a good profit, and thus made his start. He was the first regular dealer in musical instruments in the United States. He speculated in New York real estate, and during the war period of 1812 in government securities. In 1809 he organized the American Fur Company, in which he manifested rare enterprise and courage, and acquired immense wealth. At his death in 1848 his fortune was estimated at the then fabu-

was to connect the fur trade of the Far West by a line of trading-posts extending from the Great Lakes along the Missouri and Columbia rivers to the Pacific. At the mouth of the Columbia, Astor established the new trading-post Astoria, which threatened to take the monopoly of the fur trade out of British hands. That had been the ambition of Astor, but during the succeeding war, in 1813, the British government took possession of the place and named it St. George. Astoria was returned to the United States after the conclusion of the War of 1812,[1] but the American scheme had been financially crippled.

About 1839 began a current of immigration to the Oregon district, and the families that had pushed the frontier line westward steadily from decade to decade reappeared in the valley of the Columbia, to found a new state. They were aided by the foreign element. When the California gold-fever started, in 1848, Oregon for several years lost many of its pioneer settlers. Congress came to the rescue with an act by which every male inhabitant who had settled in Oregon before the first of December, 1850, should receive three hundred and twenty acres of land, and a similar amount for his wife; each male settler dating from December 1, 1850, to December 1, 1853, should receive one hundred and sixty acres and an equal amount in addition if he were married; the one condition was, that the settler should remain four years. Offering such inducements, Congress created for Oregon a well-to-do, land-rich class of settlers who were satisfied

lous sum of $20,000,000. He founded the Astor Library, with the gift of $400,000.

[1] Cf. Washington Irving's novel, *Astoria*, which is descriptive of this venture. Irving was a personal friend of Astor, and his regular guest in New York City. Cf. also J. Parton, *Famous Americans of Recent Time*. (Boston, 1867.) Chapter on John Jacob Astor.

to remain permanently in the new territory. Portland, the commercial centre of Oregon, contains a large number of Germans; they founded German newspapers and introduced their social life, their Turn-, Gesang-, and Schützenvereine. Travelers describe them as a frank, whole-souled, respectable, and physically fine-looking class of people.

In 1853 the territory north of the Columbia River was separated from Oregon, and called Washington. That territory and the more easterly areas, Montana and the Dakotas, did not receive many accessions to their population until the opening of the Northern Pacific Railroad, the promoter and president of which was a German, Henry Villard. He (Heinrich Hilgard) was born in 1835 at Speyer (Rhenish Bavaria), within the borders of the old Palatinate. With the advantages of a university education (at Munich and Würzburg), he came to this country in 1853, and rapidly fitted himself for the career of a journalist. He gained a mastery of the English language, reported the joint debates between Lincoln and Douglas in 1858, established himself at Washington as the political correspondent of leading Eastern papers, and at the outbreak of the Civil War became a prominent war correspondent in the field, continuing for three years. He revisited Germany during the war periods of 1866 and 1871, and returned as the representative of the foreign bondholders of the Oregon and California Railroad Company, of which he became president in 1875. With the aid of German capital he gained control of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and, completing its western extension, he accomplished the great feat of creating a trunk-line from the Great Lakes to the Pacific. This successful enterprise made him one of the great railway magnates of the country until reverses overtook him in 1883. He recovered,

however, and regained control of the Northern Pacific, which opened for settlement the great area of the far Northwest, a magnificent addition to the resources of the American people.[1]

The founder of Seattle, the most important city of the state of Washington, was a Maryland German by the name of Yesler. Henry L. Yesler was born in Leitersburg,[2] Maryland, in 1811. He learned the trade of a carpenter, and at the age of twenty-two followed the stream westward to Ohio, settling at Massillon, where he remained from 1832 to 1851. Industrious and shrewd, he became well-to-do, and when the boom struck the Pacific coast, he resolved to take a look at the country so highly praised. He did not take the tedious and dangerous route across the plains, but sailed from Baltimore to Panama, crossed the Isthmus and took ship to California. He was not induced to stay long among the miners of the gold-lands, nor the boomers of Portland, Oregon, but was fascinated by accounts he heard concerning the region of Puget Sound. There, he was told, was the only real lumber country in the world. Yesler determined to test these reports, and after he had arrived on the spot, his keen eye convinced him that they were true. There lay Alki Point, on Puget Sound, a lumber camp, consisting of three block-

[1] He became conspicuous in electrical enterprises, and distinguished through his benefactions, e. g., his gifts to the universities of Oregon, Washington, and to Harvard; also abroad, e. g., the building of a hospital, and training-school at Speyer, an orphan-asylum at Zweibrücken, the endowment of an industrial institution at Kaiserslautern, and the Red Cross Hospital at Munich. He died in 1900. See *National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iii, p. 498.

[2] Leitersburg received its name from its founder, Jacob Leiter, who was born in Holland, settled first in Pennsylvania, and then trekked to western Maryland. His descendants are the grain merchants of Chicago. Lady Curzon (the deceased wife of the Viceroy of India) was a lineal descendant of Jacob Leiter.

houses, of which one was a store and two were taverns. A tribe of filthy Indians, dwarfed like Eskimos, dwelling in ragged tents, would furnish cheap labor. A single acre would yield scores of straight blocks, over a hundred feet in length, five or more feet in thickness, which in the ship-building harbors of the world might bring more than a hundred dollars apiece. Yesler arrived in the autumn of 1852; in the summer of the following year he had built a saw-mill[1] about a mile from Alki Point, on the present site of Seattle. He availed himself of the government grant of one hundred and sixty acres for himself and one hundred and sixty more for his wife. He employed great numbers of Indians and became their popular patron. He built a large cabin of rough-hewn logs, containing a spacious room about twenty-five feet square, which became the centre of the life of the settlement. It served as a sort of commons,[2] a resort for the wood-choppers, a place where King Seattle held his palavers, as town-hall, jail, and church. Just as quickly as the trees were felled on his land, Yesler laid out the ground in building-lots and attracted settlers. A boom struck the place, Yesler brought his family from Ohio, and permanent settlers arrived in great numbers. Yesler grew very rich, and so did those about him. A large saw-mill was soon located on the opposite side of the Sound, and in spite of frequent destructive fires the foundations were securely laid for a great lumber and manufacturing centre. Yesler was the

[1] Yesler's was the first of the saw-mills put up with the design to establish a trade with San Francisco Cf. H. H. Bancroft, *Works*, vol. xxxi, *History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana, 1845–1889*, p. 24.

[2] Yesler's "cook-house," as it was called, was for a number of years the only place along the east shore of the Sound where comfortable entertainment could be had. There were many regrets when it was replaced by a modern structure; it had served as town-hall, court-house, jail, military headquarters, storehouse, hotel, and church. Bancroft, *supra*, pp. 24–25.

mayor of Seattle, and a leading citizen for many years, and during the Indian troubles in the sixties was instrumental in keeping the Indians of Washington Territory at peace.[1]

California

A direct path to California was not known until Frémont's exploring party, returning from Oregon in the winter of 1843, lost their way in the great desert between the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky Mountains. Frémont was forced to try the passes of the Sierra Nevada Mountains without guides, and in March, 1844, reached Sutter's fort on the Sacramento River, in time to save his men. Captain John A. Sutter[2] was one of the most adventurous and resourceful characters in the history of the Far West, and at one time he was the richest man in California. Born in the Grand-Duchy of Baden in 1803, trained in a Swiss military academy, his bold spirit brought him (in 1834) to the western part of the United States, where for some years he carried on a caravan trade between St. Louis and Santa Fé, New Mexico. He journeyed with a party of trappers, in 1838, to Vancouver. After many adventures, such as his trips to the Sandwich Islands, to Alaska, and cruises along the Pacific coast, he was driven into the Bay of San Francisco by storms. He had long cherished the desire to penetrate California, concerning which he had heard so much from the Indians during his inland expeditions. He succeeded in reaching the neighborhood of the present Sacramento, and there founded a settlement which he called New Helvetia. From Alva-

[1] Cf. A. E. Schade, "Denkschrift über H. L. Yesler," *Seventh Annual Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, pp. 29–35. (1892.)

[2] Cf. Körner, pp. 295–298; Eickhoff, pp. 388–389.

rado, the Mexican governor of Alta California, he received the right of citizenship and the title to his land, and was made a governor of the northern frontier territory of Mexico. Such he was when Frémont found him. In 1845 Sutter received in addition the magnificent gift of the Sobrante grant for services rendered in the Castro insurrection.

After California was made a part of the United States, Sutter was appointed alcalde or justice of his district, and Indian agent. His estate was now in a very prosperous condition; great areas of wheat were planted and numerous droves of cattle were pastured on his land. The prospects for himself and his colony were unparalleled, and he was accounted the richest man in the state. But fortune was all too generous; she had lavishly strewn gold upon his princely possessions. It was on the twentieth of January, 1848, when Jacob W. Marshall, employed by Sutter as overseer of a saw-mill, appeared with the startling news that he had discovered gold in the river sand. Chemical experts proved the truth of his statement. For Sutter this seemingly brilliant stroke of fortune proved the beginning of his ruin. In self-defense he tried to keep the secret from the public for a short time only, until he might gather in his crops and his cattle, but in vain. Gold-seekers, hordes of adventurers, and desperate characters, crowded upon his property. They trampled down his crops, devoured his cattle, and devastated his land. Even the titles to his estates were then disputed, and from the summit of his fortune Sutter was cast down to the humiliation of seeking redress for his wrongs. Although he appealed for justice to the Congress of the United States, he never regained possession of his property. The state of California voted him a pension of three thousand dollars annu-

ally during the years 1865 to 1872, in view of state taxes which he had paid on the lands now no longer in his hands. Honors of various kinds bestowed upon him, such as his appointment as general of the militia of California, showed nevertheless a general recognition of his prominent services. Sutter was, in reality, directly responsible for the discovery of gold in California. It was he who planned and built the saw-mill which occasioned Marshall's discovery. The discovery was made inevitable, sooner or later, by the industries established by Sutter. Although Marshall was the first to see the gold, a larger amount of credit belongs to the man who prepared the way, the pioneer who laid the foundation for the wealth of thousands of people, and thereby became poor.

Besides furnishing a quota of gold-seekers, the German element contributed very largely toward promoting the wine industry in California.[1] In the Sonoma Valley most of the wine-ranches have German names. The pioneers, in 1858, were Gundlach and Dresel, who established the "Rhine Farm," now owned by the Gundlach-Bundschu Wine Company of San Francisco. In Napa County Charles Krug was the pioneer, also beginning in 1858, at St. Helena. John Rock came to California in 1866 and founded the Rock Nurseries, and later the California Nurseries covering over five hundred acres, at Niles, Alameda County. William Palmtag, of Hollister, planted vineyards in San Benito County; the Eggers

[1] The German influence upon viniculture in California will be treated in Volume II, Chapter II, of this work. The materials (unpublished) were collected recently by Professor E. W. Hilgard (founder of the Experiment Station, and for many years director of the College of Agriculture, University of California), and Mr. Charles Bundschu, of San Francisco, at the request of the writer. Professor Hilgard and Mr. Bundschu are continuing their investigations and expect to publish their researches in a special monograph.

Vineyard Company (now sold to the Great Western Vineyards Company) had locations in both Fresno and Kern counties. In Fresno County Frederick Roeding established the Francher Creek Nurseries, continued by his son George C. Roeding, who has also contributed to the cultivation of the fig and other fruit trees. One of the finest plantations, growing the orange, lemon, and grape, near the Mission San Gabriel, belonged at one time to the German Rose.[1]

Los Angeles contains a large German population, as do the cities of San Bernardino, San Diego, and Santa Barbara. The town of Anaheim, twenty-eight miles from Los Angeles, was founded by Germans. Stockton, San Joachin County, the location of the Stockton Mining Company, was founded by Karl M. Weber.[2] San Francisco has always had a very large German population; in fact it owes a large part of its prosperity to such men as James Lick (born in Pennsylvania of German parents, whose family name was originally Lück), best known as the founder of the Lick Observatory; Adolph Sutro (born in Rhenish Prussia), the great mining engineer and philanthropist; and Claus Spreckels (born in Hannover), the sugar-king, founder of the Pacific steamship lines and of the trade with the Sandwich Islands.[3] To the prominent San Francisco Germans belong also Henry Miller (born in Würtemberg), the cattle-king, and his partner, Charles Lux (born in Baden). In 1857 they started a slaughter-house in San Francisco, and soon gained control of the fresh-meat supply of the city. They acquired eight hundred thousand acres of land in California, besides other

[1] Cf. Eickhoff, *In der neuen Heimat*, p. 390.

[2] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xiii, pp. 73–75.

[3] A more detailed account of the life-work of these men will be given in Volume II, Chapter III.

lands in Oregon and Nevada, and at one time owned eighty thousand head of cattle and one hundred thousand sheep. They were able to drive their herds from neighboring states to San Francisco practically on their own land, sheltering them overnight, or for convenient periods, in their own large ranch stations, and keeping up a perpetual chain of supply for the city and trade. When Charles Lux died, in 1887, a powerful syndicate was formed under the leadership of Henry Miller, who (though born in 1828) has ever kept up the keenest interest in the management of the details of his vast possessions. The Germans of San Francisco have always exhibited an inclination to keep up German traditions, as, for instance, in 1870, when they contributed two hundred and fifty thousand dollars to the Red Cross Fund collected in the United States for the benefit of German soldiers in the Franco-Prussian War.

By the summing-up of these numerous instances, the present chapter intended to show that Germans were conspicuous in the early settlement and the development of the resources of the Northwest, the Southwest, and the Far West. They followed the frontier line until it disappeared from the map, but settled most thickly in the district included in the North Central Division, particularly the states of Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri.

CHAPTER XVI

THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE WARS OF THE UNITED STATES DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Germans in the War of 1812: Walbach, Stricker, Armistead — Indian wars: Heilman and Custer — War with Mexico: Kemper, Kautz, and John A. Quitman (governor of Mississippi).

The Civil War — Statistics of the numbers of German volunteers compared with those of other nationalities — 200,000 volunteers — German regiments — The influence of the Germans in St. Louis and Missouri; the Turners, the Arsenal, Camp Jackson, Sigel's campaign, etc. — The Eleventh Corps at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Lookout Mountain, etc., Missionary Ridge — German officers: Sigel, Hecker, Blenker, Willich, Schurz, Steinwehr, Kautz, etc. — Engineers and artillerymen — German West Point graduates — Germans on the Confederate side — Germany's friendly attitude during the Civil War.

The Spanish War — German volunteers in army and navy — List of officers — Distinguished service of Rear-Admirals Schley, Kautz, and Kempff.

If in the wars of the eighteenth century the German element rendered conspicuous service, their share was more than doubled in the wars of the United States during the nineteenth century. Beginning with the War of 1812, and ending with the Spanish War, the German element was represented by large numbers in the rank and file of the American armies, and quite as abundantly and more gloriously in the lists of officers who excelled by superior training. In the Mexican and the numerous Indian wars throughout the century, there was no campaign without its quota of German participants. In the Civil War the large element of brave and sturdy German soldiers in the Northern army constituted an invaluable and indispensable instrument in turning the fortune of war in favor of the Union. Soldiers by tens and hundreds of

thousands who performed their duties faithfully, even to the point of laying down their lives for the country of their adoption, must be passed by unnoticed in the following brief narrative. Only the most striking figures and noblest achievements of the men of German blood can be taken into account.

In the War of 1812, when the land forces of the United States almost invariably met with defeat and disgrace, a few brilliant feats were contributed by soldiers of German blood. Thus General Walbach is credited with saving the artillery at Chrystler's Field[1] (St. Lawrence River), in 1813. Walbach[2] had come to the United States after a distinguished career of service in the French, the Austrian, and the British (West Indian) service. He was born in Münster (Upper Rhine), Germany, in 1766. He came to America in 1798, and entered the American military service, being promoted after the battle of Chrystler's Field to the rank of colonel, and subsequently to that of brigadier-general, and commander of the Fourth Artillery, U. S. A.

When the British army, after their victory at Bladensburg and their burning of Washington, attempted to serve Baltimore in a similar way, they met with resistance. General John Stricker[3] was put in command of a brigade

[1] General Wilkinson, with the main body of the American army, there fought with a slightly superior force of the British. The battle lasted five hours, victory alternately favoring one and then the other. Night ended the conflict, with the British in possession of the field. The American loss was especially severe; many of the bravest officers were killed or wounded. The total American loss was 339; the British, 187. *Encyclopædic Dictionary of American Reference*, vol. i, p. 146.

[2] He was the third son of Count Joseph de Barth and Marie Therese de Rohmer. Cf. Rosengarten, *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States*, pp. 160–165. General Walbach's son was a graduate of West Point and a captain of ordnance. Another son died of fever in the United States Navy. A grandson served as a surgeon in the United States Army.

[3] General John Stricker was the son of Colonel George Stricker, of Revo-

which was sent forward to check the enemy's advance, and the battle of North Point followed, September 12, 1814. Although the British right put the American left to flight and caused the retreat of the American army, still the British forces had received a check keenly felt. When General Ross, the British commander, was killed by sharpshooters on his advance toward Baltimore, the beginning was made for a British defeat. The repulse came before Fort McHenry, where Admiral Cochrane, with sixteen war-vessels, opened a bombardment of the fort. The guns of Fort McHenry failed to reach the fleet until some of the British vessels ran nearer. These were so fiercely received that they withdrew, suffering much damage. The American commander was Major Armistead, a German-Virginian, who held the fort with a garrison of one thousand men, and also defeated a British force of about the same number who landed to surprise the fort in the rear. The bombardment continued until midnight,[1] and next day the British withdrew. Baltimore, which so early in her history had been settled by Germans, was thus saved from the British by German-American commanders. Major George Armistead (also spelled Armistaedt or Armstädt) was born April 10, 1780, at New Market, Virginia, where

lutionary fame, and was born in Frederick, Maryland, in 1759. His mother's name was Springer (German). The son served as a cadet in Captain G. P. Keeport's company, in the German battalion, of which his father was lieutenant-colonel. The cadet was in the battles of Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, and others, and accompanied General Sullivan in his expedition against the Indians. In 1783 Captain Stricker came to Baltimore, associated himself in business with Commodore Barney, took a keen interest in the formation of the militia, and formed and trained one of the earliest commands in Baltimore. He was soon made brigadier-general and commander of the state troops. Cf. *Sixth Annual Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, pp. 47–48.

[1] It was during this night that Francis S. Key, while a prisoner on board a British ship, wrote the "Star Spangled Banner."

his ancestors had settled, coming originally from Hessen-Darmstadt. Five of his brothers served in the army during the War of 1812, three with the regulars and two with the militia. In 1813 George Armistead was promoted to the rank of major of the Third Artillery. He distinguished himself at the capture of Fort George (at the mouth of the Niagara River), and after his brilliant defense of Fort McHenry was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel.[1]

The Germans of Baltimore, in the War of 1812, put a full company of yägers into the field. The Pennsylvania Germans, as in the Revolution, again did their full share, several Pennsylvania-German families making distinguished war records. The Pennypacker war record is notable. During the Revolution this family had as its representatives in the Continental Army a captain, an ensign, a lieutenant, a corporal, and a private. In the War of 1812 it had two of its members in the field; in the Mexican War, three, one of whom, General Pennypacker, was a member of the staff of General Worth.[2] The an-

[1] One of his brothers, Walter Keith Armistead, born in 1785, was engineer and superintendent of the fortifications at Norfolk, Virginia, and was appointed director-general. The Armistead family is distinguished in Virginia history. The mother of President John Tyler was a daughter of Robert Armistead, whose grandfather had come from Hessen-Darmstadt. Schuricht, *History of the German Element in Virginia*, vol. ii, p. 22. From a letter of Mrs. Letitia Tyler Semple, addressed to the Honorable George G. Vest, U. S. Senator of Missouri, and dated Louisenheim, Washington, D. C., April 20, 1897, we learn the interesting fact that the Armstädts or Armisteads were relatives of four presidents of the United States. Mrs. Semple, the daughter of President Tyler, and during his term "first lady of the land," writes: "James Monroe, William Henry Harrison, John Tyler, and Benjamin Harrison are cousins, being related with the Armisteads and Tylers of Virginia."

[2] In the War of the Rebellion it furnished to the Northern army two major-generals, one adjutant, one colonel, one surgeon, one assistant surgeon, two captains, one lieutenant, five sergeants, eight corporals, one musician,

cestor of the family was Heinrich Pennypacker, who came to America from Germany before 1699 and settled on Skippack Creek. The Mühlenberg family, so distinguished through its founder and his sons, had no less than six representatives on the registers of the regular army during the nineteenth century. Frederick Hambright, a Pennsylvania German, was a major-general of militia in the War of 1812, and his brother George a colonel at the same time. The latter served also in the Mexican War and in the Rebellion. The same name occurs as that of an officer who was wounded in the battle of King's Mountain during the Revolutionary War. Colonel Hambright was in command of the North Carolina Germans, and though wounded in the battle continued fighting and helped to win the victory.

During the Indian wars of the nineteenth century German officers and enlisted men have always been numerous in the American armies. An authoritative statement[1] on this point is as follows: "From the beginning of our history it often proved difficult to get the best type of native American to go into the regular army save in time of war with a powerful enemy, for the low rate of pay was not attractive, while the disciplined subordination of the soldiers to their officers seemed irksome to people with an exaggerated idea of individual freedom and no proper conception of the value of obedience. Very many of the regular soldiers have always been of foreign birth; and in 1787, on the Ohio, the percentage of Irish and Germans in the ranks was probably fully as large as it was on the Great Plains a century later."

and sixty-five privates. It also furnished some officers and men to the Southern army. Cf. Rosengarten, p. 207.

[1] Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. iii, pp. 282–283.

The presentation of lists of German names found upon the rolls of our Indian campaigns would be uninteresting. It will suffice to give two examples of officers who sacrificed their lives in the Indian wars for the cause of American civilization. Julius F. Heilman, one of the early graduates of West Point, fell in Florida, in 1836. He had risen to the rank of major of the Second Artillery, and was the son of a surgeon in Riedesel's Hessian Brigade, which was captured with the army of Burgoyne. Few would detect in the name Custer the German Küster, though it is a fact that the ancestor of General George A. Custer, the great Indian fighter, was a Hessian soldier paroled in 1778 after Burgoyne's surrender. He settled in Pennsylvania and changed his name Küster to Custer, which was easier for his English neighbors to pronounce. Perhaps also he attempted thereby to remove the stigma attaching to a Hessian, so offensive then to American sensibilities. The father of General Custer, born in Maryland in 1806, later removed to Ohio. The son, born in 1839, was sent to West Point, graduated in 1861, served with distinction in the Civil War as captain on the staff of General McClellan, and was appointed brigadier-general for his gallantry in the battle of Aldie, in Virginia. General George A. Custer was especially distinguished as a leader of cavalry. At the battle of Gettysburg he won fame as the commander of the Michigan Brigade, and likewise made a glorious record at Winchester, Fisher's Hill, Cedar Creek, Waynesboro, Five Forks, and Dinwiddie Court House. Subsequently, as lieutenant-colonel of the Seventh Cavalry, he served under General Hancock in a series of campaigns against the Indians. On June 26, 1876, Custer, with two hundred regulars, was sent in search of a band of Sioux Indians that had

broken away from their Dakota reservation and were committing many depredations. Custer came suddenly upon the Indians, twenty-five hundred strong, commanded by their chief, Sitting Bull. It was in the Valley of the Little Big Horn. There was no chance to escape and a desperate battle ensued, in which Custer and his brave soldiers were massacred to the last man, making their enemies pay dearly, however, for their lives. A monument has been erected upon the site of the battle.[1]

The Mexican War

In the war with Mexico, 1846–47, the Germans were among the first volunteers. They submitted instantly to the authority of the government while the native element were still discussing the justice of the war. The German's innate respect for constituted authority allowed him to ask no questions, though he felt no sympathy for the slave party which would eventually become the gainer through the war. After the war was over, the Germans were again opponents of slavery. In St. Louis the first volunteers were Germans, and the German sections of Missouri, such as St. Charles and Hermann, sent a good percentage of their numbers. In Kentucky the first company for service was raised by a German. In New Orleans six hundred Germans volunteered. In Cincinnati the first regiment organized was German.[2] Many of the cavalry and artillery companies from Texas and Missouri were composed of German volunteers. Kentucky had a company of cavalry and a regiment of infantry that were German. The town of Belleville, Illinois, raised a German company under the command of J. C. Raith and Adolph

[1] *Encyclopædic Dictionary of American Reference*, vol. i, p. 198.
[2] Rosengarten, p. 266.

Engelmann. The German Virginian, James Lawson Kemper (governor of Virginia, 1873–78), was a captain of volunteers in the Mexican War. Louis A. Armistead (who later commanded a brigade in Pickett's Division at Gettysburg) distinguished himself in the Mexican War.

A number of Germans, trained abroad, served in the Mexican War, among them Captain Henry Koch, born in Bayreuth. In 1832 he arrived in America and established a colony of communists in Clayton County, Iowa. More noteworthy was General August V. Kautz, born in Baden in 1828. At the outbreak of the Mexican War, he enlisted in the First Iowa Regiment, and in reward for his services was appointed a lieutenant in the regular army. In the Civil War he was noted for his cavalry raids in southern Virginia, in 1864. Similarly Samuel P. Heintzelman (graduate of West Point) served as a captain in the Mexican War, which fitted him for greater achievements in the War of the Rebellion.[1]

The most dashing and imposing figure, however, among all the soldiers of German blood in the Mexican War was John A. Quitman. His brilliant career and commanding personality furnish a good example of how environment creates new types on the American soil. Few historians of American history have observed that General Quitman, subsequently governor of Mississippi, was the son of a Lutheran pastor, Dr. Quitman, who settled first in Schoharie and then for twenty-five years was the Lutheran minister at Rhinebeck-on-the-Hudson. There it was that his son John Anthony was born. The latter did not follow his father's profession, but became a teacher, then studied

[1] He held the rank of brigadier-general at Alexandria, Bull Run, Uniontown, Hamburg, and Fair Oaks, and in 1863 commanded the Northern Department. He was retired in 1864 with full rank of major-general, United States Army.

law, and thereupon migrated to Ohio. In 1821 he followed the current of enterprise toward the Southwest, settling down at Natchez, Mississippi. There he soon established an excellent law practice, married the daughter of a wealthy planter, and became a man of note. His personality harmonized with his surroundings. He was an eloquent speaker, an athlete of prodigious strength, and a capital shot. In a trial of skill he defeated John Hawkins, a crack marksman and owner of the famous rifle "Brown Bess." Hawkins, a veteran frontiersman, was ready to allow his opponent, Quitman, a handicap, but the latter refused it, and defeated the would-be champion on three separate trials. Hawkins was at first chagrined, but afterwards became a fast friend of Quitman.

The popular lawyer and planter entered politics and became president of the Mississippi state senate. In 1836, when Santa Anna led an army into Texas, Quitman, having organized a body of recruits, had a secret understanding with General Houston. He quietly crossed the Sabine River, but, on arriving at St. Augustine, found himself face to face with many of the gamblers, murderers, and the lawless element which, when commander of the state militia, he had banished from Natchez. One of the desperadoes drew a dagger on him while he was lying on his couch. But Quitman, who was only pretending to be asleep, "got the drop on him" with his pistol and the desperado withdrew, saying: "Captain, you are a brave comrade; I will be your friend." With this comradeship the trouble with the gamblers ceased. When Quitman's contingent arrived at the camp of General Houston, the battle of San Jacinto had just been fought, and the Mexican invasion was therewith ended. This expedition cost Major Quitman a private outlay of more than ten thou-

JOHN A. QUITMAN

sand dollars. On his return he was active in finance and politics. When the Mexican War broke out he was made a brigadier-general. He was in command of a brigade at Monterey, and was one of the most daring of the fighting generals under Taylor. With General Worth he shared the honors of the attack on Monterey. He was sent with the forces that went to support General Scott, and led the assault on Vera Cruz. He commanded at Alvarado, and stormed Chapultepec. The storming of the latter fort, which was well defended, was decidedly his victory. The subsequent attack on the Belen Gate before Mexico he carried out successfully in person. The evacuation of the city occurred at night; next morning General Quitman was the first to enter the Grand Plaza of the City of Mexico. The entry of the American army was not a dress-parade. The American troops were exhausted, tattered, and soiled. Many were wounded and but half-clothed. Quitman himself is said to have worn but one shoe, having lost the other.

General Scott appointed Quitman governor of the City of Mexico. The dashing soldier was very much dissatisfied with the terms of peace that were proposed on the American side. His plan would have been a permanent occupation, and the annexation of Mexico. He returned to Washington especially to advocate such a policy, and to demonstrate the ease of its accomplishment. In the Democratic Convention of 1846, held in Baltimore, Quitman was proposed as a candidate for vice-president of the United States, and in 1849 he was elected governor of Mississippi by a great majority. He served as governor from 1850 to 1851, and was elected to the United States Congress as a Democrat, in 1855, and continued to 1858, the year of his death. He was an ardent secessionist and

suggested the formation of a Southern Confederacy. His life, however, closed before he could witness the spreading of the flames that he had helped to kindle.[1]

The Civil War

That an important share was contributed by the German soldier in the great war which threatened to rupture the Union is commonly acknowledged, but the facts are not generally known. Exactly how large a part was taken by the men of German descent will never be ascertained, but an investigation made a few years after the war tells us, at least with some degree of accuracy, how large was the number of those born in Germany who enlisted as soldiers in the Civil War. The statistical work of B. A. Gould,[2] published for the United States Sanitary Commission in 1869, attempts the difficult problem of giving general summaries of the enlistments of soldiers according to their nativity. The results obtained, though not absolutely correct, are undoubtedly as near the truth as careful investigation can make them. The place of birth was not asked for in the early enlistments, being not put down until the organization of the provost-marshal-general's office. Out of the two and one half millions of men in the army, therefore, the nativity of only about one million, two hundred thousand could be ascertained by Dr. Gould from the records at the national and state capitals. About two hundred and ninety-three thousand more were obtained by written inquiries from regimental officers. The remaining numbers, whose nativity was not known, were

[1] Cf. Clayborne's *Life and Correspondence of General Quitman.* (New York, 1860.) Cf. also *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. vi, pp. 321 ff.

[2] *Investigations in the Military and Anthropological Statistics of American Soldiers.* By Benjamin Apthorp Gould, actuary to the United States Sanitary Commission. (New York, 1869.)

allotted in the proportion of the known enlistments. A count was also taken of reënlistments, which were very frequent after the first period of three months, or the next period of three years. Employing this method Dr. Gould obtained the following results[1] for each state: —

Nativities of United States Volunteers

Place of enlistment	Native Americans	English	Irish	Germans	Total number of different white soldiers
Maine	48,135	779	1,971	244	54,800
New Hampshire	19,759	1,147	2,699	952	27,800
Vermont	22,037	325	1,289	86	26,800
Massachusetts	79,560	2,306	10,007	1,876	105,500
R. I. and Conn.	37,190	2,234	7,657	2,919	54,900
New York	203,622	14,024	51,206	36,680	337,800
New Jersey	35,496	2,491	8,880	7,337	59,300
Pennsylvania	222,641	3,503	17,418	17,208	271,500
Delaware	8,306	127	582	621	10,000
Maryland	22,435	403	1,400	3,107	27,900
Dist. of Columbia	9,967	152	698	746	12,000
West Virginia	21,111	248	550	869	23,300
Kentucky	38,988	117	1,303	1,943	43,100
Ohio	219,949	2,619	8,129	20,102	259,900
Indiana	141,454	1,248	3,472	7,190	156,400
Illinois	168,983	5,953	12,041	18,140	216,900
Michigan	54,830	1,310	3,278	3,534	72,000
Wisconsin	47,972	3,703	3,621	15,709	79,500
Minnesota	11,977	614	1,140	2,715	20,000
Iowa	48,686	1,015	1,436	2,850	56,600
Missouri	46,676	761	4,362	30,899	85,400
Kansas	13,493	429	1,082	1,090	16,800
Grand Total	1,523,267	45,508	144,221	176,817	2,018,200

From the above table it appears that 176,817 Germans, i. e., men born in Germany, volunteered in the Civil War. This is a conservative estimate, since a large number of German-born undoubtedly belong to the seventy-five thousand foreigners whose nativity was unknown. Large numbers were also taken out, in Gould's estimate, for

[1] Gould, p. 27. For convenience the columns "British Americans," "Other Foreigners," and "Foreigners not otherwise designated," have been omitted from the table.

reënlistment; in Missouri, for instance, as many as ten thousand. The statement which is often made, that over two hundred thousand Germans served in the Northern armies, is not at all exaggerated. Were we to consider the number of soldiers of German blood fighting for the Union cause, the numbers would swell to perhaps three times that figure.[1]

In order to test the relative amount of service contributed by each nationality, in proportion to its population in the United States, Dr. Gould constructs another interesting table.[2] He takes the census of 1860 as a basis, and having given 2,018,200 as the total number of white soldiers in the Union armies, he estimates what should be the contribution for each stock, if men of every nativity had enlisted in the exact proportion of their population. The result is as follows: —

	Enlistment called for in proportion to population	Actual enlistment
Native Americans	1,660,068	1,523,267
British Americans	22,695	53,532
English	38,250	45,508
Irish	139,052	144,221
Germans	118,402	176,817
Other foreigners	39,455	48,410
Foreigners not otherwise designated	278	26,445
Grand Total	2,018,200	2,018,200

[1] The ratio of "persons of German parentage" (including those born in Germany and their descendants of the first generation, born in the United States) to "Native Germans," in 1900 was as 2.9 : 1. The ratio was probably not as large in 1860, because the German immigration was very large after that time. The ratio 2½ : 1 would be a conservative one, and applied above, would give the German element five hundred thousand volunteers in the Northern armies. This number would not include the descendants of Germans who came to the United States in the eighteenth century or before.

[2] Page 28, Table IV, "Distribution of United States Volunteers according to the Nativities of the Population in 1860."

This shows that the native American stock fell short of its due proportion, but Gould points out that the military population of foreign birth had increased through immigration about two hundred and thirty thousand during the five years of the war, making the contribution of the foreigners so much larger. The foreigners in every case show an increase over the number which would naturally be expected of them. A very interesting comparison can be made between the German and Irish volunteers. The Irish population of foreign birth at that time was larger than the population of German birth, but the enlistment of the Germans was nevertheless larger than that of the Irish. According to the estimate of Gould, there were

German Volunteers,	176,817
Irish Volunteers,	144,221

The Germans, if they had volunteered in the proportion of the average, would have furnished only 118,402 men, while the Irish would have had 139,052 men. The Irish, therefore, sent 5169 men in excess of the general average, while the Germans sent 58,415 men in excess of the general average. The Germans therefore in their proportionate share surpassed both the native and the Irish elements, outstripping the latter also in actual numbers, by 32,596 volunteers, although they were not as numerous as the Irish in the population of the United States at that time (1860). This fact is exceedingly interesting when we remember that the Irish have so frequently been called the better and more numerous fighters in the history of the United States. The same impression has erroneously gained ground in regard to the Irish (or Scotch-Irish) element on the frontier[1] of the United States in the eighteenth

[1] Cf. Chapter x, pp. 267 ff., and Chapter xii, pp. 366 ff.

and nineteenth centuries. The whole question receives new illumination from the statistics of Mr. Gould; they furnish the only positive evidence there is available giving a basis for comparison of the various national stocks as soldiers. The same statistics show that the English element, though in actual numbers their contribution was small, furnished 7258 in excess of their ratio, which is even a larger proportionate share of their own numbers than in the case of the Germans. The Germanic element, therefore, in its foreign element shows superiority over the Celtic in the amount of its service in the Civil War.

The argument is made, in Gould's chapter on the "Nativity of the United States Volunteers," that the foreigners furnished more bounty-jumpers than the native population. "In general the manufacturing states — as, for instance, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey — rank high in the column of desertion; and this result is to be attributed not only to the fact that such states are dotted with towns and cities, but the secondary fact that these towns and cities are crowded with foreigners."[1] Europeans were attracted by the large bounties, and after desertion would enlist again for another bounty. But it is by no means proved that Europeans did so alone, — in fact a "green" immigrant would as a general thing not have half as good a chance as a native. He would not be acquainted with the methods, and as far as the Germans were concerned, he would be handicapped by insufficient acquaintance with the language. The localities named as the places where most desertions occurred were not those from which the Germans volunteered in greatest numbers; in fact only one seventh of the German volunteers came from those East-

[1] Quoted by Gould from the words of General Fry, p. 29.

ern manufacturing states. Germans enlisted in greatest numbers in the Middle West, in the states of Missouri, Ohio, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana.

Some of the regiments which might be called the German regiments of the United States Army were the following :[1]

New York Regiments:

Dickel's Mounted Rifles, Fourth New York Cavalry.
Blenker's Battery, Second Battery, Light Artillery, New York.
Steuben Regiment, Seventh New York Infantry.
First German Rifles, Eighth New York Infantry.
United Turner Rifles, Twentieth New York Infantry.
First Astor Regiment, Twenty-ninth New York Infantry.
Fifth German Rifles, Forty-fifth New York Infantry.
Frémont Regiment, Forty-sixth New York Infantry.
Sigel Rifles, or German Rangers, Fifty-second New York Infantry.
Barney Rifles, or Schwarzes-Yäger Regiment, Fifty-fourth New York Infantry.
Steuben Rangers, Eighty-sixth New York Infantry.

Pennsylvania Regiments:

First German Regiment, Seventy-fourth Pennsylvania Infantry.
Second German Regiment, Seventy-fifth Pennsylvania Infantry.

Ohio Regiments:

First German Regiment, Twenty-eighth Ohio Infantry.
Second German Regiment, Thirty-seventh Ohio Infantry (Colonel Siber).
Third German Regiment, Sixty-seventh Ohio Infantry (Colonel Bürsten-binder).

Indiana Regiment:

First German Regiment, Thirty-second Indiana, commanded successively by Willich, Von Trebra, and Erdelmeyer.

[1] Cf. Rosengarten, pp. 201–203.

Illinois Regiment:
Hecker's Yäger Regiment, Twenty-fourth Illinois.

Wisconsin Regiments:
First German Regiment, Ninth Wisconsin.
Second German Regiment, Twenty-sixth Wisconsin.

The German volunteers in Pennsylvania were numerous from the very start.[1] For the three months' service, the following regiments were full of Germans:—

Fourth, with Hartranft as its colonel;
Eighth, from Lehigh and Northampton;
Ninth, under Pennypacker;
Tenth, from Lancaster;
Eleventh, from Northumberland;
Fourteenth, from Berks;
Fifteenth, from Luzerne;
Sixteenth, from York;
Eighteenth, from Philadelphia, under Wilhelm;
Twenty-first, under Ballier.

The regiments for three years' service, formed afterwards in Pennsylvania and New York, containing a large German element, are too numerous to mention.[2] The record of some of them will be referred to in succeeding pages.

In the treatment of a subject of such wide scope within limited space, it will be necessary to make a selection from a mass of material. A few moments of the war will therefore be chosen to illustrate the work of the German soldier for the Union cause. Such an epoch came at the very beginning of the war, when one of the border states had

[1] Cf. Rosengarten, pp. 203 ff. Refers to Bates' *History of the Pennsylvania Regiments, etc., in the Rebellion* (five volumes).

[2] An account in detail can be found in Rosengarten, pp. 204 ff.

not yet clearly taken its stand. The one in question was the largest of the border states, viz., Missouri. The strong German population of Missouri was not embarrassed by inherited ideas of a dutiful allegiance to the state of their residence, in preference to loyalty to the national government. They made their influence felt, and under the leadership of Blair took the initiative in saving Missouri for the Union. "The story of Missouri for the next [first] four months," says Rhodes, "is of a contest between Blair and Jackson — a contest of political management, of martial proceeding, and of battle. Blair showed great political ability, and assisted by Lyon, who had military talent and whose forces constantly increased, made steady progress. St. Louis was soon gained and the Union sentiment in the state grew rapidly. July 30, the convention, sitting at Jefferson City, the capital, deposed Governor Jackson, appointed Gamble, a Union man, in his stead, and in other ways brought the machinery of the state government to the support of the Union cause. Though this did not end the fight for Missouri, yet she was henceforward officially, as well as in dominant sentiment, on the side of the North."[1] The bitterness of the struggle in St. Louis, which ended in the victory of Blair and the taking of Camp Jackson, does not appear in the quotation given from the historian of the Civil War. An

[1] J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, vol. iii, pp. 393–394. Rhodes gives credit to the German population for their Union sentiments and for their "composing most of the regiments which were formed in defense of St. Louis." A detailed account of how great the service of the German recruits actually was is very rarely found in the histories of the Civil War. Rhodes refers to Carr's *Missouri*, to Snead, *The Fight for Missouri*; and Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, vol. iv, chap. xi. The last of these references (p. 206) states: "This minority [anti-slavery, in the city of St. Louis] was made up principally of its German residents and voters, numbering fully one half the total population of the city, which in 1860 was 160,000."

excellent account of that stirring epoch is given, by the pen of a contemporary and participant, in the pages of "Der deutsche Pionier." [1] The following account is based upon his recollections: —

Missouri was for the most part loyal to the Union, but her governor, C. F. Jackson, was Southern in his sympathies, and to him was due the struggle in Missouri before the majority could gain full control. At first a large part of the native population attempted to remain neutral between North and South, a position which some of the other border states also tried at first to maintain. When neutrality became impossible, the state seemed about to be torn apart, the Southern sympathizers threatening war. On the seventh of January two German militia companies were, for reasons insignificant, disarmed by Brigadier-General Frost. On the next evening the Minute Men, as the secessionist militia called themselves, held a public meeting, in which secession speeches were made. Friedrich Münch, of Warren County, was threatened with violence if he published any more Union articles. In St. Louis, Olshausen, editor of the "Westliche Post," also Börnstein and Bernays of the "Anzeiger des Westens," courageously continued voicing Union sentiments. A few days later a German military company was organized called the "Schwarzes-Jäger Corps." Every German faithful to the Union and minded to join the company was invited to assemble in the "Jagdverein." The corps was nicknamed "Black Guards" (with a double meaning), by the Minute Men, who nevertheless stood in great awe of it.

The state election of April 1 gave the victory to the

[1] Vols. xi and xii, 1879–1880, "Der Ausbruch des Bürgerkrieges in Missouri," von Friedrich Schnake.

enemies of the Union. This was a sign either of bad organization on the part of the Union men or of a loss of self-confidence, and promised that St. Louis would be apathetic enough to throw itself into the arms of Governor Jackson. The Minute Men made a list of prominent adherents of the Union cause, "rebels against the state," whom they wished to render harmless. Their plans, however, could not be carried out because of the initiative taken by Lyon, Blair, and the Germans.

Within the borders of St. Louis there was located a United States arsenal. The possession of it meant a definite advantage to either side. Without it the Union forces of the Northwest would be in want of arms at the beginning of the struggle, and if the Southern forces got possession of it they could quickly overrun Missouri and Illinois. Expecting the arsenal to fall into the hands of the South, Floyd, Secretary of War, had the arsenal stocked to overflowing. It was guarded for weeks by only three men, the expectation being that the Southerners would take possession. But a mistake was made in putting Nathaniel Lyon, of the Second Infantry, in command, who, on arriving, immediately recognized the importance of the place. Through Congressman Blair, he at once communicated with prominent Union men for their assistance. A German surgeon, Dr. A. Hammer, lived in a house northwest from the arsenal on an eminence above it. On his orders, a brewery wagon, laden with beer barrels, entered the arsenal, and drove out again, without attracting attention. Under a cover spread over the barrels there was a box of muskets with necessary ammunition. It was the first gift of the commandant of the arsenal to his Union friends. Dr. Hammer at once put the students of the Humboldt Institution under arms, and

day and night kept in his house a guard with which to fall upon the Minute Men if they attempted to attack the arsenal. But more important than that, Lyon communicated with the Black Guards, the Turner, and other German organizations, so as to be sure of their coöperation in case of necessity.[1] From the membership of the Turner societies there was organized the Union Guards, the section of riflemen (Schützen) being a very valuable factor. At the time of the election of Lincoln eighty-two native Americans left the Turners to join the Minute Men. The Turners recruited new members to fill the vacancies and then gave themselves effective military organization. On the sixth day of February a series of resolutions was passed by them, to the effect that they would never depart from their rights and duties as citizens of the United States, and that neither the legislative convention nor any other body, not even the majority of the people of the state of Missouri, had the right to wrest from them their citizen's rights, nor separate them from the Union. They resolved that, if the state of Missouri should secede, a provincial government should be erected for the county of St. Louis, which should remain faithful to the Union, and which should be defended by them with their property and their blood.

Three companies known as the Turner Battalion were put in readiness, and they were drilled by an officer of the United States Army, E. D. Larned, so that they might understand the American system of commands. The Turner Hall was put into a state of defense, the lower windows being nailed up and breastworks erected before the doors. Gollmer and Müller were in command at the Turnhalle. Both forces, the Turners and the Min-

[1] Cf. James Peckham, *General Nathaniel Lyon and Missouri, in 1861.*

ute Men, were apparently ready for combat. The latter, however, became inactive, in all probability owing to the strenuous preparations of the German forces.

Events on the outside soon brought about a clash. On Sunday, April 14, the day after the surrender of Fort Sumter, Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand volunteers for three months' service. The quota of Missouri was to be four thousand men. Governor Jackson replied to the President: "Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary in its object, inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with." Congressman Blair gathered the members of the Committee of Safety more closely about him. He advised the officers of the state militia to resign and be available for the volunteer service of the United States. The first officer to act upon the suggestion was Major Friedrich Schäfer.[1] A large number of others immediately followed his example. Several of the United States officers in high places, such as General William A. Harney, through long residence in St. Louis, had many friends among the leaders of the Secessionists. Such men therefore looked upon the rebel preparations with complacency. General Harney's dilatory policy permitted the formation of Camp Jackson, and nearly resulted disastrously for the Unionists.

The great object at stake for the present was still the United States Arsenal. On the twentieth of April the news came that Liberty, Missouri, with all its supplies, had fallen into the hands of state troops, which were used by the governor in the interests of secession. The news gave the Minute Men courage, and they marched out

[1] He was subsequently colonel in Börnstein's Second Missouri Regiment, reorganized as the Second Regiment, for three years' service. He also served under General Frémont, and later under General Rosecrans.

apparently for an attack. But they lost courage when the people assumed a threatening attitude. Mayor Taylor, although of Southern sympathies, had much to do with the checking of the enthusiasm of the Minute Men. He explained to them how well prepared the Black Guards and the terrible Turners were for resistance; that moreover they would not allow the arsenal to be taken without a desperate struggle. He himself was certain that such an undertaking would bring the horrors of bloodshed into the streets of St. Louis. The Minute Men, yielding, lost their last chance of overpowering the few defenders of the arsenal.

The Germans now clamored to be taken into the arsenal in order to defend it during this crisis, but Blair was not ready to take so bold a step. The Germans held a meeting, Finkelnburg presiding, which expressed its disapproval of the dilatory attitude of the men in power. The meeting was very stormy. Blair urged patience. Finkelnburg answered calmly but decisively that the refusal of the authorities to accept their offer to defend the arsenal would lead to the disorganization of the German Battalion. The meeting was adjourned until midnight, giving Blair a chance to consult Lyon at the arsenal. The Germans decided, in the mean time, to offer their services to the United States government, and to leave St. Louis at once in a body if their offer to defend the arsenal were not accepted. They did not wish to stand idly by while the government was being robbed, nor did they, unarmed, wish to be shot down in the streets without being able to defend themselves. About midnight Blair reëntered the Turnhalle, accompanied by Lieutenant Schofield of the United States Army. Blair said that he had brought the latter officer with him, so that the Turners might not be

delayed if they felt they must offer their services to the United States; but that he could not open the arsenal; moreover that all telegraphic communication with Washington was interrupted. Friedrich Schnake called attention to the line of communication still open through Baltimore, and moved that a committee of three be appointed to offer the services of the organized German troops to the United States through the governor of Illinois, as volunteers of Missouri. This motion was unanimously adopted without debate. The die was cast; the committee was named and the assembly adjourned.

Blair and Schofield, knowing that the departure of the German Turners would leave the city and arsenal in Confederate hands, and now being convinced of the determination of the Germans, had a short interview with Lyon and decided to admit the Turners into the arsenal. At four o'clock in the morning of the twenty-second of April, the doors of the arsenal were opened and the volunteers of Missouri entered. Lieutenant Sexton, between two and three o'clock in the morning, had gone to the Turnhalle and affixed his signature to about three hundred slips of paper which served as passes into the arsenal. The third company was the first to enter. The others came in later by twos and threes.

The news of the garrisoning of the arsenal spread like wildfire, and the fear was entertained that, because the Germans had taken possession, the native element would start an insurrection, but nothing was done, not even to prevent the rest of the German troops from entering. A number of regiments were now regularly formed; F. P. Blair was in command of the First, Börnstein (editor of the "Anzeiger d. Westens") of the Second, Franz Sigel of the Third, and Nicholas Schüttner of the Fourth regiment

of volunteers. Since the number of applications increased, Lyon decided to organize a fifth regiment, which elected K. E. Salomon as its colonel.[1] The five regiments were called Home Guards, and were to serve especially in defense of the citizens and their property. It was now possible to send thirty thousand muskets to Governor Yates for the state of Illinois, likewise ten thousand pounds of powder, under the protection of the First Regiment. Thus the Illinois regiments were armed and enabled to occupy northern Missouri and parts of Illinois.

On the third of May, under the direction of the government, and under the command of Brigadier-General Frost, the Secessionists, or, as they were pleased to call themselves, "State's troops," were assembled at the west end of Olive Street, St. Louis, in Lindell Grove. This was called Camp Jackson in honor of the governor. Frost announced to Lyon that his purpose was to drill the troops in the service of the state. The real object, however, was to prepare for driving out the Germans and taking possession of the arsenal. Lyon answered that he would fire upon all that should come within range. He informed those in command at Camp Jackson that he would not tolerate the camp's existence. In order to reconnoitre the ground he drove to Camp Jackson in the disguise of a woman, wearing a veil over his face, and inspected the enemy's works. J. J. Witzig, who followed in a buggy, executed the order to bring the Committee of Safety together for a conference at the arsenal.

On the same evening there arrived in St. Louis a Ger-

[1] He was the brother of Edward Salomon, the War Governor of Wisconsin. Another brother, Friedrich Salomon, organized the Ninth Wisconsin (German) Regiment and for distinguished service in the Southwest, against Generals Kirby Smith and Price, was made brigadier-general and brevet major-general.

man artillery company under a captain whose name was Jackson.[1] They had been sent on a fool's errand to the borders of Kansas, to guard against fancied attacks, — in reality to be out of the way. This company did not know the nature of Camp Jackson, but had been ordered thither. Had they done what was there demanded of them, the victory of the Union regiments would have been in doubt. They recognized, however, that a treasonable demand was made of them, and when the decisive moment came these German gunners folded their arms and refused absolutely to act against their adopted country. Proudly they marched as prisoners of war to the arsenal, and having arrived there they instantly joined the Lyon organization. By their determined stand they contributed very largely to the final victory.

After declaring General Frost and his followers enemies of the United States, Lyon marched his division to Camp Jackson and laid siege to the camp. An honorable surrender was granted them, and no bloodshed followed except that for which the mob was responsible. Near the camp Captain Blandowsky, a German Pole, was shot with a revolver, after which a volley was fired into the mob by the troops, who acted in self-defense. The Secessionists fell back, leaving fifteen dead and several wounded on the open field north of the camp. Two men of the Third Regiment were killed and several wounded. The Minute Men and the mob were in a fury about the "treason" of Lyon and Blair, and their allowing Americans to be taken prisoners by "long-eared Dutchmen and mercenary Hessians." Violence was threatened, but nothing serious oc-

[1] His real name was Jacquin, and he was born in 1821 near Metz, in Lotharingia, within the present boundaries of the German Empire. His father was a Frenchman who had served as an officer under Napoleon I. His mother was a German.

curred, in the face of the disciplined troops. A bloody Sunday was predicted for the next day, and the mayor, D. G. Taylor, issued proclamations closing saloons and urging all citizens to be in their homes after dark. Only one fatal occurrence was recorded, though all day rumors were afloat of an attack on the Turnhalle, and also of revenge to be taken by the Germans who had suffered in the mob's attack. Large numbers of the wealthier class of St. Louis fled from the city.

Among the Union military authorities there was a divergence as to policy. Lyon and Blair, on the one hand, wished to see energetic measures taken against the Secessionists, while, on the other, Harney and McKinstry favored a conciliatory policy. Blair kept his brother, Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-General in Washington, well informed as to all that was going on in Missouri. The cabinet officer urged upon President Lincoln the dismissal of General Harney. A trustworthy man was desired from St. Louis to explain the condition of affairs in the state. The choice fell upon the editor of the "Anzeiger des Westens," K. L. Bernays. He very ably represented to the government what the prevailing conditions were in Missouri, and enabled the President to act intelligently thereafter. The immediate object of the mission, the removal of Harney, had already been accomplished, however, for on May 20, the appointment of Lyon as brigadier-general arrived, accompanied by another order removing General Harney.

A proclamation followed, by Governor Jackson, amounting to an open declaration of war, and the Secessionists within the state were organized. To counteract the movement General Lyon authorized "Home Guard" regiments to be formed throughout the state, to protect the United

States government's interests. J. A. Eppstein, a German, formed the first company at Boonville, recruited mostly of Germans. In St. Charles County, Arnold Krekel took a leading part in the establishment of Home Guards and was made colonel.[1] Other German names which were prominent in Missouri in this early period of organization were: Carl Dänzer, Theo. Olshausen, Heinrich Börnstein (the last two, editors of St. Louis papers), Friedrich Münch, Dr. A. Hammer, Daniel Hertle, Dr. Rudolph Döhn, Dr. Rösch, Franz Sigel, and on the other side of the Mississippi, at Belleville, Illinois, Friedrich Hecker and Gustav Körner. Two of the ablest orators[2] were Carl Schurz (then located in Wisconsin) and Friedrich Hassaurek. Seward once remarked in a stirring address that Missouri would have to be Germanized in order to be won for the Union.[3]

The fact that there were so many Germans on the Union side all the more enraged the Secessionists in the native population. Many deeds of violence were done, and foreign settlers in the rural districts were bullied and often driven from house and home. The first battle between the Secessionists and the Home Guards occurred at Cole Camp, in Benton County, where thousands of

[1] Arnold Krekel was born in 1815, in the district of Düsseldorf, Prussia. He settled in Missouri with his parents in 1832, in the neighborhood of the Duden settlement. He studied law and very early became prominent. He was a member of the state's convention, and as president of that body signed the emancipation order, January 11, 1865, whereby slavery was abolished in Missouri. He was appointed by Lincoln United States Judge of the Western District of Missouri and associate judge of the Circuit Court to which Missouri belonged.

[2] The Douglas Democratic party also had a German orator in Christian Kribben, who, however, had a very inconsiderable following among the Germans.

[3] For a literary picture of the period see Winston Churchill's historical novel *The Crisis*, e. g., book II, chap. x ("Richter's Scar").

German families lived. The so-called "state's troops" surprised Captain Brühl's Company F, in a barn. The Secessionists had used a Union flag and were allowed to pass by the guards. The company was found sleeping, and the assailants killed twenty-five men in cold blood before Captain Brühl's men were able to stir. This act of murder seems to have been committed not without the knowledge of the governor, who was not far distant. The Benton County Home Guards rallied after their loss and gave battle, forcing the "state's troops" to make a rapid retreat. The Southern forces soon withdrew to the southwestern corner of the state of Missouri, and there, joined by troops from Texas and Arkansas, they proposed to conquer Missouri. Their original plan of capturing Missouri for the Confederacy, unassisted, had been foiled mainly by the loyal German element.

After the battle of Cole Camp, on June 19, Lyon, being delayed until July 3 completing his organization, General Sigel was sent to the southwest to watch or engage the enemy. He arrived in the neighborhood of Carthage early in July, and finding the enemy in large numbers, he attempted to defeat them before they could unite their forces. The battle of Carthage resulted, July 3. According to Sigel's report he had no more than eleven hundred men (opposed to the enemy's five thousand). The victory has been claimed by both sides. Sigel was unacquainted with the extent of the loss he had inflicted on the enemy and therefore retreated to Springfield, fearing an attack of cavalry, wherein the enemy was superior.

General Frémont arrived in St. Louis July 25, to take command. He was welcomed by the German population, and many of their representatives were placed on his staff.[1]

[1] The German writers believe that the appointment of German officers in

The mistake was made by Frémont of sending all available soldiers to Northern Missouri, where there were a few "state's troops," who made a great stir with a definite purpose. They wished to conceal the more important action which the Southern Missouri division was planning to initiate. Lyon and Sigel were left to their own resources, though they clamored for reinforcements. They were by no means blind to what was happening about them. The enemy had gathered together superior forces and was about to attack Springfield. Knowing that the enemy's army was much larger than his own, Lyon sought salvation in a surprise. The battle of Wilson Creek followed. The plan was that Lyon should advance upon the Confederates, in the hope of surprising them, and Sigel at the same time was to make a flanking movement. The plan was well executed by both divisions. The disparity in numbers, however, was too great, probably five thousand against twelve thousand. Sigel's division consisted largely of men who had volunteered for three months, and whose terms of enlistment had already closed.[1] The Federal loss was over twelve hundred; the Confederates lost almost as many in killed and wounded. If McDowell had pursued the defeated Union army he might have

high places always aroused ill feeling among the graduates of West Point and also among the large "Knownothing" element.

[1] According to one of their officers, Friedrich Schnake, they had not been treated fairly by Lyon and Blair. The latter acted in a high-handed manner with them, not allowing them to return to their recruiting place in order to enlist in the three years' service, but trying to hold them unlawfully. Lyon did not wish to make the necessary concessions and privileges which were given in the three years' service. The soldiers declared they would not be treated like dogs. In order to coerce them, threats of withdrawing rations were made. Almost all of these soldiers later reënlisted, Schnake among them, in the Twenty-third Missouri Volunteers. The soldiers were not lacking in patriotism or bravery, but had been treated without tact, and perhaps without humanity.

captured their baggage-train and taken Springfield. As it was, the exhaustion of his own army and scant ammunition kept him from following up the victory. In the succeeding months the importance was felt of gaining the southern area of Missouri for the Union. Frémont was soon relieved by Hunter. General Pope took command next, and cleared Southern as well as Northern Missouri of open and secret rebels. The winning of Missouri for the Union gave a better opportunity for the opening of the Mississippi, and set up a bulwark against the Confederate states of the Southwest. The moral effect of the victory was strengthening and inspiring for the Union cause.

Bearing in mind the necessity of confining this chapter to moderate limits, it will be impossible to trace the history of the numerous German regiments in the Union service. The history of a single division will serve as an illustration for all, — a regiment which has been highly praised, and also more severely censured than any of the others. In the well-known Eleventh Corps there were several German regiments that probably saw as much service as any body of men in the Union forces. The Eleventh Corps was not entirely German,[1] but it contained two divisions, those of Steinwehr and Schurz, which were altogether German. Most of the officers were Germans who had experienced military service abroad. Steinwehr was descended from a family of soldiers.[2] He had taken part in the Mexican War in an Alabama volunteer regiment. At the outbreak of the Civil War he recruited a regiment of

[1] At the battle of Chancellorsville, the Eleventh Corps consisted of nearly thirteen thousand men and only forty-five hundred were Germans. Cf. Dodge, *The Campaign of Chancellorsville*, p. 100.

[2] He was born in 1822, at Blankenburg, Duchy of Brunswick.

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INDIANAPOLIS MONUMENT TO CIVIL WAR HEROES

volunteers in New York. His regiment of 872 men arrived in Washington June 27, 1861, and was made a part of the brigade of Blenker.[1] It consisted of the regiments of Stahel (Eighth New York), Von Steinwehr (Twenty-ninth New York), D'Utassy (Thirty-ninth New York), and Emstein (Twenty-seventh Pennsylvania). At the battle of Bull Run the German regiments alone held their ground at the stone bridge and slope west of Centerville. They shared with Richardson's brigade the honor of proving themselves capable soldiers, when others passed by them panic-stricken.[2]

Most of these regiments were found again in the Eleventh Corps, where they met most varied fortunes. At the battle of Chancellorsville, in 1863, the corps well-nigh lost its reputation. It was roundly blamed for the defeat of the Union army, and nativistic prejudices throughout the country gloated and secretly rejoiced over the ill fortune that befell the foreign regiment. The calmer judgment of later historians has placed the blame entirely upon the general in command, General Hooker, whose eccentric manœuvres and startling blunders brought defeat to his numerous army. He was pitted against the two greatest of the Southern generals in conjunction, Lee and Jackson. Instead of waiting in his secure position for an

[1] Ludwig Blenker was born in 1812 at Worms. In 1848 he was colonel of the militia of his native state, and in 1849 he was one of the leaders of the revolutionary party, and actively engaged in the campaigns of the revolution, in Hessen and Baden. After the suppression of the revolution he came to America. In April, 1861, he recruited the Eighth New York Volunteer Regiment and brought it to Washington. Their camp in front of Washington grew in numbers to a brigade, then to a division, and might have become a full army corps. It was through Blenker's demand to organize and lead it that McClellan was obliged to administer a reproof which led finally to Blenker's resignation from active service. Rosengarten, p. 192.

[2] Kettell, *Complete History of the Great American Rebellion*, vol. i, p. 172.

attack, Hooker advanced for a flanking movement around Lee's army. Lee and Jackson at the same time planned a flanking movement around Hooker's right. Jackson, with thirty thousand men, started on a march, which took him halfway around the Union army. His design was to attack and surprise the Eleventh Corps under General Howard. Jackson's column was seen by the Union forces, but its movement was misunderstood by Hooker and Howard, who thought that Jackson was retiring before the Union forces, superior in numbers. Even the capture of some rebels, who declared that Jackson was bent on fighting, not retreating, failed to convince the commanding general. Neither would Howard be convinced. Carl Schurz, who commanded a division in the Eleventh Corps, urged upon Howard that the facts pointed unmistakably to an attack from the west upon their right and rear. He advised a change of front in order to be prepared for it. But Howard would issue no such command, although Schurz on his own responsibility did change the position of two of his regiments, seeing the danger imminent. The Eleventh Corps had been further weakened by the detachment of a brigade, on an order from headquarters, for the support of Sickles.[1]

At three o'clock in the afternoon, after a march of fifteen miles, Jackson reached a point west of the Union army, directly opposite the position occupied by General Lee. His troops were quickly ready, and soon after five he gave the order to advance. The Eleventh Corps was not prepared; some of the men were getting their supper ready, others were resting, or amusing themselves with cards. The forest in front of them was just thick enough

[1] The above statements are taken from J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, vol. iv, p. 261.

to screen the approaching enemy, but not to impede their progress. The warning came from the wild rush of deer and rabbits driven from their hiding-places by the quick step of the Confederates through the woods.

Twenty-six thousand of Jackson's men, "the best infantry in existence, as tough, hardy, and full of spirit as they are ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-looking," surprised less than half their number. The officers and men of the Eleventh Corps in the main did well. What can be expected of new troops taken by surprise and attacked in front, flank, and rear at once?[1]

Devens's division was one of the first to yield, and thereby confused Schurz's men. Some of Schurz's regiments stood firm, others fell back, but nowhere could a line stand long against the terrible onset. No organization was left in the Eleventh Corps, with the exception of one brigade of Steinwehr's division.[2]

Buschbeck has been speedily forming by a change of front before Devens and Schurz have left the field. Dilger's battery trains some of its guns down the road. The reserve artillery is already in position at the north of this line, and issues spherical case with rapidity. Howard and his staff are in the thickest of the fray, endeavoring to stem the tide. As well oppose resistance to an avalanche. Buschbeck's line stubbornly holds on. An occasional squad, still clinging to the colors of its regiment, joins itself to him, ashamed of falling thus disgracefully to the rear. Officers making frantic exertions to rally their men; useless effort.[3]

The conclusion which Colonel Dodge reaches, in regard to the service of the corps, is as follows: —

All reliable authorities put the time of the attack at six P. M. When the last gun was fired by the Buschbeck rifle-pits, it was

[1] Rhodes, vol. iv, pp. 261–262.

[2] T. A. Dodge, *The Campaign of Chancellorsville*, pp. 94 ff. (Boston, 1881.)

[3] Dodge, pp. 94–95.

dusk, at that season about quarter-past seven. It seems reasonably settled therefore that the corps retarded the Confederate advance for about a mile of ground for exceeding an hour. How much more can be expected of ten thousand raw troops telescoped by twenty-five thousand veterans?[1]

Carl Schurz has given a report of the attack on the Eleventh Corps which has been commonly praised for its frankness and accuracy, and which at the same time defends the German soldier against the injustice showered upon him by the partisan press of that day.

Even if the charge of panic and failure of spirit on this one occasion were justified, as it is not, the same corps gave abundant proof of its sterner fibre on succeeding battlefields. The most noteworthy instance of all occurred in the battle of Lookout Mountain. General Thomas remarked, in congratulating Hooker on his victory at Lookout Mountain, that "the bayonet charge of Howard's troops, made up the side of a steep and difficult hill over two hundred feet high, completely routing and driving the enemy from its barracks on its top, will rank with the most distinguished feats of arms of this war."[2]

The attack by Jackson's and Lee's forces at Chancellorsville was renewed next day and ended in the total defeat of Hooker's army. The Confederate loss, however, was greater than the defeat which the Union cause sustained, because of the death of Stonewall Jackson, probably the ablest lieutenant of the war. The victory at Chancellorsville meant a great deal to the Confederate army, and encouraged General Lee to carry the war into the enemy's country. The invasion of Pennsylvania fol-

[1] Dodge, p. 96.

[2] Dodge, p. 104. The author adds, "And it is asserted that this encomium was well earned and that no portion of it need be set down to encouragement."

lowed. Fate had in store for the Eleventh Corps another reverse against superior numbers, in which, however, their determined stand against the victorious enemy was of vital importance for the final outcome. It was on the first day of the great battle of Gettysburg, where in the end the seemingly invincible army of Lee was doomed to meet its first defeat.

The First and Eleventh corps came upon the van of General Lee's forces under A. P. Hill. General Reynolds, in command of the First Corps, attacked the Confederates fiercely, but the latter developed such numbers that Reynolds's men were repulsed and the brave general himself killed. General O. O. Howard became the senior officer on the field, and obeying General Reynolds's instructions, hastened his Eleventh Corps to the field of action. The Union troops were hard-pressed, and it is said the death of General Reynolds caused much confusion as to who was properly in command.[1] The two great points of achievement in the first day's battle on the Union side were, first, the holding back of the enemy long enough for the Federal forces to concentrate at Gettysburg, and secondly, the selection of advantageous ground for defense. The former duty fell to the lot of the First and Eleventh corps, which did as well as could be expected against superior numbers. After the death of Reynolds, the larger share fell to the Eleventh Corps, which was fresher, and then under the command of Carl Schurz. Upon the arrival of Ewell and after a severe engagement, the Federals were driven back through the town of Gettys-

[1] Buford's opinion was that "there seemed to be no directing person. All was confusion and looked like disaster when Hancock arrived on the field. On hearing that Reynolds was killed, Meade, with his excellent judgment of the right man for the place, sent Hancock to take the command." Rhodes, vol. iv, p. 283.

burg with heavy loss, but were not pursued, Hill and Ewell waiting for Longstreet. The check to the enemy's advance was well worth all the losses which the Eleventh Corps sustained. Shattered, well-nigh annihilated, its purpose, of giving the rest of the army time to concentrate, was served. The famous fish-hook position was selected, formed by Culp's Hill, Cemetery Ridge, and Round Top. The credit for the choice has been variously assigned to Hancock and Howard. Perhaps Reynolds gauged its value as he hurried through the town to stem the approaching tide.[1] Hancock, arriving on the battlefield in the afternoon, gave the command to fortify Culp's Hill, to the right of the position taken by Steinwehr's brigade and what was left of the Eleventh Corps. Howard claims to have selected the position of Cemetery Ridge himself, as a nucleus for the Eleventh Corps, in case they were forced to retreat. In his own words:[2]

> I then rode slowly to the position Meizenburg and I had agreed upon as a good one, near the cemetery gate, where very soon I met General Carl Schurz in person, who had hastened on to see me; and I instructed him as soon as the troops should arrive to place his reserve batteries and Steinwehr's division in support on those heights and to send his other two divisions, Barlow's and his own, now Schimmelpfennig's, to the right of Doubleday's corps, as relief.

He refers to the position mainly on Cemetery Ridge occupied by Steinwehr. This does not affect the credit given Hancock for developing the entire position for the Union army, nor for his making a display of his forces on the ridges, thereby deceiving Lee as to his strength and pre-

[1] Cf. T. A. Dodge, *A Bird's-Eye View of Our Civil War*, p. 137.

[2] O. O. Howard, *Campaign and Battle of Gettysburg*, *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1876, p. 54.

venting an attack that day. It has been claimed for General Steinwehr[1] that he called General Howard's attention to the high ground on Cemetery Ridge, and advised intrenching, instead of advancing against the enemy, as Reynolds had done.[2] General Howard says of Steinwehr's services:[3]

I must speak of General Steinwehr. He came upon the field with a hearty spirit, ready to do his part. During the retreat he kept his men steadily in position on Cemetery Ridge as a nucleus, on which the line of battle, probably the most important in the annals of our war, was formed.

It is claimed[4] for Steinwehr that his tenacious hold on his ground was executed in opposition to his superiors. At one time General Schurz's division was hard-pressed, and the latter implored aid of his superior, General Howard, who was ready to send the only brigade that was left, viz., that of Steinwehr. The latter, reasoning that his own brigade would meet the same fate as the rest of the corps, and that by remaining in his position he could save them from a rout, referred the matter to General

[1] General Adolph von Steinwehr was born in 1822, at Blankenburg, in the Duchy of Brunswick, Germany. He was of a family of soldiers. After coming to America he took part in the Mexican War in an Alabama volunteer regiment. At the outbreak of the Civil War he recruited a German regiment of volunteers in New York. He rendered distinguished service at the battles of Bull Run, Chancellorsville, Chattanooga, and elsewhere. He commanded the Second Division of the Eleventh Corps. In the Shenandoah Valley he adopted stringent methods against bushwhackers, taking hostages as security against them. The Confederate government declared that if captured he had lost the right to parole. After the war he prepared maps of the United States for *Stieler's Atlas* and the *Centennial Gazetteer of the United States*, in 1876. Yale College distinguished him with an honorary degree.

[2] Cf. *New York Herald:* "It was Steinwehr's *coup d'œil*, which first recognized the importance of this hill." The date, February 27, 1877, given for this quotation by *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ix, p. 99, the writer found to be incorrect. He has not yet been able to find the correct date.

[3] O. O. Howard, p. 60.

[4] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ix, p. 103.

Hancock, who had just arrived on the field, and who then ordered Steinwehr to remain.

After the retreat of the forces of the First and Eleventh corps through the town of Gettysburg, they were formed as follows: —

Wadsworth's division of the First Corps stayed and fortified Culp's Hill, where Hancock placed it. Ames's division of the Eleventh Corps carried on the line to the steep part of Cemetery Ridge, facing northwards. Then came Schurz's and Steinwehr's divisions behind the famous stone wall and the apple orchard near town. Doubleday's and Robinson's divisions, First Corps, were next, etc.[1]

There was a night engagement on the Cemetery Ridge, which General Howard describes as follows: —

When we supposed we should have rest for the night, some troops in our front, said to be the "Louisiana Tigers," sprang from their cover on the steep hill on the north end of Cemetery Ridge, broke through Ames's division, and in three minutes were upon our batteries, Wiedrick's and others, almost without firing a shot. General Schurz by my order sent a portion of the brigade under Colonel Krizanowski [composed of Germans] to the battery's immediate relief; the artillerymen left their guns, and used sponge-staffs, handspikes, or anything they could lay hold of, to beat back the enemy, and as soon as help came the batteries were cleared. Schurz also sent a brigade further to the right to help General Greene, who requested reinforcements — Generals Steinwehr and Newton immediately filled any gaps made on my left by sudden withdrawals.[2]

Thinking that he had secured a strong foothold on the Federal lines, General Lee on the third day ordered the famous attack on the centre of the Union forces, known as "Pickett's Charge." The Second Corps stood the brunt of that tremendous onslaught. General Hancock was in com-

[1] O. O. Howard, *supra*, pp. 61–62. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

mand, "the best tactician of the Army of the Potomac," possessed of the same courage as Pickett, and an inspiration to his men.

In the last assault, Armistead, a brigade commander, pressed forward, leaped the stone wall, waved his sword with his hat on it, shouted, "Give them the cold steel, boys," and laid his hands upon a gun. A hundred of his men had followed. They planted the Confederate battle-flags on Cemetery Ridge among the cannon they had captured, and for the moment held. Armistead was shot down; Garnett and Kemper, Pickett's other brigadiers, fell. The wavering divisions of Hill's corps seemed appalled, broke their ranks, and fell back.[1]

The historian of the Civil War, J. F. Rhodes, exclaims after his description of the battle, "Decry war as we may and ought, 'breathes there the man with soul so dead' who would not thrill with emotion to claim for his countrymen the men who made that charge and the men who met it?"[2]

In the Second Corps, commanded by Hancock, there were a number of Pennsylvania regiments, in which the representation of Germans by descent, native in this country, was very large; e. g., the Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania, with Lieutenant-Colonel M. Tschudy (German Swiss name), who was killed in the battle; also the Seventy-first and Seventy-second Pennsylvania regiments, the latter with Lieutenant-Colonel Hesser (a German name). These regiments belonged to the Second Division, which, with the Third Division, bore the brunt of the attack. In the Third Division, First Brigade, there were several Ohio regiments which also contained many representatives

[1] "The Federals swarmed around Pickett," writes Longstreet, "attacked on all sides, involving and breaking up his command." Rhodes, p. 289.

[2] Rhodes, p. 290.

of Germans by descent. The Fourth Ohio, with Colonel L. W. Carpenter (perhaps the family Zimmermann, who hailed from Virginia); also the Eighth Ohio, and the Fourteenth Indiana, commanded by Colonel John Coons (a typical Pennsylvania-German name); also the Seventh West Virginia, commanded by Colonel Snyder (a Dutch name which appears frequently among the German settlers of West Virginia). The defense on Cemetery Ridge was carried on mainly by the divisions of Steinwehr and Schurz.

But as the historian Rhodes has pointed out, the glory of the defense was not one whit greater than that of the attack by the Confederate regiments, and it ought ever to fill the hearts of German-Americans with pride to know that two of the ablest of Pickett's generals were of German blood. They were the two mentioned in the quotation above as entering the lines on Cemetery Ridge, the one, General L. A. Armistead, losing his life, and the other, General Kemper, being severely wounded. Armistead had already proved his temper in the Mexican War, for at the storming of Chapultepec he was "the first to leap into the Great Ditch." His record in the Civil War had been extraordinary; at Seven Pines and at Malvern Hill he proved himself the bravest of the brave. He had also served in the Indian War in Florida, under his father, General W. K. Armistead.[1] General James L. Kemper was commander of the Third Brigade of Pickett's Division, was likewise a veteran of the Mexican War, and then served

[1] Brigadier-General Louis A. Armistead was born in Newbern, North Carolina, February 18, 1817. The family was distinguished for its military service, and was German. A member of the family, George Armistead, has already been named as the defender of Baltimore against the British fleet in 1814. Cf. Schuricht, *History of the German Element in Virginia*, vol. ii, p. 81, etc. The name was originally Armstädt.

with distinction in the Confederate army; notably at the battles of Manassas, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Marye's Heights. He was carried off severely wounded after the great charge at Gettysburg, but recovered and was placed in command later of the forces at Richmond. He was governor of Virginia from 1873–1878.[1]

The deeds of the Eleventh Corps do not shine as brilliantly at Gettysburg as those of the Second Corps who resisted the great attack of the third day. Their usefulness, however, was quite as great. In the words of General Howard: —

> The First and Eleventh corps and Buford's small division of cavalry did wonders; held the vast army of Lee in check a day; took up a strong position; fought themselves into it, and kept it for the approaching Army of the Potomac to occupy with them, so as to meet the foe with better prospects of victory. General Lee saw our position, was deceived as to our numbers, and therefore waited for the remainder of his army before reattacking; but the battle cost them many valuable lives.[2]

The day was still to come when the Eleventh Corps was to be favored by fortune, when its fighting powers were also to receive the popular applause. The latter, indeed, was a fickle thing to reckon with, for not only were foreign soldiers and generals roundly abused in the newspapers, but everybody alike was exposed to similar impatient criticism during the war. The public in the South were at times as severe critics as in the North, and even General Lee did not escape censure. That notable commander, on taking leave of his veterans at Appomattox,

[1] General Kemper was descended from one of the oldest German settlers in Virginia, who settled at Germanna under the auspices of Governor Spotswood, in 1714. Cf. Schuricht, vol. i, p. 67; also the *Virginia Magazine*, vol. ix. Cf. also Chapter VII, above.

[2] O. O. Howard, *supra*, p. 60. It is frequently surmised that had Lee attacked on the first day, he could have carried the Union position, but he was not aware of the fact that the ridges were not strongly fortified.

said, "I have done the best I could do for you." It was often so with the regiments who tried their best, but were ill favored by fortune. If they fought long enough, as did the Eleventh Corps, their lucky day was bound to come.

Howard's corps, consisting of the two divisions of Schurz and Steinwehr, was joined to the Army of the Cumberland and destined to aid very materially in the glorious campaigns about Chattanooga. The Eleventh and Twelfth corps being joined together, now named the Twentieth, were placed under the command of the able General Thomas, and became one of the most notable sections of the Federal army. Lookout Mountain reëstablished the good name of General Hooker, who had once caused the disgrace of the Eleventh Corps. In the "Battle above the Clouds," as it is frequently called, Hooker's troops captured every one of the enemy's positions. It was the lucky day for the German soldiers. Probably the most conspicuous of the assaults was the bayonet charge of Howard's troops, consisting of Steinwehr's and Schurz's divisions. As above mentioned, it was made up the side of a steep and difficult hill, — according to the description of General Thomas, an ascent over two hundred feet high, — and the enemy were completely routed and driven from their barracks at the top.[1]

The most remarkable achievement in the campaign about Chattanooga, and one that stands out among all the glorious deeds of the war, was the storming of Missionary Ridge. General Grant had commanded the troops to move forward and drive the enemy from the rifle-pits at the base of the ridge, and there intrench before going further. On arriving there and dislodging the enemy,

[1] General Thomas says this will rank among the most distinguished feats of arms of the war. *Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1876, p. 210.

they encountered a terrible volley of grape and canister from nearly thirty pieces of artillery on the summit of the ridge. Spontaneously, and with a desire to balance up past defeats, and a certain jealousy for the glory, the Army of the Cumberland, as if by a sudden impulse, moved upward, following the defeated enemy and arriving at the second line almost as soon as the fleeing Confederates. On and on they continued to the crest of the hill, never wavering until the enemy was completely routed. General Grant observed the movement with admiration and amazement, as it was performed without orders. This gallant advance has been compared with Pickett's charge at Gettysburg, but the results were different for the attacking party. The latter numbered about thirty thousand effective men, in the divisions of Baird, T. J. Wood, Sheridan, and Johnson. Examining the roster of the divisions engaged, we find a number of German regiments among them; e.g., in Sheridan's division, General G. D. Wagner's brigade, consisting of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio regiments. In Wood's division there was the brigade of General Willich,[1] containing Illinois,

[1] General August Willich was of a Prussian family, born in the province of Posen, Prussia, in 1810. His father was a captain of hussars, and the son, though he departed from the traditions of the family in politics, did not in the choice of his profession. He joined the revolutionists in Baden in 1848, and was there with Hecker and Sigel. During the Civil War he first joined a German regiment in Cincinnati, later was made captain of the Thirty-second Indiana Regiment (also called the First German). He distinguished himself under General Buell in Kentucky; also in the battle of Shiloh, where he was instrumental in the rescue of Grant's army. For his decisive bayonet attack he was made a brigadier-general. He served under Rosecrans, and in one of the aggressive movements was taken prisoner, but was exchanged after four months. He took prominent part in the battles of Liberty Gap (cf. *Records of the Rebellion*, vol. vii, Doc. p. 409) and Chickamauga, and after the taking of Missionary Ridge was sent to Texas. It is interesting to know that Willich in 1870 offered his services to the King of

Indiana, Kansas, Ohio, and Wisconsin regiments. A very large portion of his brigade was made up of German soldiers; e. g., the Thirty-second Indiana, Forty-ninth Ohio,[1] and Fifteenth Wisconsin. General Willich and his brigade took active part in the storming of Missionary Ridge.

It is impossible to take account of any considerable number of the German regiments in the Civil War. They appeared in most of the army corps, and it is safe to say in every battle from 1861 to 1865. Just as much will it be impossible to give a complete record of the deeds of the German officers during the war. A very interesting group, which should not be omitted, were the refugees who had served as officers in the German revolution of 1848. Some of them have already been mentioned, such as Sigel, Hecker, Blenker, Engelmann, Willich, and last but not least, Carl Schurz. Of these, Sigel probably became most prominent as a commander in the Civil War. He and Hecker had been the two leading military figures in the South German uprising in 1848–49. Hecker had proclaimed the republic. Sigel, Blenker, and Hecker controlled the military movements until the revolutionists were scattered to the four winds, on the approach of the Prussian army. Their experience in actual campaigning stood them in good stead when the Civil War broke out. Sigel's services were invaluable in Missouri. Though he was less successful in the Shenandoah

Prussia, though he was once a "forty-eighter." His offer was appreciated, but declined with thanks. When sixty years of age he matriculated as a student of philosophy in the University of Berlin. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ix, pp. 439 ff., 488 ff.

[1] The Ninth Ohio (the First German) also took part in this battle as well as in the entire campaign of the Army of the Cumberland, 1863–64. This regiment consisted very largely of German soldiers. Cf. *Die Neuner. Eine Schilderung der Kriegsjahre des 9ten Regiment Ohio Vol. Infanterie, 1861–1864. Mit einer Einleitung v. Oberst Gustav Tafel.* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1897.)

Valley, still he did as well as any other general except Sheridan. Hecker, concerning whom General Howard says, "Colonel Hecker, whose name I never mention without a feeling of respect for his uniform loyalty and courage," might have stood out more brilliantly if he had not been severely wounded in the battle of Chancellorsville. Though wounded and not young (born in 1811), he continued as the commander of the Eighty-second Illinois Regiment during the campaign of Chattanooga under General Grant, after which he retired. He returned to his farm and remained an imposing figure, a fine type of soldier and country gentleman.

A. A. Engelmann, who came to America at the age of nine years, with his father, served in the Mexican War, and when the Revolution of 1848 broke out sailed for Germany to take part in the cause of liberty. He returned, after the failure of the revolutionary party, to Belleville, Illinois. In the Civil War he became the colonel of the Forty-third Illinois Regiment, after his predecessor, J. C. Raith, had fallen in the battle of Shiloh. The regiment had been organized by Gustav Körner, subsequently lieutenant-governor of Illinois, one of the most influential Germans in the state, and an ardent supporter of the Union cause.

Besides those already mentioned there were a very large number of other German officers in the Northern army during the Civil War, whose previous training in the German army was of great service to the Federal cause. Their experience and example were of particular importance in the early stages of the war, when it was necessary to create a disciplined army out of raw material, and prove to the native American volunteers the necessity of strict adherence to military routine. Some of the German officers were soldiers

self at South Mountain, Petersburg, and Richmond. He was appointed colonel of the Second Ohio Cavalry, chief of cavalry of the Twenty-third Corps, and was brevetted major-general in both the volunteer and regular service. He was noted for his cavalry raids in Southern Virginia during the year 1864.[1] General George A. Custer was an even more popular figure, a fearless, dashing cavalry leader, who loved the thickest of the fight. He distinguished himself as commander of his famous Michigan brigade at Gettysburg. He also won fame in the Shenandoah Valley as Sheridan's right-hand man. An account of the battles of Winchester, Fisher's Hill, Cedar Creek, Waynesboro, Five Forks, and Dinwiddie Court House is impossible without a narrative of his deeds of valor.[2] On the Confederate side there was likewise a distinguished cavalry leader in Von Borcke, a former Prussian officer and chief of staff of General J. E. B. Stuart, commander of the Confederate cavalry. Heros Von Borcke is described as a jovial, impulsive, warm-hearted man, just such as would win the hearts of the Southern soldiers. General Stuart commends him frequently as a thorough soldier and splendid officer.[3]

The artillery service needs special training, hence foreigners of experience were much sought after in this department of the service. Probably the most prominent of the German artillery officers was Hugo Dilger, familiarly known by the war correspondents as "Leather-breeches." He commanded an independent Ohio battery, and there-

[1] Kautz is also the author of some excellent works on subjects of military science. Cf. Rosengarten, p. 171.

[2] For Custer's birth, descent, and later career, compare above, pp. 517–518.

[3] *War Department of the Confederacy Records.* Cf. Rosengarten, p. 179, etc. Cf. also the book *Ein Reis vom alten Stamm.*

fore never obtained a higher rank than that of captain, but no foreign officer performed more brilliant service or was longer in the fight. His battery at Chancellorsville, in Buschbeck's brigade, impeded the victorious Stonewall Jackson for probably an hour.[1] Wherever the Eleventh Corps went, Dilger's guns played a prominent part.[2]

The name of Mordecai is intimately associated with the history of ordnance in this country. Alfred Mordecai was chief of ordnance, Army of the James, May to September, 1864, and subsequently in the Army of the Tennessee, and of the Cumberland, till July 4, 1865. He was a graduate of West Point in 1861, and was the son of Major A. Mordecai, of the class of 1823, who made a brilliant military record. Father and son both contributed to the science of ordnance by their investigations, their inventions, and publications.[3]

The first officer of the regular army killed in the war was Lieutenant John T. Greble, of the Second Artillery. He was a graduate of West Point, German by descent (his great-grandfather having been a native of Saxe-Gotha), born in Philadelphia, and he was killed in action at Big Bethel, Virginia, in June, 1861. His death resulted from his self-sacrifice for the lives of a company of soldiers imperiled by an overwhelming force.[4]

Foreign engineers were also much in demand in the

[1] Cf. Dodge, *The Campaign of Chancellorsville*, p. 94, etc.

[2] Captain Dilger had resigned a lieutenancy in the Baden Mounted Artillery, to take part in the Civil War. After its close he became a farmer in the Shenandoah Valley. Cf. Rosengarten, p. 284.

[3] Cf. Rosengarten, pp. 171–172. Major A. Mordecai was sent with General McClellan and General Delafield to the Crimea during the Russian War of 1854. His grandfather was a German.

[4] His son, Lieutenant E. S. Greble, graduated from West Point in the class of 1881, and served in the Second United States Artillery. Cf. Rosengarten, p. 174.

Federal service, and among them we meet large numbers of German names. There was William Heine, born in Dresden, in 1827, and a member of Perry's expedition to Japan. After the outbreak of the Civil War he entered the Union army as a captain of engineers and advanced to the rank of brigadier in March, 1865. General Godfrey Weitzel, a native of Germany, graduated at West Point in 1855. He planned the capture of New Orleans in 1862, commanded a division at Port Hudson and in the Lafourche campaign. He superintended the construction of defenses at Bermuda Hundred, James River, and Deep Bottom. He commanded a corps at Fort Harrison in 1864, and was second in command at Fort Fisher. He led a division under Grant in the final conquest of Richmond, and commanded all the forces north of the Potomac after March, 1865.[1] After the war he was frequently employed in his profession of engineer. Another example of an engineer of German descent was General Herman Haupt, born in Philadelphia, and graduated at West Point in 1835. During the war his services were of great value in the field and subsequently he was a pioneer in railroad building across the continent.[2] Count Zeppelin,[3] the German inventor of the dirigible air-ship, which promises to revolutionize modern methods of warfare and transportation, served as

[1] Cf. *Encyclopædic Dictionary of American Reference*, vol. ii, p. 360, and Rosengarten, p. 175. Rhodes, vol. v, p. 179, and ff., gives Weitzel credit for his good sense and tact when in control of Richmond; when he permitted the churches to open on the following Sunday "on the general condition that no disloyal sentiments should be uttered," he was obeying Lincoln's verbal instructions "to let them" (the Richmond people) "down easy," but Stanton, Secretary of War, incapable of generosity to a prostrate foe, reprimanded Weitzel for following Lincoln's suggestion.

[2] Rosengarten, p. 166.

[3] Subsequently he served in the Prussian-Austrian War of 1866, and in the Franco-German War of 1870–71. Since 1873 he has worked steadily at his invention of the dirigible military balloon.

cavalry officer and engineer in the Civil War, beginning in 1863. He made his first experiments and his first ascent in a military balloon in this country.

Among the numerous West Point graduates of German descent who served with distinction in the Civil War the names of Heintzelman and Rosecrans stand out before most others. General S. P. Heintzelman was brevetted major for bravery in the Mexican War. He was commissioned colonel in the Civil War and then commanded as brigadier at Alexandria, Bull Run, Yorktown, Williamsburg, and Fair Oaks; in 1863 he commanded the Northern Department. He was retired in 1869 with full rank of major-general, U. S. A.[1] General William Starke Rosecrans, of Pennsylvania-German stock, graduated at West Point in 1842. Previous to the war he was a professor at the Academy, an engineer, and a financier. He served in West Virginia as colonel of Ohio volunteers in 1861, and won the battle of Rich Mountain. Succeeding McClellan in the Department of the Ohio, he gained the victory of Carnifex Ferry. As commander of the Army of the Mississippi, he was victorious at Iuka and at Corinth and succeeded Buell as commander of the Army of the Cumberland. He fought the great battle of Murfreesboro, proved himself a skillful strategist in the next months, but was compelled by peremptory orders from the War Department to advance before he was ready, with the result that he was defeated at Chickamauga.[2] Rosecrans was then succeeded, sent to the West and put

[1] Heintzelman's grandfather, a native of Augsburg, was the first white settler in Manheim, Pennsylvania. Rosengarten, p. 167.

[2] Cf. *Encyclopædic Dictionary of American Reference*, vol. ii, pp. 180–181. He resigned in 1867; was Minister to Mexico, 1868–69; Democratic Congressman from California, 1881–85; and Registrar of the United States Treasury, 1885–93.

on waiting orders. Colonel Dodge[1] speaks of some of the Northern generals as unfortunate through early success. The victories in West Virginia, he says, "gave both McClellan and Rosecrans a reputation which did them eventually an injustice, inasmuch as it thrust them into prominent positions which no officer in the country was equal to without experience of many months and frequent failures. The nation was utterly uneducated in war — few of our officers had commanded even a regiment. Our only recent training had been in the Mexican War, a distinctly fine campaign, but of limited scope. The work now to be done required armies such as none since Napoleon had seen under his control. Unlucky they who were early placed in high command. The conditions of failure were strong in both themselves and the people for whom they fought."

It would make much too long a register of names and achievements to take account of the native soldiers of German descent in the Civil War. The Wister family of Pennsylvania sent representatives by the half-score. The names Pennypacker, Amen (Ohio), Hartranft, Hambright, and many good colonial names appear in great abundance in the lists of officers and men. In rare cases the families were divided between North and South. Francis Lieber, the prominent jurist and professor of law at Columbia College, New York, had a son with the Illinois troops, another in the Confederate service, and a third with a commission in the regular army of the United States. Lieber himself was a legal adviser to the United States government in matters of military and international law, and prepared a code of instructions for the government of armies of the United States in the field. He also main-

[1] *A Bird's-Eye View of Our Civil War*, pp. 13 ff.

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tained a correspondence with leading Germans, men like Bluntschli, Mohl, and Holtzendorff, securing in Germany sympathy for the cause which the North was battling to maintain.

The Germans in the South who had settled there early in the nineteenth, or whose ancestors had arrived in the eighteenth century, commonly adhered to the Confederacy. The more recent immigrants frequently turned their backs upon the South. An illustration of this is found in Texas, where Schleicher, mentioned above, belonging to an earlier immigration in the nineteenth century, became an adherent of the Secession cause, while Degener, of a more recent immigration, almost lost his life by his opposition to the current of Southern sympathy. It was quite natural for the Germans of Virginia to go with their state, as we saw in the case of Kemper, or Armistead, born in North Carolina, both of whom fought valiantly for the Southern cause. We find German-Virginian names, such as Helm, Hoke, Zollicoffer, adding glory to the military records of the Confederacy. Of those born in Germany few drew their swords for the slave states. But instances occurred, such as that of Von Zincken and some others.[1] Men born in Germany who had immigrated early in their lives, and had become associated for many years with all local interests of their Southern homes, would very naturally join hands with their fellow citizens. F. W. Wagener, a prominent citizen of Charleston, South Carolina, a representative of the best German element in that locality, became the captain of the first German regiment, of four hundred men, raised in Charleston. The regiment in question included three German companies of artillery which did good local service. In 1889 the survivors of the regiment erected a

[1] Scheibert, *Sieben Monate in den Rebellen Staaten.* (Stettin, 1868.) Cf. Rosengarten, p. 179.

monument to their fallen comrades. After the war General Wagener was elected mayor of Charleston by popular vote, and was one of Charleston's leading citizens.[1]

Viewing the German participation in the Civil War as a whole, we see that it weighed heavily on the Northern side, the aid given to the Southern armies being by no means of the same importance. For the Northern armies the German element furnished nearly two hundred thousand men, natives of Germany. The number furnished by men of German descent cannot be estimated, but would probably increase the number threefold. The contribution of German officers was of very great importance. They gave their experience and example, and taught the masses of impetuous and undisciplined volunteers the necessity of obedience and coöperation. Their soldierly bearing, encouraging words, and habitual discipline on the early battlefields created examples of imitation. The German soldier, as the German agriculturist, contributed also those qualities which are not heralded by fame, — patience, steadiness, and persistence. These essential staying qualities were exhibited not alone in battle, but as often in camp, on the march, or in the tedious waits incident to military life. To overcome discouragement in defeat, to encounter sickness and privation, were tests the German soldier endured as successfully as the dangers of actual combat. In fighting qualities all nations have given proof of heroism; the excitement of battle, the inspiration of great leaders, can make lions out of sheep. That the Germans were superior to all others they never attempted to claim, but they can furnish abundant proofs of having fought as bravely and steadily on the great battlefields of the Civil War as any other national element.

[1] Cf. Rosengarten, p. 186.

An interesting phenomenon in connection with this subject is the attitude of Germany during the Civil War. The influence of such men as Lieber, already mentioned, and indeed the fact of a German immigration of a highly intellectual quality since 1848, were circumstances undoubtedly influential in establishing in the mother country sympathy for the Northern cause. Sentiment, based on an abhorrence of slavery, was also of moment in deciding Germany's position. It was not so everywhere in European countries. On his visit to Europe at the time, Andrew D. White found friends among all classes of Germans: "Germans everywhere recognized the real question at issue in the American struggle. Everywhere on German soil was a deep detestation of human bondage. Frankfort-on-the-Main became a most beneficial centre of financial influences, and from first to last Germany stood firmly by us."[1] The same author says of England, "In that time of our direst need, when among the leaders in England D'Israeli was indifferent, Palmerston jaunty, Earl Russell only too happy to let out the Confederate cruisers to annihilate our commerce, and when Mr. Gladstone was satisfied that Jefferson Davis had made a 'nation,' there was one whose heart recognized the wickedness of siding with the slave power, and whose mind recognized the folly of making the United States and Great Britain enemies for centuries, and that man, a German, the Prince Consort, Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha."[2]

Germany gave not only her sympathy but her gold in defense of the Union, and the purchase of United States bonds in the German financial centres contributed very

[1] Speech of Andrew D. White, Ambassador to the German Empire, at a farewell banquet given by the German-Americans in New York on May 22, 1897.

[2] White, *supra*, p. 6.

largely toward sustaining the Union in the long struggle which the government was forced to make against the powerful Southern Confederacy.

The Spanish War

The subject of German volunteering in the recent Spanish-American War was brought to public attention by a peculiar incident. It was in the wake of the Spanish War period, when several high ranking officers of our navy and army were seeing on the horizon a war with Germany, and were incidentally committing indiscretions on convivial occasions. At Honolulu General McArthur chose to say that a war with Germany was inevitable, and that the Pan-Germanic sentiment had seized upon the German-Americans to such an extent that a German name in the regimental lists was a curiosity. Such a slap-in-the-face was most startling. The general probably did not know that he was committing an outrage upon the sensibilities of more than eighteen million American people, German by birth or descent, who in all the wars of the United States had furnished more than their proportionate share of officers and volunteers. Civil War veterans of German blood looked up in surprise, and wondered whether their race had declined. The gauntlet cast down was quickly taken up by the "Deutsch-Amerikanischer National Bund," on a motion of the United German Societies of Indianapolis,[1] who were conscious of a large German quota sent by them to the Spanish-American War.

[1] An organization representing forty-five societies and a membership of about two thousand. Cf. *German-American Annals*, vol. ii, *Americana Germanica*, vol. vi, p. 173 (1904). For the "Deutsch-Amerikanischer National Bund," cf. *German-American Annals*, vols. i, ii, etc., and of this work, Volume II, Chapter IV.

The matter was investigated and the accusation was found to be totally false. It can be excused only on the basis of a lack of knowledge of German, which in these days of opportunity can hardly be pleaded in palliation. A good summary of the German representation in the American army and navy during the Spanish War was made by F. König, department commander, Spanish-American War Veterans.[1] He made lists of the German-Americans in the Pennsylvania regiments: First to Sixth, Eighth to Tenth, Twelfth to Sixteenth, the Eighteenth, and Batteries A, B, and C. It appeared that at least fifteen per cent of the entire number enlisted were Germans, and the enumeration did not pretend to be complete. A list of officers and men was also given, for the regiments named, numbering between four and five hundred; they are such as could not be mistaken for other than German names, and some of the persons they represent were personally known to the compiler. Mr. König also states that the ships fitted out in Philadelphia, the U. S. S. *St. Paul*, the U. S. S. *Peoria*, and the U. S. S. *Fishhawk*, were equipped with crews of which fully fifteen per cent were German-Americans. On the U. S. S. *Dorothea*, on which the compiler served, twenty per cent (twelve out of sixty) of the ship's crew were German-Americans. Naval officers serving in the United States Marine Corps during the Spanish War were the German-Americans: Majors Lauchheimer and Waller, Captains Meyers (b. in Germany) and Marix, and Lieutenant Schwalbe. Naval officers who were on the retired list for long and continued service, and who were placed upon the active list during the war with Spain, of German descent unless otherwise specified, were: Rear-Admiral Buehler, Commanders Chetky, Fickbohm

[1] *German-American Annals*, vol. ii, pp. 506–527.

(German), Hanus (German), Chief Gunner Sommers (German), Captains Kindelberger, Schenk, and Hoehling, Gunner Ritter, Lieutenants Ritter and Haggermann, Lieutenant-Commander Eckstein, and Lieutenants Kafer and Kaiser. Another long list of men that served on the war-vessels is given, most of them residents of Philadelphia, of German parentage.[1] Finally Mr. König gives a list of naval officers of German descent, including eleven boatswains, four ensigns, twenty-four lieutenants, twelve lieutenant-commanders, six commanders, four captains, and four rear-admirals. The list included also regular officers in the United States Navy. The captains were Reiter, Hunker, Reisinger, and Farenholt; the rear-admirals were Winfield Scott Schley, Louis Kempff, Norman von Heldreich Farghar, and Albert Kautz.

The record of the most distinguished of these, Rear-Admiral Schley, is still very familiar. Few if any of the naval officers of recent times have rendered such long and efficient service in the United States Navy. During the Civil War Schley served in the blockading squadron and in the engagement leading to the capture of Port Hudson, Louisiana. He suppressed the insurrection among the Chinese coolies on the Chin Chi Islands in 1864, and in the following year he landed one hundred men at San Salvador to protect the United States Consulate. He participated in the attack on the Salee River forts in Korea in 1871; after varied service on sea and land he took command in 1884 of the Greely Relief Expedition. He rescued Lieutenant Greely and six survivors at Cape Sabine, for which he was awarded a gold watch and the thanks of the legislature of his native state of Maryland. He commanded the cruiser *Baltimore* in 1891 and settled the trouble at Val-

[1] *German-American Annals*, vol. ii, p. 524.

paraiso, Chile, when several American sailors were stoned by a mob. In February, 1898, he was promoted commodore, and placed in command of the "Flying Squadron" on duty in Cuban waters in the war with Spain. He was in immediate command at the destruction of Cervera's fleet off Santiago, July 3, 1898, and thereupon promoted rear-admiral (August, 1898). During the Schley-Sampson controversy Rear-Admiral Schley comported himself in a most dignified manner throughout. He was placed before a court of inquiry, two members of which decided against him, the third, however, Admiral Dewey, the only admiral in the American Navy since Farragut, whose experience in naval affairs gave weight to his judgment, discountenanced every article of the findings against Schley. In command of the cruiser *Brooklyn* at the battle of Santiago, Rear-Admiral Schley was aboard the ship that received more shots than all the rest of the American fleet put together, and even his most severe detractors admit that Schley, during the battle, behaved in a manner exemplary for an American naval officer. The *Brooklyn*, which Schley commanded, was the ship most instrumental in beaching the *Colon*, the escape of which would, in the unequal fight, have been equivalent to a Spanish victory.

Albert Kautz graduated from the Naval Academy (1858) in time to serve in the Civil War. After a period of capture and imprisonment he served as Farragut's flag lieutenant on board the *Hartford*, at the capture of New Orleans, April 1, 1862. He personally hauled down the "lone-star" flag from the City Hall, which Mayor Monroe refused to strike, and hoisted the stars and stripes on the custom-house. He also served on the *Hartford* during the engagement with the Vicksburg batteries in June and July, 1862. He was made a rear-admiral in 1898,

and placed in command of the Pacific Station. In March and April, 1899, he was in command at Apia, Samoa, during the trouble with the native chiefs, and was commended for his conduct on that occasion.

Louis Kempff, born near Belleville, Illinois, was likewise a Civil War veteran. He left the Naval Academy in April, 1861, and served on the *Vandalia* in the blockade off Charleston. He captured and took to New York the schooner *Henry Middleton*, of Charleston, and then rejoined the *Vandalia* in the expedition against Port Royal Ferry, in 1862. He took part in the bombardment of Sewell's Point, Virginia, and in various other engagements. He was promoted rear-admiral in 1899 after good service on sea and land. He was on the Asiatic Station in 1900, and declined to join the foreign admirals in the attack on the Taku forts, but after the U. S. S. *Monocacy* was struck by a shot from Chinese forts he joined in with the forces at hand for the protection of life and property of the Americans. He commanded the Pacific Naval Station in 1903.

CHAPTER XVII

A SUMMARY VIEW OF THE GERMAN IMMIGRATIONS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, THEIR LOCATION, DISTRIBUTION, AND GENERAL CHARACTER

Germans on the frontier — Diffusion of the German element over the territory of the United States; equal distribution — The German Belt — The states in which the Germans are more numerous than any other foreign element — Table showing distribution of Germans — List of cities with largest German populations — Statistics of the German immigrations of the nineteenth century — Causes, in the United States and Germany, for the increase or decline of immigration — The general character of the nineteenth century immigrants from Germany — Friedrich Münch's three immigrations — Concluding remarks.

THE settlement of the German element within the territory of the United States has been sketched chronologically in the foregoing chapters. It was found that, before the Revolutionary War, the Germans, estimated at 225,000 in number,[1] had settled mainly on the frontier line, extending from the Mohawk in New York to the colony farthest south, Georgia. They had settled two vast physiographic areas, the Piedmont Plateau, lying at the base and east of the Appalachian ranges from New York to Georgia, and the Great Valley, lying between the Blue Ridge and Alleghany mountains, beginning in Pennsylvania, extending across Maryland and southwest through Virginia. "With their Scotch-Irish neighbors, they formed the outer edge of the tide of pioneers that was ready to flow through the passes of the mountains into the interior

[1] See Chapter x, and the accompanying map.

of the continent."[1] As shown in preceding chapters, the German immigrants were among the first to enter Kentucky and Tennessee from Virginia and the Carolinas;[2] they were the first settlers of the Ohio Valley.[3]

In the nineteenth century came another and greater "Völkerwanderung," reaching a total, for the hundred years, of 5,009,280 souls. New areas were settled by these hosts of peaceful invaders, who, no longer checked by a forbidding mountain range running from northeast to southwest, pushed on irresistibly over the limitless western plains, and, reinforced by new accessions from the coast, extended the frontier line ever farther to the westward until it reached the Pacific Ocean.[4] When the frontier ceased to be, an event announced in the Census Report of 1890, the Germans were diffused over the whole surface of the United States.

The last Census Report (1900) shows that the German population is not alone widespread, but is more equally distributed over the territory of the United States than any other foreign element. This can be seen by a comparison of the maps published by the Census Bureau, showing the "density of natives" of Germany, Ireland, Great Britain, Scandinavia, etc.[5] The other nationalities will be found massed in certain localities. For example, quoting from the Census Reports:[6] "The North Atlantic division contains more than three fourths of all French-Canadians. The same division also contains 73 per cent of all the natives of Hungary, 72.7 per cent of all the natives of Italy, and 70.7 per cent of all the natives of

[1] F. J. Turner, *German Immigration in the Colonial Period, Chicago Record-Herald*, August 28, 1901.

[2] Cf. Chapter XII. [3] Cf. Chapter XIII. [4] Cf. Chapter XV.

[5] *Statistical Atlas of the United States*, 1900, plates nos. 65–69.

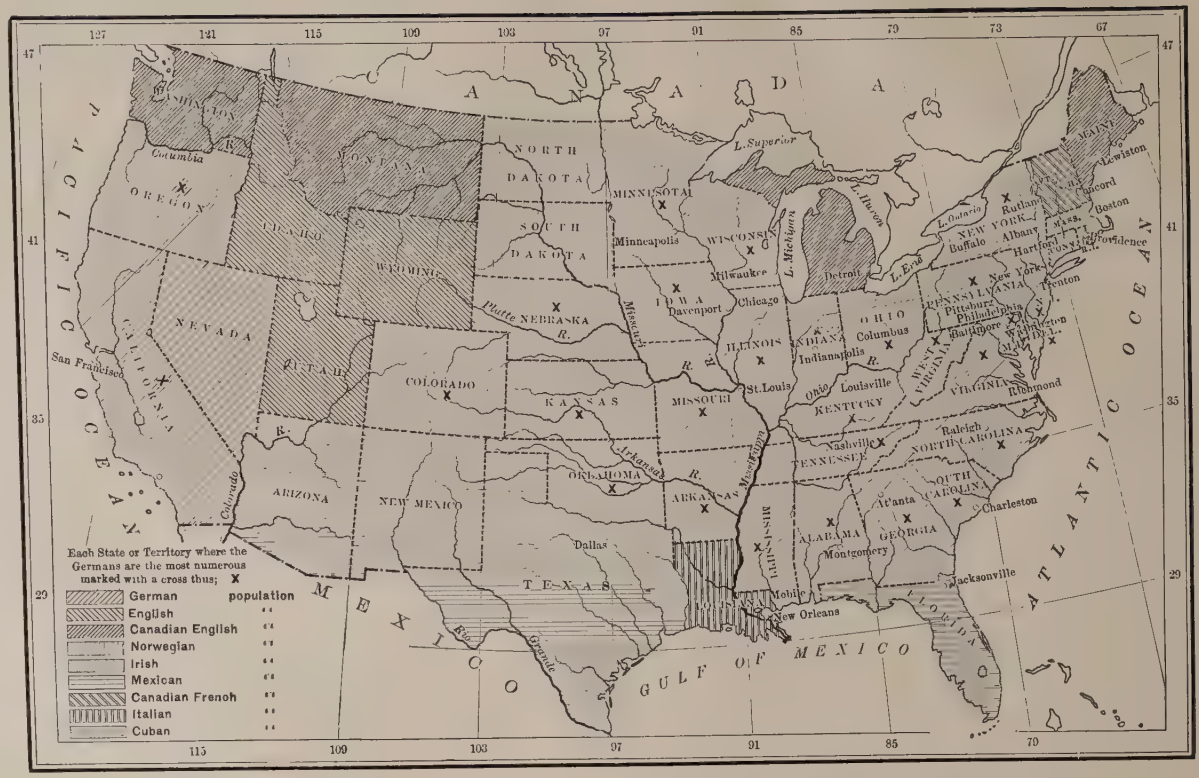
[6] *Twelfth Census of the United States*, 1900, vol. i, p. clxxv.

Russian Poland. This same division contains also by far the largest proportion of all the natives of Austria, Ireland, and Russia, and more than half of all the natives of England, Scotland, and Wales. The North Central division contains very nearly 85 per cent of all the natives of Norway, a little more than 75 per cent of all the natives of Bohemia and Holland, very nearly 65 per cent of all the natives of Denmark and Sweden." The North Central division contains 54.9 per cent of all the natives of Germany, which is the ratio to which this division is entitled, considering its larger area, general fertility, and great cities. The North Atlantic division contains 33.2 per cent of all the native Germans, and with the North Central division forms the German belt which contains almost nine tenths of all native Germans.

In many other sections of the country, the Germans outnumber the other nationalities. The natives of Germany constitute a little more than one fourth of the entire foreign element in the United States, viz., 25.8 per cent. In the North Atlantic division, they number 18.6 per cent of the foreign element; in the North Central division, 35.1 per cent; in the South Atlantic division, 33.7 per cent; in the South Central division, 30.7 per cent, and in the Western division, 16 per cent of the entire foreign population. The native Germans are therefore slightly above their average of 25.8 per cent in the North Central and South Atlantic divisions, also in the South Central division, and below their average in the North Atlantic and Western divisions. They are outnumbered in the North Atlantic division by the Irish, but in the Western division, where their percentage is below their average (25.8), they nevertheless are more numerous than any other foreign element, the English being next with 12.1 per cent.

The natives of Russia are found mostly in cities, very nearly three fourths of them living in the large cities in 1900. So it is with the natives of Poland and Italy. The Irish inhabit the large cities also to the extent of 62 per cent of their number, very little less than the Italians, with 62.4 per cent. The Scandinavians, who are massed in the Northwest, principally Minnesota and the Dakotas, are not dwellers in cities, while the natives of Germany and England are about equally distributed in city and country.

The map following this page designates the states (with a cross-mark) in which the natives of Germany are more numerous than any other foreign element. It will be seen that all the states in the Union harbor a larger native German population than of any other foreign country, with the following exceptions: Maine and Michigan, which include a larger Canadian-English; Vermont and New Hampshire, which contain a larger Canadian-French element; Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Delaware, which hold a larger Irish population; Florida, a larger Cuban; Louisiana, a larger Italian; Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, a larger Mexican element. The Mormon states, Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming, contain a larger English, Montana and Washington a larger Canadian-English, element; Nevada includes more Irish and the Dakotas more Norwegians. All the remaining states — and it will be seen at a glance that they represent the great progressive area of the United States, together with the cream of the Pacific coast, California and Oregon — all of them contain a larger German than any other foreign population. Though the German immigration was not large between 1890 and 1900, the Germans did not lose ground in comparison with other national or racial elements. Louisiana, which was more largely inhabited by



MAP SHOWING IN WHAT STATES THE GERMANS WERE MORE NUMEROUS IN 1900 THAN OTHER NATIONAL STOCKS

native Germans in 1890, now contains more Italians, but to compensate for that, California has now a larger German than Chinese population, and Pennsylvania and Virginia are now more largely inhabited by native Germans than by native Irishmen.

The following table, taken from the Census Report of 1900,[1] will show exactly where the Germans are located and compare them with the two next largest elements, the Irish and the English: —

German Population distributed over the United States

	Germans	*Irish*	*English*
The United States:	2,666,990	1,618,567	842,078
North Atlantic Division —	883,908	1,113,876	435,031
Maine	1,356	10,159	4,793
New Hampshire	2,006	13,547	5,100
Vermont	882	7,453	2,447
Massachusetts	31,395	249,916	82,346
Rhode Island	4,300	35,501	22,832
Connecticut	31,892	70,994	21,569
New York	480,026	425,553	135,685
New Jersey	119,598	94,844	45,428
Pennsylvania	212,453	205,909	114,831
South Atlantic Division —	72,705	36,606	20,274
Delaware	2,332	5,044	1,506
Maryland	44,990	13,874	5,299
District of Columbia	5,857	6,220	2,299
Virginia	4,504	3,534	3,425
West Virginia	6,537	3,342	2,622
North Carolina	1,191	371	904
South Carolina	2,075	1,131	474
Georgia	3,407	2,293	1,514
Florida	1,812	797	2,231

[1] *Twelfth Census of the United States*, 1900, vol. i (Population), part i, pp. clxxiii–clxxiv, table lxxxii.

North Central Division —	1,461,603	349,805	260,369
Ohio	204,160	55,018	44,745
Indiana	73,546	16,306	10,874
Illinois	332,169	114,563	64,390
Michigan	125,074	29,182	43,839
Wisconsin	242,777	23,544	17,995
Minnesota	117,007	22,428	12,022
Iowa	123,162	28,321	21,027
Missouri	109,282	31,832	15,666
North Dakota	11,546	2,670	2,909
South Dakota	17,873	3,298	3,862
Nebraska	65,506	11,127	9,757
Kansas	39,501	11,516	13,283
South Central Division —	109,743	31,640	22,183
Kentucky	27,555	9,874	3,256
Tennessee	4,569	3,372	2,207
Alabama	3,634	1,792	2,347
Mississippi	1,926	1,264	798
Louisiana	11,839	6,436	2,068
Texas	48,295	6,173	8,213
Indian Territory	842	397	779
Oklahoma	5.112	987	1,121
Arkansas	5,971	1,345	1,394
Western Division —	135,459	83,532	102,656
Montana	7,162	9,436	8,077
Wyoming	2,146	1,591	2,596
Colorado	14,606	10,132	13,575
New Mexico	1,360	692	968
Arizona	1,245	1,159	1,561
Utah	2,360	1,516	18,879
Nevada	1,179	1,425	1,167
Idaho	2,974	1,633	3,943
Washington	16,686	7,262	10,481
Oregon	13,292	4,210	5,663
California	72,449	44,476	35,746

Some of the principal cities of the United States contain very large German populations. Native Germans

DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVES OF GERMANY IN 1900

constitute very nearly two thirds of all the foreign-born in Cincinnati, substantially three fifths in Milwaukee, very nearly three fifths in Louisville, more than one half in St. Louis, and very nearly one half in Baltimore. These statistics become more interesting after comparison with others. The Irish number one third the total foreign population of Boston, Cambridge, Jersey City, New Haven, Philadelphia, and Providence; three tenths in Lowell, Washington, and Worcester; French-Canadians inhabit Fall River to the extent of 40.3 per cent of the total foreign population, 35.8 per cent in Lowell, 14 per cent in Worcester. The Swedes number very nearly one third of the foreign-born in Minneapolis, one fifth in St. Paul and Worcester. Italians are most numerous in New Orleans (19.3 per cent) and New Haven (17.1 per cent). Russians are most numerous in Baltimore, German Poles in Milwaukee, Norwegians in Minneapolis.

A list of cities of the United States is subjoined, in which the population born in Germany exceeds 5000. The total population of the city is placed in the first column, the foreign-born Germans in the second, and the number of persons of German parentage in the third. Under the last-named are included (1) all persons born in Germany, (2) all persons born in the United States with both parents born in Germany, (3) with one parent born in Germany and the other in some other foreign country, and (4) all persons born in the United States with one parent born in Germany and the other born in the United States.[1] The list is as given on the following page.

[1] Cf. *The Twelfth Census of the United States*, vol. i (Population), part i, pp. 878–881 (table 60); pp. 882–885 (table 61); pp. 890–893 (table 63).

City	Total Population	Born in Germany	Total of German Parentage
New York	3,437,202	322,343	761,795
Chicago	1,698,575	170,738	416,729
Philadelphia	1,293,697	71,319	190,144
St. Louis	575,238	58,781	199,182
Milwaukee	285,315	53,854	146,846
Cleveland	381,768	40,648	105,321
Cincinnati	325,902	38,219	136,087
Buffalo	352,387	36,720	113,102
San Francisco	342,782	35,194	58,935
Baltimore	508,957	33,208	107,506
Detroit	285,704	33,027	84,165
Newark	246,070	25,139	67,105
Pittsburg	321,616	21,222	64,204
Jersey City	206,433	17,375	44,247
Rochester	162,608	15,685	47,573
St. Paul	163,065	12,935	35,945
Louisville	204,731	12,383	47,514
Toledo	131,822	12,373	37,389
Allegheny	129,896	12,022	37,270
Hoboken	59,364	10,843	23,463
Boston	560,892	10,523	25,119
New Orleans	287,104	8,733	36,293
Indianapolis	169,164	8,632	29,163
Syracuse	108,374	7,865	21,753
Minneapolis	202,718	7,335	21,758
Dayton	85,333	6,820	22,861
Paterson	105,171	6,584	13,139
Columbus, Ohio	125,560	6,296	21,811
Davenport, Iowa	35,254	6,111	15,839
Albany	94,151	5,903	18,553
Washington	278,718	5,857	17,782
Omaha, Nebraska	102,555	5,522	13,826
Erie	52,733	5,226	16,841
Denver	133,859	5,114	14,780

Two significant facts are to be gathered from the statistics presented on the foregoing pages,— first, that of the equal distribution of the German immigration in com-

DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVES OF IRELAND IN 1900

parison with other foreign elements, and secondly, the existence of a German belt, where the German element is most numerous and prosperous. Their equal distribution through town and country, and proportionately through all parts of the United States, recommends the German immigrants as a class desirable above others. In the eighteenth century they chose the lands best adapted for farming purposes and clung to them, and just so in the nineteenth they selected the area which at the present day corresponds to the most productive and progressive in the United States. The German belt lies between the northern boundaries of Massachusetts and of Maryland, spreads westward north of the Ohio River to the Great Lakes and onward into the neighboring two tiers of trans-Mississippi states. In this great general zone the lands of densest German settlement are along the coast, the Mohawk Valley, and in Eastern Pennsylvania; also along the shores of Lake Ontario, Lakes Erie and Michigan, along the Ohio River, and down the Mississippi from St. Paul to St. Louis.[1] The states which contain the most native Germans are, in order, New York, Illinois, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.

The German immigration in the nineteenth century reaches a total considerably larger than that of any other foreign element. The following table gives their numbers in comparison with others: —

Germany	5,009,280
Ireland	3,871,253
Great Britain, including England, Scotland, and Wales	3,024,222
Norway, Sweden, and Denmark	1,439,060

[1] Cf. F. J. Turner, *The German Immigration to the United States*, II, *Chicago Record-Herald*, September 4, 1901.

Canada and Newfoundland	1,049,939
Italy	1,040,457
Austria Hungary	1,027,195
Russia and Poland	926,902
All other countries	1,726,913
Total	19,115,221

The enumeration of foreign immigrations was not begun before 1820. In the early period only the immigration going through the seaports was taken into account; the figures in the early period are therefore below the actual status; still they constitute the only information available. The German immigration by decades, taken from the Census Reports, is as follows:—

1821–30	6,761
1831–40	152,454
1841–50	434,626
1851–60	951,667
1861–70	787,468
1871–80	718,182
1881–90	1,452,970
1891–1900	505,152
Total	5,009,280

Up to 1850 the Irish immigration exceeded the German; from 1841 to 1850 the German immigration was about 24.2 per cent, the Irish 42.3 per cent of the total immigration. But in the decade 1851 to 1860 the German immigration surpassed the Irish and all others, and continued to do so until the last decade of the nineteenth century, when, although still exceeding the Irish and English, it fell far below the Slavic and Italian immigrations. The causes for the rise and fall in the wave of German immigration are very interesting, the increase commonly corresponding to a period of economic decline in certain

DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVES OF GREAT BRITAIN IN 1900

parts of Germany and a contemporaneous era of prosperity or opportunity in the United States. A decrease in the German immigration occurred during all the periods of depression in the United States, especially if at the same time prosperity reigned in the mother country.

The impression is general that the immigration between 1790 and 1820 was very slight. There are no accurate statistics to controvert this impression. No good reason, however, has been urged why immigration should have practically ceased, and it is quite probable that between 1810 and 1820 there was considerable immigration to the United States, at least representing the upward slope toward the immigration between 1820 and 1830. There must have been quite a little immigration immediately before 1820, because it attracted attention enough to cause an official count to be instituted at the seaports. In 1820, for instance, there were nine hundred and sixty-eight Germans that arrived at American ports, and so large a number must have been preceded by at least hundreds, arriving annually in years just previous. After the close of the war with England it was less difficult to come to America, and when the reactionary governments assumed firm control in Europe there was considerable dissatisfaction in the German countries. Germans suffered much from the Napoleonic wars, especially Würtemberg, the country that had, in the previous century, supplied so many immigrants to the United States. The years 1817–18, the period of tyrannical persecution of the student societies, the "Burschenschaften," undoubtedly brought many refugees to the land of political liberty. The great increase, however, in German immigration did not come until the decade of 1831–40. In 1832, starting upward with over ten thousand, it reached more than twenty-nine thousand

in 1840, and a total of over one hundred and fifty-two thousand for the decade.

There were various causes, such as over-population, over-production, over-crowding in the farming districts, and the ruin of the small hand industries in competition with the new factory system. Thousands of artisans who were brought up in the old master-system, in which each man made the whole article, were now left destitute because of the cheaper manufacture in factories.[1] Contemporary with this condition a period of prosperity and expansion existed in the United States.

It was an era of land speculation, town-building, and westward movement. A flood of settlers poured by way of the Erie Canal and steamboats into the land between the Ohio and the Great Lakes; the cotton culture spread population into the Gulf States, and Missouri received an important influx of settlers. These conditions were made known in Germany. Cheap lands, light taxes, the need of laborers, and the opportunity to gain a competence in a short time by toil, — these were conditions that attracted the Germans.[2]

At home impetuous German students and professors had vainly striven for reform against the misgovernment, taxation, and extravagance of the petty German rulers.

The triumph of Jacksonian Democracy here was contemporaneous with these German attempts to secure popular freedom, and it seemed to promise them the liberty they sought. This was the beginning of the influx of the so-called "Latin farmers" into Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri. German names dotted the map of the newly-settled areas of these regions. Letters and newspapers of these German pioneers were printed and circulated in the fatherland, particularly in the region of the Rhine,

[1] For a literary picture of such conditions, cf. the German novel *Meister Timpe*, by Max Kretzer.

[2] Turner, *Chicago Record-Herald*, September 4, 1901.

whence the old migrations to Pennsylvania had occurred, among the alert, enterprising people of these provinces. These reports were idealistic in the coloring they gave American life, and they left a deep impression, that America offered refuge from economic, social, and political evils of these lands. The influence of the cultivated German immigrants of the period was out of proportion to their number.[1]

The two decades, 1841–60, present an increase in the German immigration. The high wave came between 1846–54. Beginning with 57,500 German immigrants in one year the figures reached 215,009 for the year 1854. In the three years 1852–54 over five hundred thousand arrived, and during the nine years almost nine hundred thousand. Then the immigration decreased in volume until after the Civil War. The crest of the wave, from 1850–54, was contemporaneous with the revolutionary troubles in Germany of 1848, and following years, when many a son of liberty, like Hecker, Sigel, Blenker, and most famous of all, Carl Schurz, arrived on our shores. Economic conditions also contributed an important share, the failure of crops, the rise in the price of food-stuffs, the destruction of local industries through competition with machine products. These brought the rank and file. In 1850–53 there was a failure of the vintage in Würtemberg, — and earlier, in 1846–47, there had been failure of the potato crop in those southwestern portions of Germany which had always contributed largely to the American immigration. The local governments frequently found it necessary to encourage the exodus of their people. At the same period the American railroads were opening up the vast Western territories, and new states, such as Wisconsin, were making extraordinary efforts to attract German immigrants. The

[1] Turner, *Chicago Record-Herald*, September 4, 1901.

improvements in ocean travel made the journey shorter and cheaper, and better guarantees were now furnished for safe transportation.

Another high wave of German immigration came after the Civil War. From 1866, when the hundred thousand mark was passed again, the immigration continued to pour in until 1873, at the rate of about one hundred and thirty thousand annually. In Germany this period corresponds to the great wars of Prussia, and to the convulsions into which the German states were thrown before their being welded into one nation through the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Military duty and hard pressure upon the population had much to do with increasing the immigration. The allurements on the other side were quite as strong an influence as hardships at home. A homestead being liberally offered to every worthy immigrant, the Germans, as in the century before, felt "keenly alive to the desirability of possessing land." The financial depression following the panic of 1873 showed its effect upon the German immigration, for in the following six years the immigration only once reached fifty thousand in one year, and that was in 1874.

A bound upward began in 1880, in which year the immigration was three times as large as that of 1879; in 1881 it nearly doubled again, almost reaching the two hundred and fifty thousand mark. In 1882 came the banner year with 250,630, a record which has never been surpassed. Large immigrations continued until 1885. Then the numbers went up and down, with another final rise in 1891–92, the immigration of the two years numbering 244,000. After that the number steadily declined, reaching the lowest point in 1898, namely, 17,111, and rising very little above that since (28,304 in 1902). The record

of the immigration, year by year, is comparable to a pulse indicating the material prosperity of the two countries. Germany's great rise as an industrial nation, her development of colonies in Africa and elsewhere for her surplus population, her exemplary laws insuring the laboring class against accident, disability, etc., have made her population far less eager to emigrate to foreign parts. The disappearance of the frontier line and all areas of cheap land has rendered America far less attractive. In the labor market came the competition of the Slavic and South Italian races, which the German, with a higher standard of living, finds difficult though by no means impossible to maintain. Nevertheless the field does not attract him.

In regard to the character of the German immigration of the nineteenth century, much applies to them that has already been said in regard to the immigration of the eighteenth century. Yet there were differences also. There was on the whole a much larger percentage of men of culture in some of the immigrations of the nineteenth century. There were many refugees, not from religious persecution, as in the eighteenth century, but from political oppression and espionage. These were men who, if they had been tolerated, would have become influential in the public life of their native land. Coming to this country they spent their efforts in the development of political and social conditions in the United States, beginning with the improvement of their own people in their adopted country. Such were the refugees of the period from about 1817 to 1835, and of 1848 and the years immediately succeeding.

A representative of the earlier class of political refugees, Friedrich Münch, who has been described in a previous chapter as a successful "Latin farmer," typical of the class of permanent settlers, — Friedrich Münch, in a

reminiscent mood, describes the German immigrations of the nineteenth century as follows:[1]

There were three periods. Immigration No. 1, attracted by such books as Duden's, turned to Missouri and other Western states, and devoted themselves to agriculture. Laborers and peasants, without any high standard of life and accustomed to hard work, found the situation to their satisfaction and gradually but steadily became prosperous. The better educated, sometimes even in spite of strenuous efforts, frequently died in the struggle. The adventurers of this group also met disappointment, and, although frequently useful as border fighters on the advance guard of civilization, did not achieve permanent success. There was also a group of refugees of 1817–18, and it was their office to elevate the tone of the other German immigrants. The Germans were commonly all Jeffersonian Democrats in their politics, as distinct from the aristocratic Whigs, and they were opposed to slavery. After the Mexican War and the discovery of gold in California, conditions in the West grew better and the German farmers became more prosperous.

The immigration No. 2 was heartily welcomed by the first immigration, but the former were not well satisfied with their countrymen in America. They did not like the backwoods condition of the earlier immigration, and only a few of them, as did Hecker, became farmers. Most of them went into the cities as merchants, manufacturers, or brain-workers of various kinds. A very frequent occupation for them was journalism, and in their newspapers they declared that we older men had not remained German enough, nor had we asserted our influence sufficiently. A war of words frequently occurred between the representatives of the two immigrations, the older receiving the nickname, "die Grauen," and the younger "die Grünen." The Grays had passed through an experience of twenty years of toil under primitive American frontier conditions, and had lost much of their youthful ardor for impracticable ideas. When

[1] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. i, pp. 243–250. The above is an abstract, not a literal quotation.

the younger element, the Greens, arrived, they set themselves up as instructors or dictators, but the Grays were not disposed to listen to them. A better understanding came about when the new Republican party arose and the Lincoln campaign began. Then the Germans united against slavery as one man, and the old wounds which the Grays and the Greens had inflicted in their newspaper campaigns were entirely forgotten. The Greens were useful in quickening the minds of the older generation; the latter, forming a conservative element, restrained the new arrivals in their fantastic dreams. Without the first immigration, the second would have had a much more difficult position. It would not have gained influence and would have made many a false step. Without the support of the first immigration, the second might have been quickly absorbed without leaving a trace behind. The second played an important part in American history.

The third immigration came after the period of 1866. They were mostly of the working class, with far better schooling than the same class of thirty years before. In comparison with the earlier immigrations they were overbearing, dissatisfied with conditions as they found them in the new country, and too well impressed with those they left at home. As a rule they would not do the work of an inferior class, and as a result frequently found all desirable positions occupied.

But in the end Münch subdues his resentment concerning even the last immigration.

Even these [he says] as a rule prosper well. Conditions are so much better here than they were thirty or forty years ago, and though the immigrants come in hundreds of thousands, they will find a place after paying for their necessary experience. I have no fear for the green or even the greenest [die Grünen und Allergrünsten], is his conclusion.

This characterization of three types of German immigration in the nineteenth century, undertaken by the veteran "Latin farmer" Friedrich Münch, is by no means

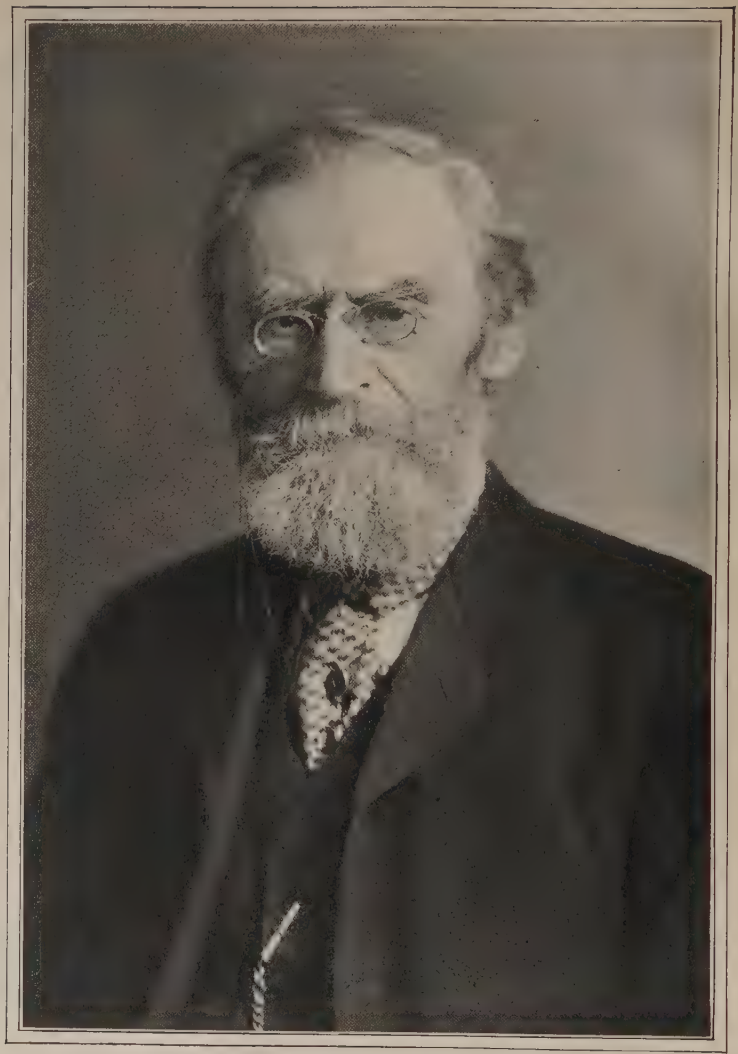
a final word on the subject, yet it represents a sincere attempt at a judicial view. As shown in another chapter, Münch, when a younger man, was a leader in the camp of the first immigration (die Grauen). The important fact is that, when the period of slavery agitation arose, all petty differences were laid aside for the patriotic attempt to combine all the German forces against slavery and the disruption of the Union. It would be an invidious task to attempt narrow distinctions between the various German immigrations of the nineteenth century.[1] In the most general way it may be said that the first immigration resembled more closely the sturdy German folk of the eighteenth century; the second contained a larger number of refugees, whose influence was strongly felt in the political and cultural development of the United States; while the third immigration, coming after 1866 and also after the Franco-Prussian War, in culture and education more closely akin to the second immigration, contained a larger number of men seeking, with advantage to themselves, the advancement of the commerce and manufactures of the American nation; a large number also being destined to become prominent in the technical and professional branches. But the exceptions to these general rules are too numerous to encourage dogmatic statements. The question of such distinctions is not one of vital importance in a discussion of the influences of the

[1] Gustav Körner's book, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818–1848*, gives an excellent account of the Germans who came to the United States before the March Revolution of 1848, with an underlying purpose of showing that the earlier immigration achieved more than the later. A champion of the "forty-eighters" has never appeared, though materials are abundant for his arguments, and for a work of the dimensions of Körner's. Particularly in politics, journalism, and music the "forty-eighters" accomplished more than the earlier immigrations, as can be observed in the second volume of this work.

German element in the United States. In taking account of the latter, all immigrations of the nineteenth as well as of the preceding centuries are equally concerned; each is important in its time and place, and its influence is greatly determined by the conditions of period and location.

Having traced chronologically the settlements of the Germans from the earliest period to the present, having noted their location and distribution throughout the territory of the United States, and having sketched very briefly their activities in peace and war, we have received the necessary historical basis for approaching the subject of the influence of the German element in the United States. The latter is the theme of the second volume of this work.

END OF VOLUME I



CARL SCHURZ

THE GERMAN ELEMENT
IN THE
UNITED STATES

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS
POLITICAL, MORAL, SOCIAL, AND
EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCE

BY

ALBERT BERNHARDT FAUST

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. II

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PART II

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

WITH REFERENCE TO THE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY; WITH REFERENCE TO POLITICS, EDUCATION, CULTURE, SOCIAL AND ETHICAL STANDARDS

THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

INTRODUCTION

The value of any foreign immigration is dependent upon two factors, first, upon the readiness of its assimilation with the native stock, and secondly, upon the more positive quality of favorable influence upon the adopted country. In the historical outline presented in the first volume, the value of the German element becomes manifest mainly when measured by the standard of assimilation. This assimilating process was accelerated by three causes: first, by kinship with other leading formative elements of the nation; secondly, by equal distribution of the German population over the whole territory of the United States; and finally, by the extensive settlement of the German colonists on the frontier and in Western territory, where the moulding forces typically American were most potent.

It will be the purpose of the remaining portion of the present work to apply to the German element the second standard of measurement, that of favorable influence upon the land and people of the United States. Frequent illustrations of such influence have already been furnished in the historical narrative of the first volume. From the very beginning of the colonial period and continuously throughout the history of the United States, the Germans were seen to furnish brawn, brain, and blood in the building of

colonies and cities, in the development of the nation's material resources, in the struggle against wild nature and savage foes, in the war for political independence, and in the rescue of the Union from disruption and disgrace. Such service is equivalent to favorable influence.

Still it is possible and useful to trace influences of another kind. When Baron Steuben became the inspector-general and drill-master of the American army, he was not only grafting the system of Prussian military discipline on the American root, but he was also exercising a function in which the German nation has led the world, that of the teacher and scholar. The German cosmographers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries furnished the charts and maps that directed the mariners of all nations on their voyages of discovery. In the nineteenth century Germany's schools, from the kindergarten to the university, furnished models for imitation, nowhere to greater advantage than in the United States. Influences of this kind are of historical significance, not only for the recipient, but also for the nation that gives; since that people should be rated highest that has yielded the most frequent and lasting influences upon the human world.[1]

The reproach is frequently heard, coming from their kinsmen abroad, that the Germans in the United States did not adequately impress their particular type of culture or civilization upon American life. The criticism is based upon a misconception of conditions. The German people came to America not as conquerors, but as immigrants seeking homes. Not alone in the physical sense is America a crucible of nations, in which the representatives of all European races are thrown together with the native American for the survival of the fittest, but in the matter of all cul-

[1] Cf. Karl Lamprecht, *Americana*, p. 96. (Freiburg i/B 1906.)

tural values also a similar melting process takes place. No incoming stock can infuse into the American mould any element of its culture unless a thorough test has gone before. If the process prove the fitness of the new, an ally may often be found in the native American, who will strive earnestly for its recognition and final adoption. Thus it happened with German music. The beginnings of the development of musical taste were difficult, yet the Germans were aided in their final victory by the coöperation of New England, which of all localities had been at first most conservative.

The examination of influences such as have taken root in American soil, either planted by the German element in the United States or brought over from Germany by native Americans, will be the purpose of the remaining part of this work. The subject has been divided into eight chapters, of which two are concerned with the material development of the country as far as that has come under German influence, (*a*) agriculture and allied manufactures, (*b*) industries requiring special training, and several others in which Germans are prominent. One chapter is devoted to the Germans in American politics, another outlines Germany's influence upon the American educational system. Two chapters treat of the Germans in music and the fine arts, illustration and caricature, literature and journalism. The concluding chapter attempts to define the social and moral influence of the Germans in localities where they are thickly settled.

In view of the fact that the question has frequently been raised, whether the German influence has been commensurate with the volume of the German population in the United States, the writer has considered it essential that a numerical estimate of the German element be placed at

the very beginning[1] of an examination of German influences. After careful investigation, the writer has found that the number of persons of German blood, while vast in amount, representing more than one fourth of the total white population of the United States, is nevertheless not so large as has often been supposed. Lacking this accurate knowledge, foreign critics have frequently been quite unfair in their demands of the German element in the United States. The question of proportionate influence cannot be finally answered until the influence of each of the great formative elements in the population of the United States has been determined. As far as investigations have proceeded at the present time, the German element has nothing to fear from comparisons. Some of the difficulties encountered in the search for German influences, and the methods employed, were outlined in the Preface contained in Volume I.

[1] See Chapter I. The writer wishes to repeat here that in the preparation of this estimate he is indebted for advice and criticism to Walter F. Willcox, Professor of Political Economy and Statistics in Cornell University.

CHAPTER I

AN ESTIMATE OF THE NUMBER OF PERSONS OF GERMAN BLOOD IN THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Previous investigations — Mannhardt's work reviewed by Böckh — Division of the subject into three problems:

I. The total number of persons of German parentage in the United States in 1900.

II. The number of persons of German blood in the United States in 1790, and the number of their descendants in 1900.

III. The number of the descendants of German immigrants of the period 1790–1900 not already enumerated.

The addition of the results of these questions yields a total of about eighteen millions, which represents approximately the number of persons of German blood within the United States in 1900. — Comparison with the numerical strength of the English and Irish elements.

The question, how much German blood exists in the population of the United States, has never been satisfactorily answered. The most elaborate attempt to reach a conclusion about it has been made by Emil Mannhardt.[1] His work was reviewed by the German statistician, Richard Böckh,[2] of the University of Berlin, who clearly proved the faults of Mannhardt's methods and the error of his conclusion, viz., that the number of persons of German blood in the population of the United States should be rated as high as 25,000,000, or above. Mannhardt's work is nevertheless suggestive, and his pioneer attempt to determine by statistical methods what is the amount of German blood

[1] His work appeared in two articles contained in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*. Vierteljahrschrift. Jahrgang III (1903), Heft 3, pp. 12–31; Heft 4, pp. 49–56.

[2] See *Deutsche Erde*, III, Heft 4. (1903.)

in the population of the United States is worthy of some regard, considering the importance of the subject. The opinion that Böckh expresses, to be sure without the secure foundation of proof, is that the population of German blood is in all probability numerically no larger than 18,000,000. Considering his eminence as an authority in all statistical matters, the estimate of Böckh is valuable. With the advantage of this work going before, and that of some of the best American statisticians who have struggled with the subject of foreign population, the attempt will be made in the following pages to get nearer to an accurate result. Though an entirely satisfactory solution remain forever unattainable, the importance of the subject nevertheless justifies renewed investigation, which will dispel somewhat the obscurity enveloping the subject, and remove perhaps the tendency to exaggerate upon impressions.

The subject will be divided into three parts, each containing a distinct problem: —

I. What was the total number of persons of German parentage residing in the United States in 1900? This will include all the Germans born in Germany or of mixed[1] parentage and their descendants of the first generation.

II. How many persons of German blood were contained in the population of 1790, and how numerous were their descendants living in 1900?

III. How numerous were the descendants of the German immigrations between 1790 and 1900, not enumerated as a foreign element in the Census Report of 1900; i. e., how numerous were the descendants of the second and third

[1] Mixed parentage is used here to mean all persons having one parent born in Germany and the other in some other foreign country; or all persons having one parent born in Germany and the other in the United States. (As used in the Census Reports the term mixed parentage does not include the latter class.)

generations (grandchildren and great-grandchildren), of the immigrations of the nineteenth century (including the decade 1790 to 1800)?

I

The twelfth census of the United States, taken in the year 1900,[1] gives as the total enumeration of white persons of German parentage, having both parents born in Germany (including foreign and native-born), the figure 6,244,107. In addition to this there is given a total of 1,585,574 white persons in the United States with one parent German, the other native. To avoid counting any of these twice, or being unfair to some other national stock, this number should be divided by two, giving 792,787. The total of white persons having one parent born in Germany, the other born in some other European country,[2] was 410,566. We may assume that mixed marriages were far more often contracted between people of the same blood and speaking the same language; thus, for instance, a person born in Germany would marry an Austrian or Russian when that person was of German blood and spoke German. The fraction one half would therefore not accurately represent the German blood in this class. Taking two thirds as the correct measure, we get 273,710. Adding these results, we get a total of 7,310,604, representing white persons of German blood, of German parentage.

Many European countries contain a large German contingent in their population, and one would suppose that in the emigration from such a country each stock would be represented in exact proportion to its percentage of the

[1] *Census Reports*, volume i, Population, part i (1901), p. cxc (table LXXXVIII).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 836 and 840 (tables LI and LIII).

population. But a recent article of Richard Böckh [1] has proved such an assumption erroneous. The eminent German statistician reviews the work of the United States Commission of Immigration, and furnishes a table showing the immigrations to the United States within the period 1898–1904, during which for the first time the immigrants were enumerated by stock and race, independently of the country from which they came. During these six years 151,118 Germans came from the German Empire, while more than twice that number, viz., 315,744 Germans (including 26,306 Dutch and Flemish), came from other countries, the largest contingents being furnished by Austria-Hungary, Russia, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Russia furnishes an interesting case. During the same period, of the 625,607 immigrants to the United States from the Russian Empire, only 2 per cent were of Russian stock (in the population the Slavic stock constitutes 70 per cent), while 41.9 per cent were Hebrews, 26.5 per cent Poles, 11.4 per cent Finns, 10.1 per cent Lithuanians, 6.8 per cent Germans, and 1.3 per cent Scandinavians. These percentages by no means correspond to the representation of the various stocks in the population of the Russian Empire, but furnish a measure of the oppression practiced upon these peoples. Another factor which enters into consideration is a fondness exhibited for emigration by some peoples, while others appear very reluctant to leave their homes. Thus the Germans of Switzerland, Belgium, and some of the border provinces have migrated in far greater

[1] *Deutsche Erde*, Jahrgang 1906, Heft 3–4, pp. 95–137 : "Die Ermittelung des Volkstums der Einwanderer in die Vereinigten Staaten." The article, translated by Mr. C. H. Ibershoff, appeared also in the *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, N. S. no. 76 (vol. x), December, 1906—"The Determination of Racial Stock among American Immigrants, by Professor Richard Boeckh."

numbers than the French contingent of the population. The figures of the French immigration to the United States have decreased very greatly (almost one half) since Alsace-Lorraine has been annexed by Germany. Those provinces contained a large German stock, which when coming to this country was classed as French in the immigration statistics of the United States.

In the attempt to estimate the number of persons of German stock in the immigrations from Austria-Hungary, the Netherlands, Russia, Switzerland, etc., account must be taken of the percentage of Germans in the population of those countries, but corrections must be made in accordance with the methods suggested by Böckh. For Austria-Hungary the Census Report of 1900 gives separate categories for Austria proper, Bohemia, and Hungary.

"Austria" in the Census Report is equivalent to the German provinces of Austria, whose population we may take to be completely German. The total of white persons, with both parents born in Austria, living in the United States in 1900 was 408,566.[1] White persons, with one parent born in Austria, one born in the United States, numbered 26,450, of whom one half, viz., 13,225, would belong to our count. White persons with one parent born in Austria, the other in some other foreign country, numbered 55,562; taking one third this number to represent the pure German blood, we get 18,520. The three totals together amount to 439,912.

Bohemia contains a mixed population, of which about 63 per cent is Slavic, 37 per cent German.[2] The latter have for a long time been the oppressed part of the population,

[1] Cf. *Census Reports, supra*, pp. cxc, 836, 840.

[2] Cf. Henoch, *Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande*, pp. 12, 20. (Berlin, 1904.)

and therefore more likely to emigrate. Taking forty per cent of the immigration to the United States as German would, therefore, not misrepresent conditions. In 1900 the total of white persons with both parents born in Bohemia (325,379), plus one half those with one parent Bohemian and one native (one half of 31,451), plus one third those with one parent Bohemian and the other of some other foreign country (one third of 20,102), was 347,804. Forty per cent of this number, viz., 139,216, represents the German blood in the Bohemian immigration.

Proceeding by a similar method with the Russian immigration, we find that the total from Russia would be represented by persons with both parents born in Russia (669,764), plus one half those with one parent Russian, the other native (one half of 15,412), plus one third those with one parent Russian, and the other born in some other foreign country (one third of 47,498); giving the sum 693,303. The Germans in Russia number only two per cent of the population, but from 1898 to 1904 they constituted 6.8 per cent of the Russian immigration to the United States. Presumably they always emigrated in numbers out of proportion to their percentage of population, and their percentage of the total Russian immigration was undoubtedly higher when the Hebrews and Poles did not leave Russia in such large numbers. In the Baltic provinces the Germans number 6.5 per cent, in Russian Poland five per cent of the population.[1] An average of six per cent seems fair, remembering the migratory spirit of the Germans. Six per cent of 693,303 will give 41,598.

Poland is named as a separate foreign country in the Census Reports, though such a country has long ceased to exist. A division, "German Poland," is given (p. clxx, table

[1] Cf. *Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande*, p. 70.

LXXIX) which means the Polish provinces of Prussia, where forty-five to seventy per cent of the inhabitants are of German blood and speech. The number given by the Census in 1900, as born in German Poland, was 150,232 (p. clxx). Giving them the same increase as the other Poles, they, with their children born in the United States, probably numbered 300,000 in the year 1900. Taking one half of these as of German blood we obtain 150,000.

Over seventy per cent of the population of Switzerland is of German blood;[1] still the German population has been far more migratory than the Romance elements, and seventy-five per cent of the immigration to the United States would represent the German contingent more fairly. Computing the Swiss immigration as those above, we obtain three figures: (1) for white persons with both parents born in Switzerland, 187,906; (2) one half of 67,211, viz., 33,605; (3) one third of 77,312, viz., 25,770; making a total of 247,281, seventy-five per cent of which would make 185,460.

The population of Holland is of as pure German (Low German) stock as that of any part of the German Empire. The Census of 1900 (p. clxx) gives 105,098 as the number born in Holland and living in the United States. The ratio of Germans born in Germany to white persons of German parentage in the United States is as 1 : 2.7. Multiplying the number of Dutch by 2.7, we get for the number of persons of Dutch parentage in 1900 the figure 283,764.

While the German population of Belgium is about four sevenths of the total number of inhabitants, Böckh's table shows that the Germans compose about seventy per cent of the immigration coming from Belgium. Giving Luxem-

[1] Cf. *Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande*, p. 83.

burg the same ratio, and computing as above, i. e., adding the Belgians (29,848) to the Luxemburgers (3041), multiplying by 2.7 and taking seventy per cent, we get as the total, 62,160.

The results summarized will appear as follows: —

Total of white persons having both parents born in Germany	6,244,107
Total of white persons having one parent born in Germany, the other native	792,787
Total of white persons having one parent born in Germany, the other in some other foreign country	273,710
Total of Germans from Austria	439,912
Total of Germans from Bohemia	139,216
Total of Germans from Russia	41,598
Total of Germans from Poland	150,000
Total of Germans from Switzerland	185,460
Total of Germans from Holland	283,764
Total of Germans from Belgium and Luxemburg	62,160
Total of Germans from other countries[1]	87,286
	8,700,000

This is the answer to the first question, viz., eight million, seven hundred thousand.

II

In Volume I, Chapter X, the total number of Germans and their descendants in the Colonies in 1775 was estimated at 225,000. The increase until 1790 was probably about fifty per cent. That is the percentage obtained in a comparison of Bancroft's estimate of the white popula-

[1] "Other countries" here include such as Hungary (where the Germans number 11.9 per cent of the population), France (Alsace and Lorraine), Norway and Sweden, Denmark, Roumania (which between 1898 and 1904 sent 1043 Germans). A correction should also be added for Germans of mixed parentage, and for such as might have failed of identification in the large group (1,079,366) called "Other Countries" (*Census*, p. cxc). Adding these we get a correction of something less than 100,000; the figure 87,286 has been used to make an even count.

tion in 1775 (2,100,000) with the number given by the Census of 1790, which was 3,172,000. If we add to the fifty per cent increase, which for the German population is 112,500, some five or six thousand Hessians and a mite for immigration during the period 1784–1790, we get about 345,000.

In order to reach an estimate by another method, the writer has examined the Census Report of 1790 by counties, and estimated the number of Germans in every then existing county of the United States which was known to possess a German population. He has endeavored to correct his own estimate, derived from historical studies, by evidence deduced from the files of the Census of 1790 kept in the Census Bureau at Washington. He has examined a large number of the manuscript returns preserved in the archives of the Census Bureau and attempted to estimate the percentage of German names to the rest of the population.[1] The result in many cases was a verification of the ratio obtained from historical study. In the case of the counties of North and South Carolina, however, it was remarkable to see to what extent German names had been anglicized,[2] and the result was a cutting-down of historical estimates in order to insure against overstatement. In the German counties of Pennsylvania and Maryland, however, German names seemed to be abundant enough to justify very large ratios such as used

[1] The Census Office has recently published the complete lists (as far as possible) of the names in the Census of 1790.

[2] Such changes as Jungblut to Youngblood, Schwab to Swope, are not difficult to detect, but most of them, e. g., the Carpenters (Zimmermann), Smiths, Millers, and numerous others, cannot possibly be distinguished. Another unfortunate feature about the Census of 1790 is that so many parts have been lost, not only returns of counties but whole states. They were destroyed when the city of Washington was burned by the British.

below. In the table[1] here given, the census figures (of 1790) for the county are given first, then the estimate of the German population; the total population of each state is added in a column to the right.

	German.	*Total Population in 1790.*
New England:		
Maine, Lincoln County (29,962)	1,500	96,540
Massachusetts, Suffolk County (44,875)	1,000	
Franklin County (present name)	500	
Total	3,000	378,787
New York: Counties —		
Dutchess (45,266), $\frac{1}{5}$	9,000	
Montgomery (28,848)	20,000	
Schoharie (9808 in 1800)	3,000	
All other counties	5,000	
Total	37,000	340,120
New Jersey:		
Hunterdon (20,153), Morris (16,216), Somerset (12,296); one third of total	16,000	
All other counties	4,000	
Total	20,000	184,139
Pennsylvania:		
Allegheny (10,309) $\frac{1}{3}$	3,700	
Berks (30,179) $\frac{1}{2}$	15,000	
Cumberland (18,243) $\frac{2}{5}$	7,000	
Dauphin (18,177) $\frac{2}{5}$	7,000	
Franklin (15,655) $\frac{1}{3}$	5,300	
Lancaster (36,147) 70 %	25,000	
Montgomery (22,929) 50 % plus	12,000	
Northampton (24,250) $\frac{1}{3}$	8,000	
Philadelphia (54,391) $\frac{1}{3}$ plus	20,000	
Washington (23,866)	7,000	
York (37,747)	25,000	
Other counties, (Bucks Center, Chester, Delaware, Fayette, Huntington, Luzern, Monroe, Northumberland) (152,285) $\frac{1}{6}$	25,000	
Total	160,000	434,373

[1] Cf. *Census Reports*, volume i. Population, part i, table IV, — Population of States and Territories by counties, at each census, 1790–1900, pp. 9 ff. (1901.)

Maryland:		
Baltimore (38,937) $\frac{1}{3}$	13,000	
Allegany (4,809) $\frac{1}{3}$	1,600	
Frederick (30,791) $\frac{2}{3}$	20,000	
Washington (15,822)	6,400	
All other counties	2,000	
Total	43,000	319,728
Delaware:		
Newcastle (19,688) $\frac{1}{6}$	3,000	59,096
Virginia:		
Augusta (10,886) $\frac{1}{3}$	3,600	
Botetourt (10,524) $\frac{1}{5}$	2,000	
Culpeper (22,105) $\frac{1}{4}$	5,000	
Fairfax (Alexandria) (12,320) $\frac{1}{10}$	1,200	
Fauquier (17,892) $\frac{1}{3}$	5,500	
Orange (9,921) $\frac{1}{3}$	3,200	
Rockingham (7,449)	3,500	
Shenandoah (10,510)	6,000	
Spottsylvania (11,252) $\frac{1}{3}$	3,000	
Other counties (Henrico, Mecklenburg, etc.) (37,500)	2,000	
Total	35,000	691,737
West Virginia:		
Berkeley (19,713) $\frac{1}{3}$	6,000	
Greenbrier (6,015)	2,000	
Hampshire (7,346)	2,000	
Hardy (7,336)	2,000	
Harrison, Ohio, Pendleton, etc. (together 10,000)	3,000	
Total	15,000	55,873
Georgia:		
Effingham (2,424)	1,800	
Chatham (10,769) $\frac{1}{3}$	3,500	
Richmond (11,317) $\frac{1}{3}$	3,700	
Total	9,000	82,548
North Carolina:		
Craven (10,469)	3,000	
Guilford (7,191)	1,500	
Iredell (5,435)	1,800	
Lincoln (9,224)	2,200	
Mecklenburg (11,395)	2,500	
Stokes (8,528)	5,000	
Rowan (15,828)	3,000	
Montgomery, Randolph (12,000) $\frac{1}{2}$	1,000	
Total	20,000	393,751

South Carolina:		
Abbeville (9,197) $\frac{1}{4}$	2,500	
Beaufort (18,753) $\frac{1}{4}$	4,600	
Charleston (46,647) $\frac{1}{10}$	4,500	
Edgefield (13,289) $\frac{1}{4}$	3,000	
Newberry (9,342) $\frac{1}{4}$	2,400	
Orangeburg (18,513) 60 %	11,000	
Richland (3,930) $\frac{1}{3}$	1,000	
Other counties	1,000	
Total	30,000	249,073

The summary of results is as follows: —

New England	3,000
New York	37,000
New Jersey	20,000
Pennsylvania	160,000
Maryland	43,000
Delaware	3,000
Virginia and West Virginia	50,000
North Carolina	20,000
South Carolina	30,000
Georgia	9,000
Total	375,000

Comparing this total with the one derived from the first estimate, viz., 345,000, the more accurate figure may lie between the two, viz., 360,000.

The Dutch population in the United States and their descendants in 1790 ought also to be included in the estimate of the German blood. The Dutch are Low Germans, racially of the same stock as the other Germans of the low countries stretching along the German seas. Their history was for centuries closely connected with that of the other North German States, and the population is German (Niederdeutsch, Low German) of purer[1] blood than that of any of the eastern provinces of the German Empire. No attempt has ever been made to estimate the number

[1] The population of Holland is 5,104,000, and only about 20,000 of these are not Low Germans. Cf. F. H. Henoch, *Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande*, p. 89.

of the Dutch in the United States prior to 1790. O'Callaghan states that the inhabitants of the Dutch colonies of New York in 1664 numbered 10,000.[1] Dexter[2] estimates the number of persons in New Netherland in 1664 as 7000; he states that nine years later the Dutch estimated their own contingent in the colony as about 6000 or 7000, to which he adds perhaps half as many English and other whites, which brought the total population to about 10,000 in 1673, at the temporary restoration. Six thousand original Dutch settlers, doubling their number every twenty-three years, would make about 200,000 Dutch descendants in 1790. If they had maintained their percentage of the population, i. e., six tenths, to seven tenths as in 1673, their numbers in 1790 would have been between 204,000 and 238,000. It is probable, however, that the greater influx of English settlers, owing to English dominion over New York, retarded the increase of the Dutch settlers. A conservative estimate, therefore, of the Dutch in New York State in 1790 would be 200,000. We should add about 40,000 for the Dutch located in other states, not more, because most have been counted with the German settlers, from whom they were hardly distinguishable. The total for the Dutch population of the United States in 1790 would therefore be about 240,000. This number of the Dutch in the United States in 1790, added to the estimated German population, 360,000, makes a total of 600,000 for the population of German blood in the United States at the first census in 1790.[3]

[1] Dutch local authorities give this number. Cf. O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, vol. ii, p. 540.

[2] Franklin B. Dexter, *Estimate of Population in the American Colonies; Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society*, N. S., vol. v, p. 33.

[3] Professor Böckh's estimate for the Germans and Dutch together was larger. In conversation with the writer, in July, 1907, he named as the total

According to the estimates obtained in the succeeding paragraphs, the population of 1790 increased about ten and one half times until 1900. This would make the descendants of the 600,000 Germans equivalent to a population of about 6,300,000 in 1900.

III

The third question presents very great difficulties. It involves the whole question of the rate of increase of the foreign immigrations in the nineteenth century, as compared with the native population, their death-rate, their average age at arrival, the number of females compared with males, and last but not least the correction of errors in the statistics of immigrations. Mannhardt has evaded most of these difficulties in a table which he has constructed showing what he estimates to be the increase of the German immigrations from 1820 to 1900.[1] He begins with the period when immigrants coming in at the ports of the United States were counted for the first time, namely, in 1821. He takes the Germans, the Swiss, and part of the Austrians as included in the German element. He begins by estimating that 10,000 represents the number of Germans entering the United States between 1821 and 1830, including a ten per cent increase within the decade. In 1831–1840 the number of German immigrants, according to his figures, was 157,265, plus a ten per cent increase, 15,726, making a total of 172,991. The 10,000 of the first decade and the 173,095 of the second decade would increase at the rate of thirty per cent for every ten

800,000; but being in bad health (he died the following winter), he was not able to put his hands on the statistics he had gathered on the subject many years before.

[1] *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, Vierteljahrschrift 1903, Heft 3, pp. 28 ff.

years. Thus would also every succeeding immigration, and taking the totals together he gets 12,266,291 as the number of Germans and their descendants of the first, second, and third generations surviving in 1900. From this number he subtracts the number of Germans (including Swiss, etc.) who were reported born abroad by the United States Census of 1900, making 3,059,090, plus the Germans of the first generation descended from them, estimated from the Census Report as 5,461,540, making together 8,520,630, and gets after the subtraction a total of 3,745,661. This latter number represents the Germans of the second and third generations who were descended from the German immigrations of 1821 to 1900. They were not classed as of German parentage, but as native-born by the Census of 1900.

Mannhardt adopts the same method to get a total representing the entire foregoing immigrations and their descendants for the period 1820 to 1900; that is, he uses a thirty per cent increase for every ten years and a ten per cent increase of immigrants within the decade. His result is a total of 35,423,436.[1] That would leave[2] for the native stock 31,567,342. The total number of descendants of the second and third generations of the foreign immigration between 1820 and 1900 Mannhardt estimates at 9,492,131.[3]

But Mannhardt's tables are open to criticism. In the first place, there is no attempt to estimate the immigration before 1820. Secondly, the ratio of increase did not remain fixed at thirty per cent, but was a constantly varying quantity from decade to decade.

Far more accurate and trustworthy have been the results

[1] *Geschichtsblätter*, 1903, Heft 4, p. 52.

[2] Subtracting the total from 66,990,788, which represents the total white population of the United States in 1900.

[3] *Geschichtsblätter*, 1903, Heft 4, p. 51.

of Jarvis and Mayo-Smith. Jarvis based his work upon the researches of George Tucker.[1] The latter prepared an estimate of the foreign immigration from 1790 to 1840 with as much accuracy as probably will ever be possible to attain. In deriving his figures before 1800 and immediately after he takes account of the work of his predecessors, particularly of the German statistician Seybert, and improves upon them.

Tucker estimates the foreign immigrations and their descendants during each of the decades as follows:[2]

1790–1800	58,000
1800–1810	82,000
1810–1820	113,400
1820–1830	231,400
1830–1840	540,000

Jarvis continues the work of Tucker (correcting the census lists), as follows:[3]

1840–1850	1,711,161
1850–1860	2,766,495
1860–1870	2,424,390

Mayo-Smith[4] adds the decade—

1870–1880	3,162,502[5]

Jarvis made an attempt to estimate the number of descendants from these decennial immigrations, and then he compared the total with his estimate of the native-born

[1] *Progress of the United States in Population and Wealth in Fifty Years, as exhibited by the Decennial Census*, by George Tucker, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy in the University of Virginia. (New York, 1843.)

[2] Tucker, *ibid.*, pp. 86–87.

[3] Edward Jarvis, "Immigration," *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. xxix, Boston, 1872 (April), pp. 454–468.

[4] Richmond Mayo-Smith, *Emigration and Immigration ; A Study in Social Happiness*, pp. 59–60. (Scribner's: New York, 1892.)

[5] *The Census Report, supra*, p. cii, gives for the decade 1881–1890 a total immigration of 5,246,613 ; for 1891–1900, 3,687,564.

descended from the population of 1790. He calculated that in 1870 the number of whites of foreign descent was 11,607,394, as compared with 21,479,595, representing those descended from the native population of 1790. Mayo-Smith used the same method of calculation for 1870 to 1880 and obtained

For the number of whites of foreign descent	18,000,000
For the white population descended from the natives of 1790	25,500,000
Until 1888 (the date of publication of his book) he estimated for those of foreign descent	25,000,000
For those of native descent	29,000,000

The method was as follows: "For instance, take the decade 1870–1880. During that period the white population increased by 9,815,981. There arrived during the decade 2,944,695 immigrants. In 1880 these immigrants had lived here an average of 3.7 years. Allowing them an increase during that period of two per cent per annum, the total number of immigrants and their descendants in 1880 would have been 3,162,502. This would leave 6,653,479 as the natural increase of the white population exclusive of the immigrants, or 19.48 per cent in ten years. This rate of increase applies equally to those of the white population in 1870 who were descendants of colonists and those who were descendants of immigrants."[1]

In a later work[2] Mayo-Smith brought the calculation down to 1890. The immigration proved larger than was expected, and the result was

For those of foreign descent	26,000,000
For those of native descent	29,000,000

If the same method of computation be followed down to 1900 the result will be that the two elements will show equal strength, each numbering one half the total white

[1] Mayo-Smith, p. 59.

[2] *Statistics and Sociology*, p. 328.

population, which in 1900 was 66,990,788; each therefore would amount to 33,495,394.[1]

This calculation, which seems as nearly accurate as can be obtained in the face of great difficulties, furnishes two very important results. In the first place, we are shown that the native white element in the United States which was descended from the population of 1790, increased a little more than *ten and one half times* (10.56), from 3,172,006 in 1790 to 33,495,394 in 1900.[2] In the second place, we can determine the number of persons born in the United States descended from foreign immigrations between 1790 and 1900 who were not enumerated in the Census of 1900 under the class "of foreign parentage." In other words, we can determine the number of descendants, of the second and succeeding generations of the foreign immigrations of the nineteenth century. The German element among this number will furnish the answer to the third question, the surviving immigrants of the nineteenth century and their descendants of the first generation having been counted in the first question.

In the Census Report of 1900, we find (p. cxc) that the

Total number of white persons having both parents born abroad was	20,839,260
White persons having one parent born abroad, but the other native in the United States was 5,089,202; the foreign blood would be one half[3]	2,544,601
Total of white persons of foreign parentage	23,383,861
According to the calculation above, the total number representing the entire foreign element in 1900 was	33,495,394

[1] Cf. W. L. Anderson, *The Country Town* (New York, 1906), chap. ix, "The Pressure of the Immigrant," pp. 157 ff.

[2] This result has been used to complete the answer to question II.

[3] Anderson, *supra*, pp. 158–159, fails to divide this number by two, and erroneously gets seven and one half millions as the number of foreign descendants of the second and succeeding generations. Mannhardt by a faulty method got 9,492,131 (see above).

There would be left for the descendants of immigrants of the nineteenth century of the second and succeeding generations 10,111,533

The question now arises, what part of these 10,111,533 persons were of German blood? Referring again to the Census Report (p. cxciv, table LXXXIX), we find that the foreign parentage representing Germany amounted to 30.2 per cent of the entire foreign parentage. Adding to this a fraction of the percentage of the immigrations from countries sending large German contingents, e. g., three fourths of Switzerland's 1 per cent, two fifths of Bohemia's 1.4 per cent, Austria's 1.7 per cent, etc., we get easily $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent, or one third, as the German part of the whole immigration. We get the same result, i. e., $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent, if we try another method. The total immigration between 1821, when our records begin, and 1880, after which there would hardly be any descendants of the second generation, was 10,181,044.[1] Taking the German, over three million, with the Swiss, Dutch, and German-Austrian immigrants, we get easily one third.

The figure we had above for the total number of descendants of the second and succeeding generations was 10,111,533, one third of which would be 3,370,511. Three million three hundred and seventy thousand is therefore the answer to the third question.

SUMMARY

Under the first head, the population of German parentage in the United States, the total given was 8,700,000. The German population of 1790, together with the Dutch, was estimated at 600,000: an increase of 10.56 times makes 6,326,000. Adding to these figures the answer of the third

[1] Cf. *Census Report*, 1900, *supra*, p. cii.

question, the number of people descended from the German immigrations since 1790, not before enumerated, viz., 3,370,000, we get a final count: —

I,	8,700,000
II,	6,336,000
III,	3,370,000
Total	18,406,000

This number is a conservative estimate, and future investigators may add to the number of the Germans, especially in the first category. On the basis of the above calculation, we may say that the persons of German blood in the United States number between eighteen and nineteen millions, or about 27½ per cent of the total white population of the United States.

This German blood is diffused over a far larger portion of the population than is represented by eighteen to nineteen millions; it may be diffused over twice that number of persons; the question as to how far the German blood is carried through the entire American people, is one beyond all possibilities of calculation. Twenty-seven and one half per cent represents the amount of German blood in the American people in relation to the other formative elements. In order to give the German contribution a proper setting, it is necessary to make an attempt at an estimate, however imperfect, of the amount of English and Irish (including both Scotch and Irish) blood in the nation. These three elements by far outclass the contributions from all other countries.

Using the same methods as applied to the German blood, we find question I (depending upon the Census Report of 1900), and question III (depending for its solution upon the statistical investigations of Tucker — Jarvis — Mayo-Smith) are not difficult to answer. The uncer-

tainty lies in the answer to question II, viz., what is the number representing each of the various national stocks in the population of 1790? The question of race and stock was never applied by the early census-takers, nor did the early historians pay any attention to it. Only very tentative estimates can therefore be made, based on impressions received from contemporaneous accounts and from the history of colonial settlements.

The German population in 1790, including the Dutch, has been estimated above at 600,000. The Scotch-Irish population was estimated by Hanna[1] as 385,000 at the outbreak of the Revolution. This estimate seems fair, if we take Scotch-Irish to include both the Scotch and Irish, the latter embracing both the Protestant and Catholic Irish. Their increase in 1790 would make about 600,000, i. e., the same in amount as the German and Dutch together. As far as the present investigator was able to ascertain, there has been no attempt made to estimate the English element. If some such method as adopted for the German or for the Scotch and Irish be used, the result obtained indicates that the English stock numbered about 1,500,000 in 1790, i. e., about one half the white population. This estimate is little better than a guess, but it is a serviceable one to work with, and perhaps hits not far from the mark. If the English stock numbered 1,500,000, the Germans and the Irish each 600,000, there would be left out of the 3,172,000 white persons enumerated in the Census of 1790 a remainder of 472,000, representing other stocks, principally the French, Scandinavians, Jews, and Slavs. However unsatisfactory these estimates may be, they are quite

[1] Charles A. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish, or the Scot in North Britain, North Ireland, and North America*, pp. 83-84.

within the range of maximum and minimum possibilities.

Allowing these data to stand, it becomes possible to apply exactly the same method for the English and Irish stocks as was used to determine the amount of German blood in the United States in 1900. The calculation in each case resolves itself into three parts, as above. For the English the results are as follows : —

English Element

I

White persons, with both parents born in England	1,363,301
White persons, with both parents Canadian-English	675,841
One parent born in England, one native, divided by 2	389,837
One parent Canadian-English, one native, divided by 2	312,978
One parent English or Canadian-English, the other born in some other foreign country, divided by $\frac{2}{3}$	511,102
Total	3,253,059

II

English element in 1790, viz., 1,500,000, increasing at the same rate as whole population, i. e., 10.56 times, equals	15,840,000

III

The English element in 1900 was 8.3 per cent, Canadian-English, 5 per cent of total foreign element. 13.3 per cent of 10,111,533 (descendants of immigrations since 1790 not enumerated as foreign element in census of 1900)	1,344,833
Total for English element	20,437,892

Irish and Scotch Element

I

White persons, with both parents born in Ireland	4,000,954
White persons, with one parent born in Ireland, the other native, divided by 2	488,709
White persons, with one parent born in Ireland, the other in some other foreign country, divided by $\frac{2}{3}$	321,949
Scotch parentage figured by same method, total	687,301
Total	5,498,913

II

600,000 multiplied by 10.56 equals	6,336,000

III

The Irish element in 1900 was 19.2 per cent, the Scotch 2.4 per cent of the total foreign element, together, 21.6 per cent. 21.6 per cent of 10,111,533 equals	2,184,091
Total for Scotch and Irish element	13,919,004

The three leading elements, therefore, if the above methods of calculation be correct, compare as follows: —

German element	18,400,000
English element	20,400,000
Irish and Scotch elements	13,900,000
Total	52,700,000
Leaving for other [1] national stocks, Scandinavians, French and other Latin stocks, Slavic races, Hebrews and others	14,290,000
Out of a total white population in 1900 of	66,990,000

The German is but two millions behind the largest, the English stock. By adding its large contribution, between eighteen and nineteen millions (or about 27 per cent of the entire white population of the United States) to the twenty millions or more from England, it has made the American people a Germanic nation.

[1] The writer hopes at a future time to work out more in detail the comparison of the various national and racial elements that make up the nation.

CHAPTER II

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GERMANS IN THE MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY

I. THEIR PROMINENCE IN AGRICULTURE AND DEPENDENT MANUFACTURES

The Germans as farmers; leading traits; as owners of homesteads; settlement of the limestone areas; their choice of land with rich forest growth; the best farmers in the United States — American specialties produced by Germans; fruit-growing — Schwerdkopf, the first strawberry grower in New York; viniculture in California, Missouri, etc.; Anaheim, California — Adaptability of the German farmer — Allied pursuits: forestry; nurseries; gardening; landscape-gardening — The manufacture of food products: preserving and pickling; milling and manufacture of cereals; sugar and salt industries; small producers; butchers, bakers, etc.; brewing; hotels.

The Germans as farmers

If we would know the characteristics of the German farmer in the United States, we should go back again to the Pennsylvania-German of the eighteenth century. Whether located in Pennsylvania or in colonies to the north or south, this type of settler invariably showed the same unsurpassed qualifications for success in agriculture. No one has furnished us with a better characterization of the Pennsylvania-German farmer, or was better qualified to speak concerning him, than Dr. Benjamin Rush, whose sixteen rubrics, whereby the Pennsylvania-German farmer was distinguishable from the native, have been given in an early chapter.[1] By combining the features named by Dr. Rush with some of those emphasized at later periods, the characteristics of the German farmer in the eighteenth

[1] Volume I, Chapter v, pp. 131–138.

and nineteenth centuries may be summed up under the following heads: —

I. He looked for good land, preferring such as was already slightly improved. He selected land of rich forest growth, and by paying cash for it frequently displaced even native-born settlers from the best farm-lands.

II. His methods of farming were those of thoroughness and patient labor. He would clear the land carefully of stumps and stones, and aim at producing the largest possible yield per acre. He believed in a rotation of crops, so as not to exhaust the land, for he planned for the future, and with a view to permanent possession.

III. The native American farmer was wasteful; the German invariably economical. Economy was the rule of his life. He saved even the wood, which seemed so abundant, using stoves instead of huge fireplaces, constructing fences of a kind that did not squander wood. In his mode of life he was frugal, his diet was simple, his furniture plain but substantial, and his clothing of the best material, calculated to last a long time. If his standard of living was lower than that of the native population, it was best fitted to insure success in farming.

IV. He was very considerate of his live-stock, feeding his horses and cattle well, and housing them instead of letting them run wild. In the winter he kept them warm in barns or stables. He kept them hard at work, but never overworked them.

V. Everything about his place was in good order, fences, houses, gardens, and agricultural implements. He first built a great barn to keep his grain. The barn was more imposing than the house, and the particular architectural style of German barn, built first in Pennsylvania, made its way down the Ohio, and can be seen in Wisconsin, or

wherever the German abides. Before the days of the railroad, the German farmers used a wagon equally conspicuous and serviceable. The "Conestoga wagon" was a familiar sight from the Mohawk to the Carolinas, and in the later days of westward progress, its descendant crossed the plains under the familiar name of "prairie schooner." The house of the German farmer was constructed of stone for permanent occupancy, though for reasons of economy it generally took a second generation to build it. This characteristic is noticeable to-day in Wisconsin, where the dwelling of the farmer is very often built of light-colored brick.

VI. The German farmer did most of his work with his own hands, and was assisted by his wife and children. Large families on the farm were therefore a source of prosperity, and this economic fact had a tendency to produce large families. Children were welcomed as a joy, and an asset. Hired labor was used only in harvest-time.

VII. The Germans made it a matter of pride to keep their farms in their own families generation after generation. This was as true of the Mennonites of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, as of the German immigrants of the nineteenth century in Wisconsin, Missouri, or Texas. They kept their own land, and bought out their neighbors of other nationalities. In the eighteenth century they kept the Irish moving, in the nineteenth, they did so with the native population. This tendency has frequently been a cause of fear for the native population. In the northern part of New York, for instance, an objection was made in Lewis County to the importation there of German farmers, the hidden reason being their great success in comparison with others.[1]

[1] Based on a statement of Professor Liberty Hyde Bailey, director of the

The above-named characteristics of the German farmer are also essentially those that insure success in farming as a profession. While one or another national stock has at times been very successful at farming, still there is none whose record has been so consistent for so long a time. The German, throughout a period of over two centuries, has proved himself the most successful farmer in the United States. Statistics show that the more recent German immigrants of the nineteenth century have upheld the ancient reputation of the German farmer in the United States. The Census Report of 1900 furnishes statistics of homesteads, farm-homes, and other homes, owned by the various national elements of the population. Under the title "farm-homes," ownership by the leading nationalities is as shown in the table on page 32.[1]

The table shows that the farmers of German parentage own 522,252 farm-homes, or almost three times as many as the next largest foreign element, viz., that of Great Britain, and almost as many as the number of farm-homes owned by the next three most successful foreign elements added together, Great Britain 183,157, Ireland 176,968, and Scandinavia 174,694. Mannhardt[2] makes an attempt to estimate the number of farms and other homesteads which each element possessed in 1900 in proportion to their numbers. He finds that out of a population of

New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University. A similar tendency has appeared under the writer's observation in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where several people of Scotch-Irish descent, representing settlers of a very early period, have complained of the Amish in Lancaster County because of their extraordinary success as farmers, and their tendency to buy up the lands of all other old families.

[1] *Twelfth Census of the United States*, 1900, vol. ii, Population, part II, p. 742, table CXIV.

[2] *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, Jahrgang iv (1904), Heft 2, pp. 36 ff.

PROPRIETORSHIP OF HOMES, DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO PARENTAGE

States, Territories, and Counties	Total private families	Total Farm-Homes	OWNED		
			Free	Encumbered	Unknown
Total of all in United States	14,083,882	4,906,911	2,270,194	1,042,859	111,926
Parentage in U. S. (or unknown)	8,091,658	3,579,240	1,682,461	638,262	84,405
Austria-Hungary	192,068	34,870	16,261	10,629	655
Canada (English)	207,580	49,971	19,837	16,952	1,029
Canada (French)	159,590	24,401	10,095	8,529	417
Germany	1,982,917	522,252	227,266	156,253	10,054
Great Britain	835,513	183,157	87,786	49,278	3,987
Ireland	1,234,108	176,968	85,320	52,651	3,734
Italy	141,635	5,321	2,091	1,005	139
Poland	121,971	12,478	4,795	5,725	227
Russia	128,206	13,416	7,216	3,212	374
Scandinavia	437,516	174,694	70,788	64,873	4,170
Other countries	322,495	81,292	34,967	20,802	1,691
Mixed foreign population	228,625	48,851	21,311	14,688	1,044

10,000, the natives of Great Britain have 919 farm-homes,[1] those of Scandinavia 896, of Germany 836, of Ireland 442, of the United States (and unknown) 849. The average of all inhabitants in the United States together is 732 in 10,000. The Germans are therefore surpassed in proportion to their numbers (though not in actual numbers) by the British and Scandinavians. Of owned farm-homesteads, he calculates that the British possessed 721 in a population of 10,000, the Scandinavians 717, the Germans

[1] Owned and hired.

611, the Irish only 354, the natives of the United States 586; the general average was 511 in 10,000. In the possession of owned other homesteads, the Germans lead all others, having 952 in a population of 10,000, the Irish next with 893, followed by the English Canadians with 719. The natives of the United States (and unknown) had 425, and the general average was 502 in 10,000.[1] The high standing of the Scandinavians in the possession of farm-homes is accounted for by the fact that they are primarily an agricultural people, and do not enter other pursuits with the same zeal. The Irish, on the other hand, living more in the cities, stand high in the possession of other homesteads, and do not show the same success in the acquiring of "farm" homesteads. The German population shows marked success in the activities of both the town and the country, taking first rank in the former, third in the latter (in proportion to their numbers). It must be remembered, however, that with greater numbers the high ratio is more difficult to maintain, and therefore the German and the native elements are at a disadvantage in comparison with most of the others. In actual numbers, persons of German parentage (i. e., born in Germany or born in the United States of German parents) surpass by far all other foreign stocks as owners of farm-homes. As the table above proves, they own 10.6 per cent of all the farm-homes in the United States, or almost as many as the English, Irish, and Scandinavian elements together. They have maintained to the present day the ancient reputation of the German agri-

[1] The natives of Great Britain have 124, Scandinavians 143 in 10,000. If we add the two ratios of farm and of other homesteads we find that the Germans own 1563 homesteads in a population of 10,000, the English Canadians 1287, the Irish 1247, the natives of the United States 1013, the Scandinavians 860, the British 845. If Mannhardt's calculation be correct, then the Germans are by far the most successful home-seekers and farm-owners of all the elements of the population.

culturists, that of being the most successful farmers in the United States.

The German influence on the development of the agricultural resources of the country cannot, however, be measured merely by the decades coming under the survey of the last census report. A constant force, German agricultural industry has been pushing the wheel of prosperity for more than two centuries. The location of the German farmers in the eighteenth century has been compared with the geological formation of the soil. "The limestone areas in a geological map of Pennsylvania would serve as a map of the German settlements. First they filled in the Limestone Island adjacent to Philadelphia, in Lancaster and Berks counties; then they crossed the Blue Ridge into the Great Valley, floored with limestone. This valley is marked by the cities of Easton, Bethlehem, Allentown, Reading, Harrisburg, etc. Following it towards the southwest along the trough between the hills, they crossed the Potomac into Central Maryland, and by 1732 following the same formation they began to occupy the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia." [1]

They continued to settle in limestone areas in every new territory, as for instance in Kentucky, where they entered the Blue-Grass Region in very large numbers during and immediately after the Revolutionary War.[2] It is an interesting experiment to examine the geological maps of the counties in Pennsylvania where there were both German and Irish settlers, such as Berks or Lancaster counties. The Germans are most numerous where the limestone appears, while the Irish are settled on the slate formations. This phenomenon is repeated so often that it

[1] F. J. Turner, Chicago *Record-Herald*, August 28, 1901.

[2] Cf. Volume I, Chapter XII.

might create the impression that the early settlers had some knowledge of geology. It is more reasonable to suppose, however, that they studied the surface of the land in regard to its vegetation and general appearance, the Irish taking land well-watered, near the big rivers, and the Germans, with a better eye for good land, choosing that on which there grew the best trees, such as oaks, a sure sign of good land. Another guiding principle in their choice was the selection of land the natural features of which resembled closely those of the country they had left. The Scotch-Irish would select well-watered meadow land, such as they had been brought up on in Ulster County in the north of Ireland; the Germans would prefer undulating country of rich forest growth, like that of the Rhenish Palatinate. This principle of selecting land similar to that which was found good at home prevailed even on a second and third choice. Remarkable instances have occurred in the case of families who have migrated farther and farther westward, generation after generation, of the choice of a farm or homestead almost identical in appearance with the one owned by them in the original locality. As for the Germans of the eighteenth century, it happened that the best land they found and that also which was most similar to the Palatinate, their native country, was included in the limestone areas.

In Wisconsin the German immigrants of the nineteenth century showed good judgment in their selection of the heavily wooded districts, those being sure indications to them of good soil. Preferring to get the best yield from a smaller acreage, they left to others the prairie land and the big-farm region, whenever a choice was possible. They proved the wisdom of working with a view to the future. They were enabled in time to encroach upon the posses-

sions of less skillful farmers, and pay good prices for desirable land. "In whole townships and, in some states, almost whole counties, their superior thrift and skill had enabled them to dispossess the native American farmers."[1] "Their [the Pennsylvania-German farmers'] limestone farms became the wheat granaries of the country. Their great, well-built barns, fine stock, and big Conestoga wagons were an object-lesson to the other sections."[2] The same may be said of the German farmers of Wisconsin and the Northwest at the present day. They have contributed a large share toward making this country a wheat granary of the world. An acute observer[3] of economic conditions in the West presents the following syllogism: A failure of the wheat crop means financial failure for the year in the United States. A great part of the success of the wheat crop depends upon the skill and industry of the German farmers of the Northwest. Therefore, a successful financial year depends very largely upon the skill and industry of the German farmer of the Northwest.

The historian Lamprecht, of the University of Leipzig, said that during his trip to the United States he had seen but two well-cultivated areas, Pennsylvania and Utah, the result of religious enthusiasm[4] on the one hand, of German nationality on the other. But when measured by European standards, he declares there is but one well-

[1] Turner, Chicago *Record-Herald*, September 4, 1901.

[2] Turner, *supra*, August 28, 1901.

[3] Dr. Walther Wever, at the time consul-general of the German Empire, located at Chicago.

[4] In Utah and the Mormon states the population is largely English. (See map, Volume I, p. 576.) We ought therefore not to be inclined to attribute the agricultural success to religious enthusiasm, but to English skill in farming. The statement would then be altered to read that the two best farming areas in the United States are Pennsylvania and Utah, the one due to German, the other to English skill in farming.

cultivated area, and that is Pennsylvania.[1] Still he was filled with admiration as he passed through Wisconsin, from Chicago to Milwaukee: "The black soil here gives evidence of uncommon fertility; forests of oak shoot upward, cleared of all brushwood by painstaking colonists — rich farms abound, and the prosaic frame cottages are replaced partly by stone houses; farmers are seen plowing behind three horses; mowing-machines and merry harvest wagons present a sumptuous picture. In the prettiest parts it seems as if we had come into a land such as the German farmer might dream of: an improved Germany, a region of which the poet had a foreboding when he said, 'And like a garden was the land to look upon.' Such is the land of the German farmer, the land of German industry."[2]

American specialties

In previous chapters the "Latin farmer," so-called because he had received a college (gymnasium) or university education, was spoken of as commonly unsuccessful in agricultural pursuits. The political refugees of the revolutionary period of 1848 far more frequently entered the professional careers and lived in the large cities. Many of them, however, were conspicuous as exceptions to the general rule. There were such "Latin farmers" as Friedrich Münch,[3] who cultivated the old Duden farm near the banks

[1] Karl Lamprecht, *Americana* (Freiburg i/B. 1906), p. 55. It is the opinion of Professor L. H. Bailey, director of the New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, that Lancaster and Chester counties in Pennsylvania are models as farming areas, and probably the richest, proportionate to their size, in the United States. Lancaster is a German county; Chester has a mixed population of Germans, Swedes, English, Scotch-Irish, and Welsh.

[2] Lamprecht, *supra*, p. 24.

[3] Cf. Volume I, pp. 442 ff. Münch was a refugee of the period of 1830.

of the Missouri River, the Engelmann family at Belleville, Illinois, and the imposing figure of old Hecker, military leader of the German Revolution in Baden, veteran of the Civil War, and gentleman farmer. Some of these exceptional men became noted in the history of American farming for their cultivation of specialties. Such was Pfeffer, of Wisconsin, who is famous in the history of American horticulture for the growth of an apple, which he has called the "Pewaukee apple." Another Wisconsin forty-eighter, Lewis, became widely known as a pig-man, his breeds becoming famous throughout the country.[1] Within the past years a large number of German agriculturists have come to the United States for the purpose of studying American conditions. They generally found that in scientific agriculture they had little to learn from America, in spite of her enormous crops. Under far less favorable conditions the German farmer in his own country has been forced to call into requisition the maximum of skill, industry, and thorough study of conditions. Nevertheless the German agricultural investigator confessedly finds something to reward him for his travels in the United States. One American feature is fruit-growing on a large scale, i. e., by the acre, and another the use of agricultural machinery.[2] Both of these American features are due to special conditions which the farmer in this country had to contend with and meet, the first being a great demand for fruit by the American people, and the second a device absolutely necessary for saving labor on the farm. It will be found in the succeeding paragraphs that the German farmer has con-

[1] Both of the latter examples were furnished the writer by Professor Bailey, who likewise commented upon the fine type of manhood that these individuals represented.

[2] The writer is indebted for this information to Professor G. N. Lauman, of the New York State Agricultural College, Cornell University.

tributed a worthy share in the solution of both of these problems.[1]

One of the earliest to grow fruit by the acre was a German on Long Island, — Johann Schwerdkopf, native of Hessen, by trade a gun-maker. He came to America somewhere between 1740 and 1750, settling on Long Island. He was a versatile genius, and finding a demand among the people for medicines, he began with the manufacture of bitters. He then cultivated rose-bushes and made rose-water, but his medicines or bitters, extracted from plants he had gathered in the woods, found a more ready sale. The Revolutionary War destroyed Schwerdkopf's rose-gardens, but after 1783 he started up again undismayed. The jack of three trades, he finally found mastery in a fourth. With an eye toward business he noticed that the people of New York were fond of fruit and berries. He now began to turn his attention to the earliest fruit of spring, the strawberry. At first he rented and then bought large stretches of cheap land and planted acres upon acres with strawberries. The cultivation of this luscious early fruit had been neglected before Schwerdkopf took it up. He made the strawberry a favorite dish for the New Yorkers. Every year his plantation grew, and the owner soon had a monopoly of the strawberry sale in the markets of New York. His rapid success gave rise to the fiction that he had discovered a treasure buried underground during the Revolutionary War, and thereby laid the foundation of his wealth.[2]

Viniculture

From the earliest time the Germans made attempts to

[1] The subject of agricultural machinery will be discussed in the next chapter (III) under the general head of technical industries.

[2] See *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. iii, pp. 143–146. Schwerdkopf appears for

cultivate the grape in the United States. They tried it in Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, California, and elsewhere. In South Carolina the first colonists, enthused over their discovery of the wild grape, allowed their expectations to rise high, but their hopes were not realized. We have seen [1] how the Swiss colony at Vevay, Indiana, early in the nineteenth century made a determined effort but failed. The output of twenty-four hundred gallons in 1810 increased to five thousand gallons in 1817, but the hope of successfully competing with foreign wines had to be abandoned. The European varieties of the grape would not prosper on American soil, nor were the native American species suitable for the table or for wine until subjected to a process of cultivation. The Frenchman, John Francis Dufour, his family and brothers, the brothers Siebenthal, Philip Bettens, and Jean D. Merérod, fought a good fight at Vevay in the interests of American grape-culture, proving through their misfortunes that the European grape will not prosper in Eastern North America. Only one of their varieties, known as the Cape grape, yielded good returns, but the location seemed unfavorable, their vines sickened, the fruit rotted, and a killing pest in 1832 or 1833 practically ruined the colony's vineyards. In an early account [2] of the few vineyards existing in the United States about 1825 are mentioned the successful attempts of the Rappists at Harmony, Indiana, and the work of the German Thomas Echelburger, who was instrumental in establishing twenty vineyards near York, Pennsylvania.

the last time in a document of the year 1794, where he is called an old man who lives at the corner of Fulton Street and Love Lane, Brooklyn. Papers bearing his signature spell his name also Swertcoop and Swertcope.

[1] Cf. Volume I, p. 455.

[2] That of Rafinesque, *American Manual of the Grape-Vine and the Art of Making Wine*, published in 1830.

In the evolution of the native varieties of the American grape, Germans have contributed a prominent share. The Catawba[1] was cut by Major John Adlum from a grape-vine of much renown owned by the German innkeeper, Mrs. Scholl, of Montgomery County, Maryland. "A German priest, who saw Mrs. Scholl's vines in full bearing and when ripe, pronounced them the true Tokay." John Adlum, "one of the most ingenuous benefactors of our agriculture," pruned the vine in February, 1819, "for the sake of the cuttings," and subsequently (1825) sent some to Nicholas Longworth of Cincinnati, who trained them successfully, and proved the Catawba's wonderful commercial possibilities. Longworth, often called "the father of American grape-culture," employed German vine-dressers[2] and was often guided by German opinion, e. g., "We have been led to the abandonment of the Cape grape, from the opinion of our German vine-dressers and German wine-drinkers, who are opposed to sugar and brandy in the manufacture of wine."[3] It is probable also that Longworth received his inspiration for viniculture when in 1822 he acquired by purchase the beautiful home of Martin Baum, famous for its gardens and vineyards.[4]

Another American variety of great commercial prominence for its wine-producing qualities is the so-called "Norton's Virginia." It was practically discovered by the Germans of Missouri. Mr. George Husmann, writing in 1865, says of it: "It was about this time [1850] that the attention of some of our grape-growers was drawn toward a small, insignificant-looking grape, which had been ob-

[1] See L. H. Bailey, *The Evolution of Our Native Fruits*, pp. 53-54. (New York, Macmillan, 1898.)

[2] Cf. Bailey, *supra*, pp. 96-97: An account of Longworth's best vine-dresser, the German "Father Ammen."

[3] Cf. Bailey, p. 48.

[4] Cf. Volume I, p. 425.

tained by a Mr. Wiedersprecker from a Mr. Heinrichs, who had brought it from Cincinnati, and almost at the same time, by Dr. Kehr, who had brought it with him from Virginia. The vine seemed a rough customer, and its fruit very insignificant when compared with the large bunch and berry of the Catawba, but we soon observed that it kept its foliage bright and green, when that of the Catawba became sickly and dropped; and also that no rot or mildew damaged the fruit, when that of the Catawba was nearly destroyed by it. After a few years a few bottles of wine were made from it, and found to be very good. But at this time it almost received its death-blow by a very unfavorable letter from Mr. Longworth, who had been asked his opinion of it, and pronounced it worthless. Of course, with the majority, the fiat of Mr. Longworth, the father of American grape-culture, was conclusive evidence, and they abandoned it. Not all, however; a few persevered, among them Messrs. Jacob Rommel, Poeschel, Langendoerfer, Grein, and myself. After a few years more wine was made from it in larger quantities, found to be much better than the first imperfect samples; and now that despised and condemned grape is *the* great variety for red wine, equal, if not superior, to the best Burgundy and Port. I think that it is preëminently a Missouri grape. Here it seems to have found the soil in which it flourishes best. I have seen it in Ohio, but it does not look there as if it was the same grape." Another variety, called the "Cynthiana," supposed to have been picked up in the wilds of Arkansas, is almost indistinguishable from the "Norton," and Mr. Husmann wrote in 1865, "promises fair to become a dangerous rival to Norton's Virginia." The "Norton" was too well established, however, and the two varieties are the principal wine-grapes of Missouri and the middle South.[1]

[1] Cf. Bailey, *supra*, pp. 79–80.

Not a little of the prosperity that "robes the hillsides and valleys" of Gasconade County and beyond is due to the theory and practice of George Husmann, who believed firmly in the future of the American vine, fought its foes, disseminated necessary information about its culture, and conducted one of the oldest establishments in the United States for the manufacture of American wine from American grapes. George Husmann was born near Bremen in 1827, came to this country with his parents when eight years of age, and in 1849 was taken with the gold fever. Shortly after he was called back to Missouri by his favorite sister, who, on the death of her husband, wished her brother to take charge of the estate. The year 1851 found George back again in Gasconade County, and then his career in horticulture began. His work was interrupted only by the war, in which he served as lieutenant and quartermaster of the Fourth Missouri Regiment of Volunteers. After being mustered out in 1865, he conducted extensive nurseries and one of the largest fruit-farms in the state, known far and wide as a model farm, the products of which won the first awards at fairs and expositions. In 1866 appeared his first book, "Grapes and Wine," and in 1869 he began the publication of the "Grape Culturist," "which was the first American journal to devote itself exclusively to a single type of plant. Since Adlum, no writer of books has so clearly and forcibly emphasized the importance of the native grapes as Husmann." [1] He was chosen in 1860, with Carl Schurz, an elector from Missouri for the election of the President of the United States, and a member of the convention for

[1] The quotation is from Professor Bailey's *Evolution of Our Native Fruits*, p. 69. The biographical facts of the career of Husmann were furnished the writer by his son, George C. Husmann, of Washington, D. C.

revising the constitution of the state of Missouri. In 1870 he was appointed a member of the Board of Curators of the Missouri State University, and became a charter member of the Missouri Horticultural Society and the State Board of Agriculture. He established the Husmann Nurseries at Sedalia, Missouri, in 1872, and was one of the first, if not the first to ship cuttings of American resistant vines to France for reëstablishing her vineyards.[1] In 1878 he was appointed Professor of Pomology and Forestry of the State University of Missouri, and in the same year originated and organized (with Parker Earle) the Mississippi Horticultural Society.

Husmann resigned his professorship at Missouri University in 1881 to accept the management of the Talcoa Vineyards (Simonton Estate) in Napa County, California. His practical experience as a planter and his theoretical equipment as a professor now formed the foundation for his future practical, experimental, and scientific work on the Pacific Coast. In California the European vine had grown successfully, but now the phylloxera was making inroads, and as in Europe resistant American roots were imported from the Mississippi region. Husmann, representing American as opposed to European grape-culture for America, was the man of the hour who could advance viticulture in California. The danger was overcome and grape-growing in California received a more secure founda-

[1] In this connection mention must be made of the important work of the German-Missourian Jacob Rommel, "who gave his attention to the breeding of varieties, using a new stock — the riverbank grape (*Vitis vulpina*, or *V. riparia*) — as the parent of crosses." (Bailey, p. 69.) The cord-like roots of this stock resist the attacks of the insect phylloxera, and hence it has been used most widely to be sent to Europe as a resistant parent stock upon which European varieties are grafted. "This variety is now a cornerstone of the viticulture of the Old World." (Bailey, p. 92.)

tion. Husmann was appointed State Statistical Agent for California in 1885, selected the wines for the Paris Exposition (which were awarded some twenty medals), was a member of the Viticultural Congress at Washington, and a frequent contributor to horticultural journals. His book, "Grape Culture and Wine-Making," reached its fourth edition in 1896. He died in 1902 on his ranch in Chiles Valley, Napa County, survived by his widow and six children.

Of the latter, George C. Husmann has carried on the work of his father as an investigator and promoter of viticulture both in theory and practice. Trained in Missouri under his father's supervision, he accepted in 1882 a position as superintendent of the extensive Kohler and Frohling vineyards and wineries at Glen Ellen, Sonoma County, California; in the following year, however, joining his father in the management of the Talcoa vineyards, where extensive nurseries for resistant stock varieties were established, and vineyards replanted with the new vines. In 1887 George C. Husmann accepted the post of general foreman of Governor Leland Stanford's famous Vina vineyards and wineries at Vina, California. He remained there until 1890, when he took charge of the vineyards and wineries of Kohler and Frohling at Windsor and Glen Ellen, Sonoma County, California. After completing the vintage there of 1892, he managed and owned with his father the Oak Glen vineyards and wineries from 1892 to 1900, when he accepted the government appointment of Pomologist in Charge of Viticultural Investigations in the Bureau of Plant Industry at Washington, D. C. In this experimental and field work Mr. Husmann's influence on the development of viticulture in the United States is far-reaching beyond that of any other one man, and he worth-

ily carries on in the South and elsewhere the great work done by the elder Husmann in the Mississippi and Missouri valleys and on the Pacific slope.

One of the most prominent nursery firms of the country, who have contributed largely to the culture of the grape, is that of the Germans, Bush & Son, at Bushberg, south of St. Louis. Their catalogue is a semi-scientific publication, used as a text-book in American agricultural schools, and furnishes a complete history of the American grape, its origin and genealogy.[1]

An interesting occurrence in the history of American horticulture was an influence upon the grape-culture of Europe by the same firm of Bush & Son. It happened that the phylloxera, an insect of American origin which preys upon the roots of grape-vines, having found its way into European vineyards by exportation, threatened to destroy the grape industry of Europe. Bush & Son discovered that a certain American variety (the riverbank vine, *V. riparia* or *V. vulpina*) was immune from the attack of the insect. After proving that the American vine could be used as a stock on which to graft the European forms, they made arrangements to meet the demand from abroad and grew millions of the phylloxera-resistant stocks for shipment to Europe. Thus they became instrumental in placing the European grape industry on an entirely new basis.[2]

As already stated, one of the most successful wine-produc-

[1] Cf. Bush & Son, and Meissner, *Illustrated Descriptive Catalogue of American Grape-Vines; a Grape-Grower's Manual.* (3d edition, St. Louis, 1883, 4th edition, 1895.)

[2] "Already millions of American grape-vines are growing in France, hundreds of thousands in Spain, Italy, Hungary, etc." *Catalogue of Bush & Son, and Meissner*, quoted by L. H. Bailey, *The Evolution of Our Native Fruits*, p. 92.

ing centres east of California is the town of Hermann, Gasconade County, Missouri. The industry is entirely in the hands of Germans and was so from the beginning. The state of Missouri in 1904 shipped one twelfth of the wine placed on the market by all states. Of the surplus number of gallons produced by the state in that year, viz., 3,068,780, Gasconade County furnished 2,971,576 gallons, and almost all of this amount was produced at and immediately around the principal city, Hermann.[1]

The foreign-born viticulturists of California[2] were more fortunate in having their fondest hope realized, that of seeing the European varieties of the grape prosper on American soil. Thus one of the earliest pioneers, Julius Dresel, son of the Rhineland (he was born at Geisenheim on the Rhine, in 1816), after an eventful career, drank Rhine wine, the product of his own Rhenish vines, on his "Rhinefarm" in Sonoma County, California. Dresel was of the superior class of "Latin farmers," had been a student of law at the University of Heidelberg, but had become involved in the political disturbances of 1848, and had emigrated, settling first in Texas. He engaged in farming at Sisterdale, near the Guadalupe River, north of San Antonio, and was the first in that section of Texas to raise wheat, rye, and cotton without slave labor. Under great difficulties he imported Saxon rams and therewith improved the Mexican sheep. He was the first to plant a

[1] Cf. W. G. Bek, *The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and its Colony, Hermann, Missouri*, p. 151, etc. See also Volume I, p. 444.

[2] The biographical notes in this and the succeeding paragraphs are based on correspondence with members of the respective families. These data were furnished, on the writer's suggestion, by the untiring efforts of Professor E. W. Hilgard, of the University of California, and Mr. Charles Bundschu of San Francisco, who have thus contributed valuable items to the history of viticulture in the United States. See also the acknowledgment in Volume I, p. 509, footnote.

vineyard with the Johannisberg Riesling, which at first did well, but in the third year was destroyed by the large Texas red ant, which invaded the vineyard in countless numbers and stripped the vines of every vestige of green leaf. In the year 1850 his brother Emil, an architect, on a visit at Sisterdale, built him a house. In the following spring, Emil with four friends made his way on horseback through the wilderness to California, and in partnership with Jacob Gundlach in 1858 laid out the Rhinefarm Vineyards, Sonoma County. Julius Dresel remained on his farm in Texas until 1862, when, his Lincoln sympathies being well known, he removed to San Antonio for greater security. Emil Dresel died in 1869 and bequeathed to his brother his interest in the Rhinefarm in Sonoma County, California. Julius Dresel thereupon sold his possessions in Texas and with his family removed to the Rhinefarm. There he found a considerable stock of wines on hand without sales, and his first efforts were therefore directed toward creating a market, which he accomplished by personal visits to the large Eastern cities. Then he devoted his energies to improving the quality of the wine of the Rhinefarm by importing fine varieties of grape-vines from Germany and France. In the year 1875 the old partnership between him and Jacob Gundlach was discontinued, Mr. Gundlach establishing the wine business of J. Gundlach & Co. (subsequently the Gundlach-Bundschu Wine Company) in San Francisco, and Mr. Dresel continuing his vineyards on the Rhinefarm. When the phylloxera made its appearance in California vineyards, Julius Dresel was the first to import resistant roots from the Mississippi: and to test them thoroughly he planted them with the louse. The entire vineyard had to be replanted with the American stock, upon which were grafted the finer varie-

ties. The first crop from vines grafted to resistant roots was pressed in the year 1878, and the same vines are bearing crops to-day, a period of thirty years. After the phylloxera was overcome Dresel continued to experiment with noted varieties of the European grape, in order to find the very best vines suited to his soil and climate.[1]

It is claimed for another German-Californian, John Rock, that he has been directly responsible for the introduction of a larger number of trees and plants into California than any other one man, not excepting Luther Burbank. For more than forty years he was untiring in his purpose to stimulate, broaden, and intensify economic and ornamental horticultural enterprise in his state. He labored not for recognition, but for the joy of successful accomplishment, for the love of the work itself, in his chosen field. John Rock was born in Oberhessen, of noble parents, in the year 1836. Coming to this country at the age of fifteen, he was employed in the seed business until the breaking-out of the Civil War. He joined the Fifth Regiment of New York Zouaves, conspicuous for their daring service and severe losses, and remained with the regiment four years, taking part in nine battles. After the war, in 1866, he migrated to California, at first being employed by James Lick. A few years later he founded the Rock Nurseries on the Milpitas Road, which in their time were recognized as of the first rank. In 1884 he established the California Nurseries, covering over twenty-five hun-

[1] In politics Julius Dresel continued a stanch Republican until he opposed the party's protectionist policy in the eighties. Although proud of his adopted country, he never lost his love for the Fatherland and desired to see it again. Leaving his business in the hands of his eldest son in 1891, he returned to the banks of the Rhine, settling down at Wiesbaden, in full vigor of mind and body. Contracting a cold while climbing a mountain, he died in the same year of his return to his beloved Rhine.

dred acres of land, at Niles, in Alameda County, which he managed until his death in 1904.

Another of the earliest vineyardists was Charles Krug, born at Trendelburg, Prussia, in 1825. He received a university education at Marburg, and came to Philadelphia in 1847 as a teacher in the Free-Thinkers' School of that city. When he heard of the popular uprising in South Germany, he returned in 1848 to fight for freedom in the Fatherland. After an imprisonment of nine months he came back to Philadelphia in 1851. In the following year he appeared in San Francisco and became editor of the "Staatszeitung," the first German paper on the Pacific Coast. In 1858 he purchased a tract of land in Sonoma and planted twenty acres to vines. In the same year he made twelve hundred gallons of wine for John Patchett of Napa, the first wine made in this valley. In 1860 he married and located in Napa Valley (St. Helena), increasing his holdings continuously, and planting the best European varieties of the grape. He took much pride in maintaining a model vineyard and winery, and was considered one of the foremost viticulturists north of the Bay of San Francisco.

Frederick Roeding, born in Hamburg in 1824, had first settled in South America, but induced by the gold fever came to California, a "forty-niner." After a short experience as a miner, he became a commission merchant and a banker. As a member and trustee for a German-American syndicate he purchased eighty thousand acres in Fresno County in 1869. A portion was given to the Southern Pacific Railroad, then building through the San Joaquin Valley, and the city of Fresno was laid out. In conjunction with capitalists he instituted in 1872 the Fresno Canal and Irrigation Company, from which dates

the development of Fresno County. In 1883 he started the Fancher Creek Nurseries, seven miles east of Fresno, which in 1894 were transferred to his son, George C. Roeding, who extended the business. The latter is the author of a book entitled "California Horticulture," also a monograph on the fig, and in the Burbank booklet are described several varieties of plants that he is propagating for Mr. Burbank. Mr. George C. Roeding is especially interested in the growth of the fig and has originated the so-called "Calimyrna" fig.

The founder of the Eggers Vineyard Company was born in Hanover, Germany, a "forty-eighter" when he left his native land, full of the spirit of liberty, but soon to be enthralled by the demon of gold-seeking, a feverish "forty-niner" when he arrived on American soil. Eggers laid the foundation of his fortune in a wholesale grocery establishment, Eggers & Co., which existed for about thirty years. In the mean time he invested in Fresno and Kern County lands, and after 1883 devoted his entire attention to his vineyards, and the distillery, which had a capacity of thirty-five thousand gallons of wine and brandy. In 1895 was incorported the Eggers Vineyard Company, which in 1907 was sold to the Great Western Vineyards Company.

William Palmtag, born in Baden in 1847, when seventeen years of age followed the lead of nine brothers who all went to California. His rise in fortune came with his establishing himself at Hollister in 1873, where he became a vineyardist, distiller (the capacity of his distillery is six hundred gallons daily), banker, and ranchman. In politics he has been given many positions of trust and responsibility.

Other prominent German names of early and successful

vineyardists in California are C. Kohler, J. Dresel, H. Wohler, J. Beringer, W. Scheffler, G. Grozinger, I. De Turk, F. Eisen, T. Reiser, W. Koenig, T. Harzung, J. Schramm, C. Stern, J. L. Rose,[1] B. Dreyfus, Henry Kohler, and others.

The Germans were instrumental in establishing orange culture in Southern California on a large scale. Anaheim was a settlement made by Germans southwest of Los Angeles. Nordhoff, the well-known writer of books on California, himself of German descent, called attention to the location of Anaheim, and recommended the culture of grapes and southern fruits. But the orange was the product for which Anaheim became famous. It attracted a large number of settlers from the East, who planted the orange. The population of Anaheim is by no means as much German now as it was at the beginning.

Science of agriculture

The Nestor of agricultural science in this country is Eugene Woldemar Hilgard, born in Zweibrücken, Rhenish Bavaria, in 1833. At an early age he was brought to this country by his father, Theodore Erasmus Hilgard, "jurist, publicist, and poet," who settled at Belleville, Illinois (the "Latin Settlement"), and cultivated the vine and fruit-tree.[2] Eugene W. Hilgard went back to Germany for his higher education, studying at the universities of Freiburg, Zurich, and at Heidelberg, where he took his doctor's degree in 1853. On his return he was appointed to responsible positions in the service of the state, and was called to

[1] He is the same, mentioned in Volume I, p. 509, as the owner of an orange plantation near the Mission San Gabriel, California.

[2] Another son of Theodore Hilgard, viz., Julius E. Hilgard (b. 1825), was eminent as a civil engineer; still another as a physician. See succeeding chapter, p. 83.

occupy professorships at leading universities of the country. He was state geologist of Mississippi 1855 to 1873; chemist in charge of the laboratory in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., and lecturer in the National Medical College in Washington, 1867 to 1868; professor of chemistry in the University of Mississippi, 1866 to 1873; professor of geology and natural history, University of Michigan, 1873 to 1875; since then he has been professor of agricultural chemistry in the University of California, and director of the State Agricultural Experiment Station; in 1904 he resigned the directorship of the Experiment Station, and retired as Professor *Emeritus* of the University of California, devoting his leisure to completing his lifework, his book on "Soils" (600 pp.), published in 1906. This authoritative work sums up his special investigations of the soils of the Southwestern States and of the Pacific Slope, in their relation to geology, their chemical and physical composition, their native flora and agricultural qualities; it includes his studies of "alkali lands," and the influence of climate upon the formation of soils. Professor E. W. Hilgard conducted the agricultural division of the northern transcontinental survey, 1881 to 1883; he prepared for the United States Weather Bureau in 1892 a discussion of the "Relations of Climate to Soils," which was translated into several European languages, and gained for the author an award of very great distinction from the Royal Academy of Sciences (Munich, Bavaria), the "Liebig Medal for important advances in agricultural science" (1894).[1] In recognition of his distinguished serv-

[1] Professor Hilgard has also published numerous papers on chemical, geological, and agricultural subjects in government reports, and in scientific journals both at home and abroad. He published a *Report on the Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi* (1860); *On the Geology of Louisiana and the Rock-Salt Deposits of Petite Anse Island, Louisiana* (1869); *Report on the*

ices in science, Professor Hilgard has repeatedly been honored in this country and abroad by the bestowal of the honorary doctor's degree, the highest award within the gift of a university. He received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Mississippi in 1882, from the University of Michigan in 1887, and from Columbia in 1887; on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his promotion to the doctor's degree (*Doktorjubiläum*), he received from his *alma mater*, the University of Heidelberg, the Ph.D. "*honoris causa iterum collatum*," a rare and worthy tribute. The influence of Professor Hilgard's work as an investigator, writer, and teacher has been profound; it has not been limited to the borders of our own country, but belongs to the universal realm of science and letters.

In the department of agricultural chemistry the Germans have been represented by Charles A. Goessmann, for a long time the leader of this branch in the United States. He was born at Naumburg, Germany, in 1827, took his doctor's degree at the University of Göttingen, in 1853, where he remained four years as assistant. He came to this country as chemist and manager of a Philadelphia sugar refinery in 1857, and remained in that position until 1861; was chemist of the Onondaga (N. Y.) Salt Company, 1862 to 1869; professor of chemistry at the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, New York, 1866 to 1868; director of the Massachusetts Agricultural Experiment Station, 1882 to 1894, and analyst to the

Experimental Work of the College of Agriculture, University of California (1877–1898); *Report on the Arid Regions of the Pacific Coast* (1887); monographs on Mississippi, Louisiana, and California in the *Report on Cotton Production* of the United States Census Report of 1880, which he edited. Professor Hilgard was elected to membership in the National Academy of Sciences in 1872, and is a member of many scientific societies. He received the gold medal at the Paris Exposition as collaborator in agricultural science.

Massachusetts State Board of Health since 1886. He has been professor of chemistry in the Massachusetts Agricultural State College since 1869, has directed many a student into his special field of work, is the author of many scientific reports, monographs, and papers, and his expert advice has constituted a far-reaching influence in the agricultural history of New England.

Preceding paragraphs have illustrated two characteristics of the German farmer. When given a choice, he selects that country which is most like his own, and he raises products similar to those of his native country, but when placed in a land of strange climate and vegetation he readily adapts himself to the new situation. A good example of this adaptability is seen in the German rice-growers at the mouth of the Mississippi, and the Germans in Florida and around Mobile, Alabama, who raise southern products.[1] Moreover the German will farm on the prairie just like the native Americans. He will throw all his traditions to the wind, adopt modern agricultural machinery, raise big herds, and learn every device that makes for success in a farming country foreign to him. Another instance is that of the deliberate selection of prairie land, instead of the more general choice of wooded lands, by the German Swiss colonists in the Looking Glass Prairie of Illinois, east of St. Louis. They had learned the method of digging for artesian wells, and irrigating their land. The Mennonites, of German stock, coming from Russia, furnish another example: they rapidly acquired the trick of big farming in Kansas and Nebraska. Instances of big farmers are: J. P. Vollmar (born in Würtemberg), engaged in farming and milling, the owner of about one hundred and ninety farms in Idaho; A. L. Stuntz (born

[1] These facts were called to the writer's attention by Professor L. H. Bailey.

in Pennsylvania), farmer in Idaho, vice-president of the National Farmers' Alliance (1896); S. A. Knapp (born in New York), farmer and miller, president of the Rice Association of America, president of the Iowa State Agricultural College (1883); John Dern (born in Hesse-Darmstadt), big farmer in Nebraska, 1869 to 1881, subsequently grain and lumber merchant and mine-owner. Above all, the name of John A. Sutter,[1] pioneer settler in the Sacramento Valley, California, stands out prominently in the history of agricultural industry in the Far West. Around Sutter's Fort were cultivated crops which had been entirely ignored before except by the missions. The current impression among the settlers was that such crops could not be grown in California without irrigation. Sutter removed the prejudice, and to the present day crop-culture without irrigation continues in the Sacramento Valley to a very wide extent.[2]

The German farmer was seen above to possess the qualifications of skill, thrift and industry, initiative and adaptability, which have made him uniformly the most successful farmer in the United States. This reputation, acquired in the eighteenth century, he has continued to carry throughout the nineteenth and to the present day. It is but natural to suppose, and investigation will prove, that in the pursuits allied to farming,— forestry, gardening, and the production and manufacture of food products of all kinds,— the German has also assumed a prominent part.

Forestry

The German farmer has always shown more regard for the trees than the Anglo-Saxon. It is recorded of the

[1] An account of his career was given in Volume I, p. 508.

[2] Statement of Professor E. W. Hilgard, director of College of Agriculture, University of California.

Pennsylvania-Germans that they were economical in the use of wood, even where it was abundant. They did not wantonly cut down forests or burn them, and when using wood as fuel, they built stoves, in which there was less waste than in the open fireplaces. The German of the nineteenth century likewise proved himself a friend of the trees. Through his early training at home, he understood the usefulness of forests as a protection against storms, as a wholesome influence on irrigation, and he cherished them also for sentimental reasons. It should not surprise us therefore to find that the first man in a position of influence who tried to check the indiscriminate destruction of forests in this country was a German. His name, glorified on many a page of American history, was Carl Schurz,[1] who as Secretary of the Interior from 1877 to 1881 attempted, though the task was hopeless at the time, to inaugurate legislation for the protection of American forests. It is but appropriate also that the first school of forestry founded in the United States, viz., the State College of Forestry, Cornell University, had for its first director a German. Professor Bernhard Edward Fernow, born in Prussia, in 1851, chief of the Division of Forestry, United States Department of Agriculture, was the head of this forestry school from its beginning in 1898 to its close in 1903.[2]

The fathers of modern forestry were George Ludwig Hartig (1764–1837) and Heinrich Cotta (1763–1844). Both of these men, through their teaching and publications, established an international reputation. The first French forestry school, founded at Nancy in 1827, had for its first directors Lorentz and Parade, both of whom,

[1] See Chapter IV, "Political Influence of the German Element."
[2] See Chapter V, "German Influence on Education."

Frenchmen, had received their training in Germany from German foresters. In Russia the forestry schools were also established under German influence. The largest forestry department in the world, located in India, was organized by Sir Dietrich Brandis, a native of Hesse-Cassel. He took with him as assistants two other Germans from Hesse-Cassel, Wilhelm Schlich and Ribbentrop. They became the successors of Brandis, who had organized the department in 1856. Dr. Wilhelm Schlich became professor of forestry at Oxford, England, and head of the forestry movement in Great Britain.[1]

In this country, Carl Schurz, as Secretary of the Interior, first laid stress on a conservative management of the valuable timber lands of the country, protecting them against fire, waste, theft, or disadvantageous sale. He was often thwarted in the execution of what appeared to him absolutely necessary, but his reports embodied the first great plans for future accomplishment. The Yorktown celebration, in 1882, contributed indirectly toward arousing public interest in forestry. Several descendants of the family of Baron Steuben appeared at the celebration, and one of the seven brothers present was by profession a Prussian Oberförster. Subsequently, while traveling through this country, he came to Cincinnati, and there his personality and profession attracted a great deal of attention. Newspapers took the matter up and cultivated popular interest in the profession.[2]

As a result of these happenings, the people of Cincinnati interested in forestry called together the American

[1] For the historical facts of this paragraph the writer is indebted to Professor B. E. Fernow, director of the School of Forestry, Toronto University, Ontario. Cf. his *Short History of Forestry in Germany and Other Countries.* (1907.)

[2] The authority for the statement concerning this indirect influence of Oberförster Steuben is Professor Fernow.

Forestry Congress, which held its first session in Cincinnati in April, 1882. The occasion became a popular festival, during which six thousand school-children celebrated the first school arbor day, planting trees in Eden Park.

In 1884 this American Forestry Congress became the American Forestry Association, the moving spirit of which was its secretary, Bernhard Edward Fernow. The Association attempted to arouse the apathetic public mind to the necessity of taking care of the vast resources contained in the forests of the United States. In 1886 the secretary[1] of the association was appointed chief of the Division of Forestry in the United States Department of Agriculture. This position he[2] held for twelve years, until called to Cornell as the director and dean of the New York State College of Forestry, in 1898.

The influence of the New York State School of Forestry upon the establishment of similar institutions in Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Ontario will be considered in a later chapter.[3] The first scientific forestry journal, "The Forestry Quarterly," is also a conception of Professor B. E. Fernow, who issued the first number in 1902, and has continued its publication without interruption to the present time.

It is interesting in this connection to note the fact that the largest owner of timber lands and mills in the United States is the German, Frederick Weyerhaeuser,[4] commonly

[1] Later Professor Fernow was chairman of the executive committee, now vice-president of the American Forestry Association.

[2] Professor Fernow is the author of a large number of scientific articles, books, and reports such as the *Annual Reports and Bulletins*, Division of Forestry, 1886–1898 ; *Economics of Forestry ; The White Pine* (1899), etc.

[3] Chapter v, "German Influence on Education in the United States," pp. 226–228.

[4] He was born at Niedersaulheim, in 1834, within the old borders of the Palatinate, which furnished so many immigrants in the eighteenth century.

known as the lumber king. He started as a teamster in a lumber camp, and is now the head of the so-called Weyerhaeuser Syndicate, controlling the lumber interests of the Mississippi River and the great Northwest. He owes his fabulous wealth largely to the German trait of economy and to his German appreciation of the forests. The lavish waste of timber by the native population he considered a poor business principle, and he accordingly set his indomitable will to work out the problem of reaping commercial advantages from the unsurpassed forest wealth of the United States.

A long stride forward in the interests of forestry was made by President Roosevelt during the last months of his second term, when he called together a commission of leading men to consider means for the preservation of the natural resources of our country. Thereby he impressed the principle of economy as worthy to be set beside the ideals of justice and good government.

Nurseries

In the nursery business of this country, there are many Germans. The most famous nursery [1] in the United States, that which commands the best prices and meets the most critical demands, is that of Ellwanger & Barry, located at Rochester, New York. The founder, George Ellwanger, born in Würtemberg, Germany, came to Rochester in 1839. He was the producer and scientist of the firm, while Patrick Barry, born in Ireland, did the selling for the house. From the pioneer days to the present

A sensational article has recently appeared in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, by C. P. Norcross, — *Weyerhaeuser, Richer than John D. Rockefeller*, January number, 1907.

[1] This statement is made on the authority of Professors Bailey and Craig, of the State College of Agriculture, Cornell University.

time, this firm has kept pace with the wonderful progress in fruit and ornamental tree culture, much of which has been the direct result of the firm's efforts. Among the many new varieties which Mr. Ellwanger introduced were dwarf apple and pear trees and the popular apple, the Northern Spy. He also revolutionized methods of pruning fruit trees by applying scientific processes.[1] His son, H. B. Ellwanger, was the author of several noted books on horticultural subjects, such as "The Rose," "The Garden Story," and others.[2] The prominent Missouri nursery firm of Bush & Son, and the California horticulturists, John Rock, George Roeding, and others, have been mentioned above.

Another type of nursery-men are the importers of horticultural supplies, located in New York City. At the head of these are the two German firms, August Roelker & Sons and August Rhotert & Son, both of New York City. They import European products of the highest class and thereby exert a strong influence on American horticulture. The German seed-men should be mentioned in this connection, among whom are: Stump & Walter of

[1] Mr. George Ellwanger contributed largely to the commercial prosperity of Rochester, not alone through the Mount Hope Nurseries (comprising now over five hundred acres). He was a director of several banks, trustee of the Rochester Trust and Safe Deposit Company, one of the early financial backers of the Eastman Kodak Company, a director of the gas company and street-railways, vice-president of the Reynolds Library, besides being prominent in a number of scientific societies. His firm presented Highland Park to the city of Rochester. Another of his donations was a German home for the aged (1900). When he died, November 26, 1906, acknowledgment was made that he had contributed probably more than any one man to Rochester's development. Cf. *The Weekly Florist's Review* (Chicago and New York), December 6, 1906, p. 157; *The Florist's Exchange* (Chicago and New York), December 1, 1906, p. 661.

[2] Another son, William D. Ellwanger, is active in the nursery firm.

New York; J. M. Thorburn & Co., New York (in which Bruggerhof holds a controlling interest); Weeber and Don, New York; James Vick's Sons, Rochester; but above all the long established house of H. A. Dreer in Philadelphia.

Gardening

As vegetable gardeners the Germans have been prominent throughout the history of the United States. Dr. Rush, in his account of the Pennsylvania-German farmers, praises the hygienic influence of the German truck-farms, upon the city population. The eating of fresh vegetables this noted physician declared to be a preventive against skin diseases, such as scurvy, and he gave the Germans all the credit for the founding of this branch of horticulture. At the present day almost all large cities[1] of the country in the German Belt — that is, between Northern New York and Mason and Dixon's Line, and running westward — are supplied with fresh vegetables by German truck-farmers. Even outside of this belt, in cities such as Baltimore or New Orleans, Germans are most numerous among those who bring into the city fresh market supplies. In the great truck-farming district around Norfolk, Virginia, extending southward to Florida, the district that supplies vegetable products in the early spring, before they can be furnished in the more northerly areas, German colonies exist, but other national types, notably the English, are more numerous.

In the flower culture of our country, the Germans also

[1] e. g., *Der deutsche Pionier* (vol. vi, pp. 419–426) reports that for Cincinnati, Nikolaus Höffer was the first to supply the markets with the delicacies of the season; that he was famous for his cucumbers and melons, asparagus and cauliflower, and above all for his cabbages. He was the first who in Cincinnati prepared *sauerkraut* in the German fashion.

have very many representatives, as a review of the pages of the "Florists' Directory" will prove. Questioning men whose opinion on this matter is of value, the writer found that the two national types most in demand when reliable labor, skilled in gardening, is desired, are the Germans and the Scotch. They bring with them good training, and do by far the most satisfactory work in our parks, squares, and decorative gardens. Owners of estates are eager to get laborers of German or Scotch origin to work for them.[1]

Also in the more creative type, landscape gardening, the Germans have supplied able men in the United States. The execution of the plans of Frederick Law Olmsted[2] designer of Central Park, New York City, seems to have been put largely into the hands of Germans. A. Pieper, a Hanoverian, was assistant to the chief engineer in the work; A. Torges, of Brunswick, as principal surveyor, had charge of the southern division; the Hanoverian Wonneberg took charge of the northern division. B. Pilat, an Austrian, was head gardener, with the Würtemberger, Fischer, as his assistant. W. Müller, a Hessian, was employed as head architect; Beringer, a Bavarian, had charge of the drainage and irrigation. H. Krause, a Saxon, and Spangenberg, a Hessian, were the head draughtsmen. In a number of other parks of the United States Germans have done excellent work, e. g., Gottlieb M. Kern, in St. Louis; Seibold,

[1] Given on the authority of Professor John Craig, professor of horticulture, Cornell University.

[2] A commission was formed in 1856, under an act of the New York Legislature, for the construction of a large central park in New York City, and Mr. Olmsted was appointed superintendent. In 1857 premiums were offered by the commission for the best plans for the ground; of thirty-four plans, the highest prize was awarded to the one prepared by F. L. Olmsted in conjunction with Calvert Vaux. Olmsted was a native American, probably of Scandinavian descent.

of Dresden, in Texas; Notmann, in Philadelphia; Faul, in Druid Hill Park, Baltimore.[1]

The most prominent landscape gardener of German origin was Adolph Strauch, who was born in 1822, in the Prussian province of Silesia. He had been well trained in schools abroad and on visits to the best gardens of Europe. Coming to the United States as a sight-seer, he was detained by friends in Cincinnati, and there constructed "Mount Storm," in the suburb of Clifton, for Mr. Bowler, whom he had previously met in London. This was followed by garden plans for a large number of villas at Clifton. His great work was soon to follow. It came in connection with his appointment as superintendent of the Spring Grove Cemetery. Influenced by the reading of Humbolt's "Cosmos," wherein a description of the Chinese grave-gardens at Mukden, the residence of the Mandschus, fascinated him, he planned to adopt the central idea. He determined to make of the cemetery a garden. In execution of this plan, all iron fences and offensive monuments, however costly, were removed, and plans were adopted which would bring each individual cemetery lot into harmony with the whole. Strauch's severe censorship, which excluded many costly monuments lacking in taste, created much opposition, but with the support of his friend Robert Buchanan, president of the Cemetery Company, he made a stubborn and successful fight. Another feature of Strauch's superintendentship was its financial success. A low-lying area, for instance, which was formerly rented out at a small price for grazing dairy cows, he turned into a most beautiful part of the cemetery, surpassing

[1] For the above statistics, see *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. iv, p. 202; see also vol. x, pp. 82–93. The first monument erected in Central Park was a bronze bust of the poet Schiller, in 1862. The expenses were paid by Germans in New York.

others which he could not completely force into the new plans. Strauch's great advance in cemetery construction was his grass-park idea, in which large stretches of lawn, unimpaired by railings and palings and rude marble blocks, were dotted with trees and groups of bushes, relieved by some few tasteful monuments. The new cemetery was a park as well as a burying-ground. The great artistic and financial success of the venture inspired other cities to imitate the model furnished by the Spring Grove Cemetery. Indianapolis (Crown Hill Cemetery), Nashville, Hartford, Chicago, Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, and New York (Woodlawn Cemetery) openly or secretly followed the example given by Cincinnati.[1]

Food products

The Germans have always been good eaters; the national disease of dyspepsia was never feared among the agricultural Germans. They ate healthful food and partook of it in good quantity. In that respect also they furnished an object-lesson. Even to this day the tourist passing through rural districts will rejoice on getting into a country where there is a large German population, for he will find good and abundant food at very moderate prices. It is not surprising therefore to find that the German population of this country and their descendants have been very influential in the development of manufactures concerned with food products.

The Pennsylvania-Germans were early noted for their fruit-preserving. Their apple-butter still sustains its ancient reputation, and in the early days its preparation was made the occasion of social frolics. Numerous were the varieties of fruit preserves, and the art is not lost but

[1] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. x, pp. 91 ff.

probably improved at the present day. Throughout the United States, the pickling and preserving business is largely in the hands of Germans. In Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, the two great rival pickling firms, the H. J. Heinz Company and the Lutz & Schramm Company, are both German, and together they have made Allegheny a centre of the pickling industry.[1] The advertisements of the "57 varieties" have made the firm of Heinz & Company familiar all over the land. The founder, Henry J. Heinz, was born in Pittsburg, of German parentage. He began a small business of packing food products at Sharpsburg, Pennsylvania, and removed to Pittsburg in 1872, where the business was conducted under the name of Heinz, Noble & Co. Subsequently the name was F. & J. Heinz, and in 1888, the H. J. Heinz Company. Besides the main plant at Pittsburg, the company has eleven branch factories, including one in Spain; sixty-seven salting-stations; twenty-six branch houses, including one in London; and agencies in all parts of the world. Other houses of note as pickling establishments are the J. O. Schimmel Preserving Company of Jersey City, and the Bosman and Lohman Company of Norfolk, Virginia (manufacturers of peanut butter, etc.).

In Maryland, the canning state of the Union, the industry is in the hands of small dealers or of the farmers, who do their own canning in harvest-time on their own fields and sell canned products to brokers. In the city of Baltimore, one of the oldest canning firms is that of William Numsen, the founder of which was a Pennsylvania-German.

The pioneer manufacturer of oatmeal was Ferdinand Schumacher, born in Hanover, Germany, in 1822.

[1] The only firm to rival these at all in America is the Curtis Preserving Company of Rochester.

He came to the United States in 1850, and after farming a year near Cleveland, established himself as a grocer at Akron, Ohio. In 1856, he became the original manufacturer of oatmeal in the United States. One of the popular breakfast foods of his establishment is "Rolled Oats." He consolidated large oatmeal interests in the American Cereal Company, of which he was president until 1899.

Prominent as a merchant and inventor was William Ziegler, born in Beaver County, Pennsylvania, in 1843, and of German descent. In 1868 he engaged in the business of bakers' and confectioners' supplies. Two years later he organized the Royal Chemical Company, which he developed into the Royal Baking Powder Company, Chicago, 1890. Nearly every family in the land has used supplies manufactured by this firm.[1]

Hecker's self-raising flour is another familiar asset in the American household. This originated with the German firm of the Hecker Brothers, who were in the flour business in New York City from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The most successful of the family, John Valentine Hecker, born in New York City in 1848, entered the office of Hecker Brothers after graduation in Columbia College in 1869. He became the head of the firm in 1874, was associated with his uncle in the milling business in 1884 and 1889, and subsequently effected an organization of the flour-mills of New York, called the

[1] William Ziegler has operated in Brooklyn in suburban real estate, and led the fight against the purchase by the city of Brooklyn of the Long Island Water Supply Company, saving the city $1,500,000. (*Who's Who in America.*) Ziegler is best known perhaps as the capitalist who furnished the means for the exploration of the Arctic regions by way of Franz Joseph's Land. Through Ziegler's means, though after his death, Lieutenant Peary was enabled to reach a point nearer the North Pole than any man had up to that time (1906) been able to go.

Hecker-Jones-Jewell Milling Company, of which he became president.

In the manufacture of sugar in the United States, the greatest name is that of Claus Spreckels, who was born in Lamstedt, Hanover, in 1828. He came to the United States at the age of nineteen, arriving at Charleston with three dollars in his pocket. He found employment in a grocery store for his board, but when his employer, eighteen months later, was about to retire from business, young Spreckels bought him out on credit and paid his debt within one year. Scarcely had he been successful in South Carolina, when he saw an opportunity of buying a grocery store in New York City, and made a greater success of that. Golden opportunities lured him to California in 1856, whither he went with his family and four thousand dollars which he had saved. His first investment was in a brewery, which yielded him good profits, and gave him a chance to introduce improved methods in the brewing of beer. His next venture was in sugar, for he saw great opportunities in the location of San Francisco, which was on the line of imports from the Hawaiian Islands, where the sugar-cane prospered. Seeking to master the details of sugar-refining, he went to New York and became a workman in the refineries located there. Returning to California, he organized the Bay Sugar Refinery Company, which marked the beginning of his great fortune. The company prospered, but he left it to go to Europe with his family, there to make an exhaustive study of sugar manufacture. He worked again in a factory, at Magdeburg, learning particularly the art of making beet-sugar. He continued this method of close study throughout his life, and became the undisputed master of the sugar business in America. In 1867 he had

returned to California, and with his brother operated the California Sugar Refinery, the machinery for which he had had built in New York under his personal direction. He invented new processes which reduced the time of making hard sugar from three weeks to twenty-four hours, and introduced for the first time into the American market the cube and crushed sugars of to-day.

Not only did he excel in more scientific manufacturing principles, but he overcame his rivals by aggressive business methods. At one time he surprised his competitors by buying up all the sugar afloat from the Hawaiian Islands, and thus practically shutting the doors of his rivals by cutting off their raw materials. Extending his operations he leased twenty thousand acres of cane-land from the King of the Hawaiian Islands, a plantation subsequently increased to one hundred thousand acres. King Kalakaua cleverly saw the advantage to his people in the development of the sugar-cane industry, became the friend of Spreckels, and conferred upon him knighthood in the Order of Kalakaua, a distinction which the sugar-king valued. The admission of Hawaiian sugar free of duty gave Spreckels a great advantage, and by 1888 he was the unquestioned sugar-king of the Pacific Coast. To fix himself finally in the control of the West, he organized the beet-sugar industry, and from the erection of his first big factory in California dates the beginning of the successful manufacture of beet-sugar on a large scale in the United States. Having defeated all rivals in the West, he had a greater foe to contend with in the East, the powerful Sugar Trust. The latter's profits were so great in the East that they could afford to sell sugar at a loss in California in order to damage Spreckels. Against the advice of his friends, he thereupon decided to carry the war into the

enemy's country. He built a large refinery in Philadelphia, valued at five million dollars, and then fixed the prices in the Eastern markets of the Trust. The Philadelphia establishment became such a thorn in the flesh for the Trust, that the latter made overtures of peace, purchased the Philadelphia plant, and agreed to leave the California refinery in uninterrupted operation.

Besides his activity in the sugar industry, Claus Spreckels was the promoter of many large enterprises for the public welfare. He was one of the principal organizers and supporters of the San Joaquin Valley Railroad, built in response to a general public demand. He was the organizer of the Independent Electric Light and Power Company and the Independent Gas Company, which gave San Francisco a model system of lighting within the means of the poor as well as the rich. In conjunction with two of his sons, he established the well-known Oceanic Steamship Company, the pioneer in a regular service to Hawaii, Australia, and New Zealand. His eldest son, John D. Spreckels, has for years had a deciding influence upon Oriental trade, and Adolph, president of the First National Bank, has been a financial supporter of the graft prosecutions in San Francisco, in addition to being the active leader in the reform movement. Claus Spreckels has been a liberal subscriber to benevolent enterprises, the crowning gift being the music-stand erected by him in the Golden Gate Park, at a cost of one hundred thousand dollars, to cultivate a popular demand for open-air concerts in a climate suited to out-of-door life.

The sugar-kings of the East, established long before the Spreckels in the West, are the Havemeyers. The ancestors of the family were William and Frederick Christian Havemeyer, who emigrated from Bückeburg

(Schaumburg-Lippe), Germany. They had learned the trade of sugar-refining at home, and very soon after their arrival established themselves as sugar-refiners in New York City. William Havemeyer came in 1799, his brother Frederick Christian in 1802. Their sons continued in the business under the firm name of W. F. & F. C. Havemeyer (1828). A grandson of the first Havemeyer became distinguished also in public life, viz., William F. Havemeyer, who was thrice elected mayor of New York. Henry Osborne Havemeyer was, until his death in 1909, president of the American Sugar Refining Company (capital, $75,000,000), which unites the largest sugar interests in the United States.

The German firm of Piehl is at the head of the manufacture of starch in the United States. The name Kohlsaat in Chicago is prominent in the wholesale bakery business. Charles F. Gunther, born in Würtemberg (1837), is one of the largest manufacturers of confectionery in this country, and has been influential also in the politics of Chicago. The popular Hershey's chocolate is manufactured by Milton S. Hershey, of Mennonite ancestry.

In the production of salt for table purposes, German experts were frequently called from abroad to improve the methods of the salt manufacture of Central New York.[1] Thus Charles A. Goessmann (see pp. 54–55) was chemist to the Onondaga Salt Company for seven years, 1862–1869. Before the advent of the German experts, the salt of Central New York could not be used for the table; refining processes were instituted by the Germans, as a result of which numerous and large salt manufacturing establishments are flourishing in Central New York.

[1] This statement is made on the testimony of Andrew D. White, a contemporary of the event and resident of those parts.

The pioneer salt manufacturers of West Virginia were the Ruffner brothers, who were enjoined by their German father, Joseph Ruffner, to carry out his plans for building extensive saltworks. The latter had bought nine hundred acres from a point on the Elk River to the Kanawha, embracing the present site of Charleston. After a long struggle, David and Tobias Ruffner bored the first salt-well, in 1808, and erected a large furnace for the manufacture of salt in the Kanawha region. David Ruffner was also the pioneer in the use of coal for fuel, as he had been in boring the well.[1]

When considering German activity in the production of food products in the United States, the small producer should not be forgotten. The Germans have furnished the butchers and bakers in almost every large city of the United States, and that not alone within the German Belt. We need not single out large cities, for the same phenomenon can be observed in innumerable smaller towns. Germans have been uniformly successful as small traders, whether butchers, bakers, grocers,[2] or truck-farmers. In some places where the German element is large, such as Milwaukee or New York, the art of sausage-making has advanced to a degree comparable to that of Germany, both as to variety and quality. The demand for the product arises not only from the German, but

[1] The fascinating story of the Ruffners, as told originally by J. P. Hale, author of *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, is embodied in the article by E. W. Parker on salt manufacture in the United States, *Twelfth Census of the United States*, 1900, vol. ix, *Manufactures*, part iii, pp. 539–540. The Ruffners were Virginia-Germans, a numerous and distinguished family. Ruffner's Cave, Virginia, was named after one of them. Reverend Dr. Henry Ruffner is called the father of Presbyterianism in the Kanawha Valley by J. P. Hale.

[2] As retail and wholesale grocers the Germans have been very successful. Many of the captains of industry, such as Martin Baum, Claus Spreckels, Ferdinand Schumacher, started their career as successful grocers.

also from the native population. The sausage-stalls at the open markets of large cities are as crowded as bargain-counters. But not alone those much-abused dishes, *frankfurters* and *sauerkraut*, have made their way into the menus of American homes and hotels, since also the rarer, spicy articles of the "Delikatessenhandlungen" have found ready entrance.

The Germans are very prominent as stock-owners in the West. The king of cattle-men in the United States is Henry Miller, born in Würtemberg (1828); his partner, Charles Lux (deceased), was born in Baden. They arrived in California in the early fifties, both hard-working and ambitious young men. They bought cattle for slaughter, and in a comparatively short time controlled the fresh-meat supply of San Francisco. They purchased ranches and lands with a particular purpose, so that they might drive their cattle or sheep from neighboring states to the central distribution point, keeping them on their own land, or at least harboring them at their own ranch stations overnight or for convenient periods. They could thus keep up a perpetual supply for the market. Many of the old Spanish grants, comprising thousands of acres, gradually fell into their hands, until they became the largest land-owners in California, with possessions equal in extent to a small principality, comprising eight hundred thousand acres in California, besides other lands in Oregon and Nevada. At one time they owned eighty thousand head of cattle and one hundred thousand sheep. After the death of Mr. Lux, in 1887, Mr. Miller became the head of the syndicate formed, and continues to manage these vast interests, undaunted by advancing age. The stories told of immense purchases of cattle, of cleverness in his dealings, and sudden justice falling upon

negligent overseers, of unyielding determination in the pursuit of an aim, furnish interesting reading,[1] and invest the life of Miller with a halo of romance. Other stockmen of German name are James C. Dahlman, born in Texas, resident in Omaha, Nebraska, and S. A. Knapp, born in New York, first president of the Iowa Stock Breeders' Association.

No one disputes the fact that the brewing industry is in the hands of Germans. We rarely reflect, however, upon the economic importance of these industries, for they have developed to gigantic proportions, far beyond what exists in Europe. The Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company, of St. Louis, employs six thousand men and produces 1,800,000 barrels of beer annually. The breweries of Milwaukee, of which the largest are those of Pabst, Schlitz, and Blatz, produce over three and one half million barrels annually at a value of $25,000,000.[2] The breweries of Rochester, Chicago, New York, Buffalo, and many other cities are likewise a source of wealth to the localities where they are established. The quality of the beer produced by the best breweries of the country is improving, and may some day equal the best produced in the Fatherland. In fact, some connoisseurs declare that there is but one German beer, the Bavarian (others will name the Bohemian, called Pilsener), that surpasses the best produced in America.

Observing the activity of Germans in the manufacture of food products, it is not surprising to find them prominent as hotel-keepers. The traveler notices how frequently

[1] Cf. *The World's Work*, 1908, pp. 10680 ff. Lux left no descendants. Miller's only grandson, Henry Miller Nickel, a young man of twenty-two years, was frozen to death in February, 1909, losing his trail while riding on horseback over one of their large ranches in Southern Oregon.

[2] Cf. Baedeker, *The United States*, 1909.

Germans keep hotels in the non-German countries of Europe. Their tendency to drift into the hotel business is noticeable in the United States from Hoboken to San Francisco. It is historical, and many instances might be cited, such as that of General Weedon, distinguished in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and the siege of Yorktown, who kept an hotel before the Revolutionary War, in which he assiduously sowed the seeds of sedition.[1] At the present day, the king of hotel-keepers in the United States is George C. Boldt, born in Germany. He is president of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel Company of New York, and the proprietor also of the finest hostelry of Philadelphia, the Bellevue-Stafford. It is generally conceded by critical travelers that Mr. Boldt's Waldorf-Astoria excels all others of the magnificent hostelries of New York in one particular. It is home-like, a quality no doubt impressed upon it by the genius of the founder. Mr. Boldt has recently instituted a feature unique in the history of hotels, viz., a training-school for his employees, wherein they may, during hours when they are not on duty, receive instruction in the various arts that pertain to the needs and comforts of guests, such as reception on entering the hotel, attendance in the room, waiting at the table, hair-dressing, manicuring, and the like. An ambitious employee may thereby advance the more rapidly and prove the more useful to employer and guests alike. Some of the oldest and best reputed hotels of the country were founded by Germans, as the Rennert, in Baltimore; the Welcker, in Washington; the Pfister, in Milwaukee; the Heublein of Hartford (Connecticut); the Sinton (managing director Edward N. Roth) of Cincinnati; the

[1] According to the testimony of Smyth (*Smyth's Tour*, vol. ii, p. 274). Cf. Volume I, Chapter XI, p. 293.

Palatine (H. N. Bain & Co.) of Newburgh, New York; the Hollenbeck and the Lankershim of Los Angeles; the Orndorff of El Paso, Texas, and numerous others.[1] The most famous hotel in the South, the Ponce de Leon,[2] in St. Augustine, Florida, built at a cost of $3,000,000, is owned by Henry M. Flagler, of Dutch descent. The latter also owns the Alcazar, St. Augustine.

Summarizing briefly the contents of the present chapter, it was found that certain qualifications of the German farmer gave him for two centuries the well-earned reputation of being the most successful farmer in the United States. His choice of land and his adaptability to new conditions received comment. In producing specialties in American horticulture, the German contributed his share. Forestry, viticulture, and gardening are German occupations. Germans are prominent in the preserving and pickling industry, in the manufacture of cereals, of sugar and salt, in the brewing industry, as hotel-keepers, and as small producers, such as butchers and bakers, grocers and truck-farmers. The examples chosen were merely illustrative, and did not pretend to exhaust each particular subject.

[1] Some possess the cosy quality of a German hotel, such as the Kaltenbach at Niagara Falls, and the Heublein of Hartford, Connecticut.

[2] It is an interesting fact that the electrical equipment of the Ponce de Leon was installed by a German, W. J. Hammer. See next chapter.

CHAPTER III

GERMAN INFLUENCE ON THE MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

II. IN TECHNICAL BRANCHES; IN OTHER MANUFACTURES

Technical schools of Germany the cause of the prominence of Germans in all technical branches in the United States — Bridge-building: Röbling, Schneider, and others — Civil and electrical engineers: Fink, Haupt, Steinmetz, Hammer, and many others — Mining engineers: Sutro, Eilers, etc. — Chemical industries, chemical and pharmaceutical preparations, patent medicines, importers — Manufacturers of scientific apparatus; inventors of machines, agricultural, etc. — Manufacture of glass, iron, and steel: Amelung, Stiegel, Fritz, Anschütz, Frick, Schwab — Hygienic clothing; felt; leather; cabinet- and wagon-makers — Navigation and shipping — Industries concerned with the arts; lithography: Prang, Bien, Hoen — Manufacture of musical instruments; violins and guitars: Martin, Gemünder; pianos: Steinway, Knabe, Weber, etc. — Various other manufactures — Captains of industry.

Another group of industrial activities, in which the Germans in the United States have been participants to an extraordinary degree, are those in which technical knowledge and training are required. Such are bridge-building, practical applications of electricity, all engineering work, the chemical industries, the manufacture of musical and scientific instruments, in some of which the Germans have reigned supreme. In the construction work of our country, involving problems of magnitude never before presented to the engineering profession, the German element may be said to have held a monopoly. The cause is not difficult to see. The technical schools of Germany were very efficient and sent out well-trained men long before any similar schools existed in the United States. Being the most

capable, the graduates of the German schools of technology received the most responsible positions, won in the competitions for the best engineering work offered in the United States, and their monopoly continued for the greater part of the nineteenth century, until our schools became efficient.

The greatest advances made in the history of bridge-building in the United States were produced by two Germans, John A. Röbling, the inventor of the modern suspension bridge, and by Charles C. Schneider, constructor of the successful cantilever bridge. John A. Röbling was born in Mühlhausen, Prussia, in 1806, and was a graduate of the Royal Polytechnicum of Berlin. In America he began first as a manufacturer of wire cables, locating at Saxonburg, Pennsylvania, near Pittsburg. His idea was to have them used in the canal service, but he was thwarted by the opposition of the canal hands, who feared the innovation. Röbling then planned to use his wire cables for bridges, and in 1844 he succeeded in giving them a trial in his bridge over the Allegheny River. He then built the Monongahela suspension bridge at Pittsburg, fifteen hundred feet in length. His next great work was the Niagara River suspension bridge, 1851–1855, one of the engineering feats of the nineteenth century. It has been the only *railroad* suspension bridge in the world that has stood the test of time, the one in Vienna being used for only a short period. The bridge lasted forty-two years, and was taken down in 1897, not because it was inefficient, but because the heavier railroad trains required a bridge of different construction. When the bridge was taken apart, the wire cables manufactured by Röbling were found to be as elastic as they had been when originally put into their places. The strain of forty-two years had not hurt

THE BROOKLYN BRIDGE

Designed by John A. Roebling

them. In 1862 Röbling had the satisfaction of rebuilding the bridge at Wheeling, West Virginia, which his sharp competitor, Charles Ellet, had put up, but which had been blown down by a storm in 1849. Röbling's success with this bridge left him undisputed master of the field. His suspension bridge over the Ohio at Cincinnati, long delayed by the Civil War, was completed in 1867, and after that followed the masterpiece of all, the East River bridge uniting New York and Brooklyn, popularly known as the Brooklyn Bridge, a marvel of strength and beauty, which for more than thirty-five years has performed harder daily service than any other bridge in the world. The architect was not destined to see it completed; but his son, Washington Augustus Röbling, who had already assisted his father with the Cincinnati bridge, undertook the work of construction, and directed it to completion. The factory of the Röblings, the John A. Roebling & Sons Company, manufacturers of iron and steel wire and wire rope, located at Trenton, New Jersey, is unequaled in its particular branch, and has furnished all the cables for the new larger suspension bridge over the East River, at Williamsburg.

Charles Conrad Schneider, born in Apolda, Saxony, in 1843, was not the first man to build a cantilever bridge in the United States. The credit of that belongs to C. Shaler Smith, who built one over the Kentucky River on the Cincinnati & Ohio Railroad, which was completed in 1877. But Schneider's cantilever bridge at Niagara Falls was the successful structure which made that style of bridge-building popular. His Niagara River cantilever bridge was completed in 1883, in an almost incredibly short time, and its advantages were at once evident. He also constructed the Fraser River (cantilever) bridge, on

the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1882, and in 1886 received the first prize for his design of Washington Bridge across the Harlem River. He was vice-president of the American Bridge Company, in charge of engineering, 1900–1903.

The chief engineer of the American Bridge Company since May, 1901, is Paul L. Wolfel, born in Dresden, Germany, in 1862. He came to America in 1888, and started in the Pencoyd Iron Works as assistant engineer.

Both as civil engineer and organizer of railway traffic no man has rendered more conspicuous service than Albert Fink, born at Lauterbach, Germany, in 1827. He was trained at the Polytechnic School of Darmstadt, and emigrated in 1849. In the service of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad he became one of the pioneers in the construction of *iron* bridges and viaducts, and led the way to the present high standard. One of the largest bridges in the country, the iron bridge over the Ohio River at Louisville, Kentucky, completed in 1872, bears witness to his skill. In 1857 he was employed as assistant engineer of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, advancing quickly to the position of chief engineer, then to superintendent, general manager, and vice-president, keeping the latter office until 1875. During the Civil War the Louisville & Nashville was the only railroad in the West able to carry the Federal armies and supplies to the South. A bone of bitter contention, it became a victim of fierce raids, and Mr. Fink's resources were heavily taxed to maintain the line of communication intact. After the war, as general manager of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company, he made a minute investigation into the cost of railway transportation, and his report was regarded as masterly and exhaustive. Realizing the importance of reform in freight

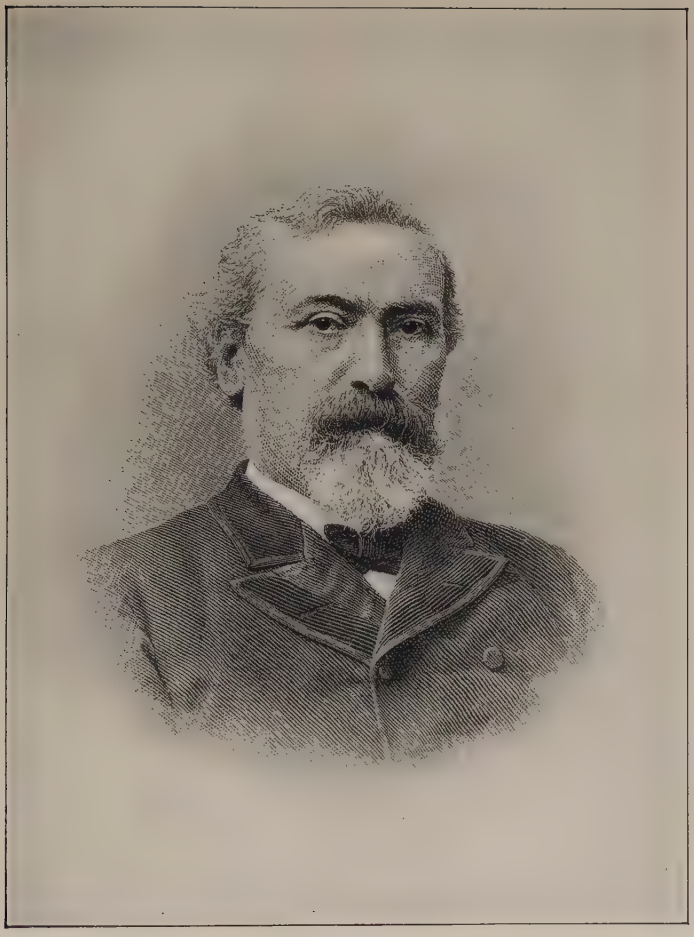
and passenger service, he became the moving force in the organization in 1875 of the Southern Railway & Steamship Association, the object of which was to establish uniform independent tariffs over the whole system of Southern transportation lines. A permanent bureau was established at Atlanta, Georgia, which united twenty-five transportation lines under an executive officer, who was authorized to see that the agreements were properly carried out, and to arbitrate difficulties. For the first six months Mr. Fink occupied this position himself, in order to put a system into successful operation which resulted in unrealized advantages for the railroads and public alike. Albert Fink next followed a call of the great trunk-lines, which had engaged in a destructive rate-war during 1875 and 1876 and began to realize the necessity of a similar institution in the North. The Trunk-Line Commission was accordingly organized, the original members of which were the New York Central, the Erie, the Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore & Ohio, but which soon embraced nearly all the railroads east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio, including the Canadian railways. The object of the association was again to agree upon tariffs and avoid railroad wars through arbitration. Coöperation was the principle that Albert Fink stood for, and not railroad wrecking. He also invented the system of through freight and passenger service. By coöperating in keeping account of rolling-stock, and shipping cars back, railroads for the first time began to bill freight through to distant points without the necessity of reloading. The frequent changes of cars in passenger service were likewise minimized. Albert Fink was honored with the presidency of the American Society of Civil Engineers in 1878.[1]

[1] *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. ix, p. 489. *Publi-*

The first superintendent of the United States Coast Survey was Ferdinand Rudolph Hassler, of German parentage, born at Aarau, Switzerland, in 1770. He took part in a trigonometrical survey of his native country, and coming to the United States, he was appointed acting professor of mathematics at the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1807, through the influence of his friend and fellow countryman, Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson. Shortly after, Congress passed an act for the survey of the coasts, and plans were invited from scientists. Professor Hassler's were accepted, and he was sent to Europe to procure an equipment of instruments and men. In 1817 he began his operations with a survey of the harbor of New York City, but the work was discontinued the following year, Congress failing to provide funds, owing to the heavy war debt. For the next two years or more Hassler tried himself at farming, buying land in the northern part of New York, near the outlet of Lake Ontario. He built a large house, planning to found an agricultural college, but his means were insufficient.[1] The work of the survey was resumed in 1832, after which Hassler was the active head until his death in 1843. He left the survey well advanced along the coast between Narragansett and Chesapeake bays. In 1830 he had been appointed by the government to standardize weights and measures, and for his successful efforts received grateful acknowledgment at home and abroad. The pioneer work of Hassler, both in the surveys and in the standardizing of weights and measures, was continued by another eminent scientist of German blood.

cations of American Society of Civil Engineers; also, *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, pp. 431 ff.

[1] Körner, *Das deutsche Element*, 1818–1848, p. 414.



ALBERT FINK

Julius Erasmus Hilgard, of a distinguished family,[1] was born at Zweibrücken in the Palatinate, in 1825, and settled with his father at Belleville, Illinois, in 1835. Studying civil engineering at Philadelphia, J. E. Hilgard attracted the attention of Alexander B. Bache, who was then reorganizing the United States Coast Survey. After being appointed to take charge of a party to make trigonometric, astronomic, and magnetic observations, Hilgard soon rose to be chief of the Bureau of the Coast Survey with headquarters at Washington. During the war he fulfilled with great ability the task of supplying information on topography, geography, geology, and tidal currents. When Professor Bache retired, in 1864, the whole work of the coast survey was in Mr. Hilgard's hands for three years. After that he gave the greater part of his attention to the Bureau of Weights and Measures, and advocated the adoption of the metric system. He made the first reliable determination of the difference of longitude between Washington, Greenwich, and Paris, and in 1872 was the official representative of the United States at the international convention at Paris for forming an international

[1] His father, Theodor Erasmus Hilgard, at home a prominent jurist, and a judge (1831–1835) of the Bavarian Court of Appeals, was at Belleville a successful "Latin farmer," viticulturist, and man of letters. He paid still more attention to the rearing of his sons, each of whom became distinguished in his particular profession. In 1851 he was invited by the Bavarian government to take part in recasting the law of mortgages. He died in Heidelberg, Germany, in 1873. The career of the youngest son, E. W. Hilgard, professor of agriculture and founder of the Experiment Station, University of California, has been outlined in the previous chapter (II). Theodore Charles Hilgard, the second son, after studying medicine at the universities of Heidelberg, Zurich, Vienna, and Berlin, settled down as a physician in St. Louis, subsequently removing to New York. He was an investigator of great note; his papers are published in the proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. One of his earliest treatises was his fundamental work: *Experimental Observations on Taste and Smell* (1854).

bureau of weights and measures. In 1881 Hilgard became the superintendent of the United States Coast Survey, a position which he resigned in 1885. One of the original members of the National Academy of Sciences, he was for seven years its secretary. In 1874 he was honored with the presidency of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. His publications and his active service have been epoch-making in the departments of the Coast Survey, and Weights and Measures.

Men of German descent born in the United States soon figured prominently. A. P. Boller (born in Philadelphia) built a large number of bridges, among others the Central Avenue Bridge, Newark, New Jersey, the viaduct[1] over the Harlem River (125th Street, New York), the Four-Track Duluth-Superior Bridge, and the Thames River Bridge at New London, Connecticut, noted for its great double-track draw-span, five hundred and three feet long. Another bridge-builder is R. Khuen (born at Saginaw, Michigan), chief engineer (Pittsburg district) of the American Bridge Company since 1901.

An important name in railway engineering is that of Herman Haupt, born in Philadelphia, in 1817, and a graduate of West Point. He was general superintendent, chief engineer, and director of the Pennsylvania Railroad; engineer of the Hoosac Tunnel, 1847–1861; brigadier-general and chief of bureau, United States Military Railways, in the Civil War; general manager of the Piedmont Air

[1] "This is nearly forty-five hundred feet in length, cost upward of two million dollars, and is not only noted for its architectural character but, constructively, as one of the most difficult works in engineering, both in the foundation difficulties overcome and in its unprecedented draw-span, weighing twenty-four hundred tons, the largest moving mass in the world; being double the weight of the New London draw previously mentioned." *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. ix, pp. 43–44.

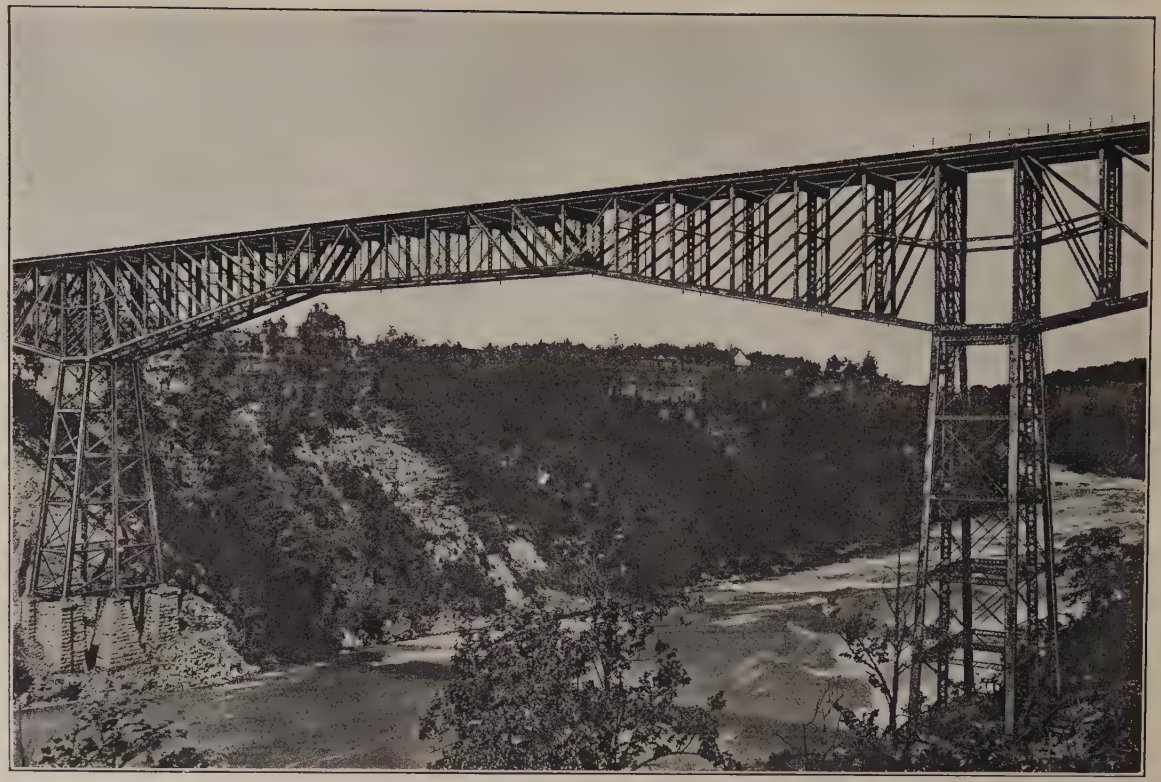
Line, 1875; later he was engineer of the Tide Water Pipe-Line Company, and general manager of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Frank J. Hecker (born in Michigan, in 1846) was chief of the division of transportation of the army during the Spanish-American War, and a member of the Isthmian Canal Commission, 1904. Noted German names among railway engineers and officials are Kniskern (since 1901 passenger traffic manager of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad); Henry Fink (born in Germany), president of the Norfolk and Western Railway; R. Blickensderfer (general manager of the Wheeling & Lake Erie Railroad, etc.); J. Kruttschnitt (general manager of the Southern Pacific, etc.); G. J. Lydecker, military engineer, brevetted captain for gallant and meritorious service in the siege of Petersburg, Virginia, engaged as engineer in river and harbor work at Galveston, New Orleans, Chicago, etc.

The list of members of the American Society of Civil Engineers abounds in German names, and the biographical sketches contained in the publications of that eminent society show most prominent as a class the engineers born in Germany, or of German descent. A few more examples will illustrate this point: Lewis Mühlenberg Haupt (son of Herman Haupt), professor of civil engineering, University of Pennsylvania, 1872–1892, member of the Isthmian Canal Commission since 1899, chief engineer on the survey for a ship canal across New Jersey, etc.; G. Y. Wisner, member of the United States Deep Water Ways Commission, 1897–1900; E. Wegmann, engaged in railway construction, 1871–1884, and on the new waterworks for New York since 1884; E. A. Hermann, since 1899 member of the Board of Public Improvements and Sewer Commissioner, St. Louis; J. K. Freitag, New England

representative of the Hecla Iron Works; John Bogart, engineer, hydraulic and electric development of power at Niagara Falls, Sault Ste. Marie, St. Lawrence River, etc.; W. P. Gerhard, sanitary engineer on staff of state architect of New York, 1892–1899; Henry Wehrum, builder of the immense Lackawanna Steel Works, at Buffalo; W. G. Berg, chief engineer, Lehigh Valley Railroad; M. Bein, an authority on matters of irrigation in the West; O. H. Ernst, Spanish War veteran, distinguished for work at Galveston, and reappointed member of the Isthmian Canal Commission, 1905; D. M. Stauffer, railway engineer and editor of the "Engineering News," New York, since 1883. Spencer Miller has made inventions facilitating the coaling of vessels at sea.[1] Count Ferdinand Zeppelin made his first experiments with the dirigible war balloon in this country, while serving in an engineering corps during the Civil War. Theodore P. Shonts, late chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission, is of Dutch descent.

The most prominent of all the numerous German electrical engineers is Charles P. Steinmetz, born in Breslau, Germany, 1865. Steinmetz left Germany because of difficulties resulting from his socialistic writings. Coming to America, he had to meet the whip of ill fortune before his real worth and the bent of his genius were discovered. Since then, his laboratory at Schenectady, in the works of the General Electric Company, has become the scene of some of the most searching investigations and brilliant discoveries made within recent times. As an investigator and inventor, Steinmetz is the peer of Edison. His official

[1] Cf. *The Miller Cableway for Coaling Vessels at Sea, Engineering News*, 1900; *The Problem of Coaling Vessels at Sea, Engineering Magazine*, February, 1900.



CANTILEVER BRIDGE, NIAGARA

Designed and constructed by Charles Conrad Schneider

position is that of consulting engineer of the General Electric Company.

The representative of the Edison Company in England and Germany, and subsequently chief inspector of the central station for the Edison Company, has been W. J. Hammer.[1] It was he who installed the 8000-light plant of the Ponce de Leon Hotel, St. Augustine, Florida, at that time the largest plant in the world for incandescent lighting. Other prominent names in electrical engineering are A. J. Wurts, general engineer for the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company; A. L. Rohrer, electrical superintendent, Schenectady Works, General Electric Company; H. M. Brinckerhoff, who constructed the first large electric elevated railroad (third rail) for Chicago, in 1894; B. A. Behrend (born in Germany), chief engineer, Bullock Electric Manufacturing Company, Cincinnati, and designer of some of the largest electrical machines, which received the grand prize at St. Louis in 1904; F. B. Herzog, an inventor of electrical devices, including automatic switch-boards, police-calls, elevator signals, and telephone devices.

Among the mining engineers, Germans are also very numerous. The most prominent name historically is that of Adolph H. J. Sutro, born in Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), Rhenish Prussia, 1830. He was educated in a German polytechnic school, and came to America in 1850. In 1860 he went to Nevada, where he conceived the plan of draining the mines of the Comstock Lode by means of a connecting tunnel. The main tunnel, over twenty thousand feet in length, begun in 1869, was connected with the first of the mines in 1878. Virginia City rose above the

[1] Hammer was born in Pennsylvania, the son of William A. and Martha Beck Hammer. He has been the right-hand man of Edison since 1880.

great work. A remarkable feature of the undertaking was the stubborn fight which Sutro made against the opposition of reactionary interests in Nevada, as well as against their representatives in the Congress of the United States.[1]

Other mining engineers are A. F. Eilers (born in Nassau, Germany), president of the Colorado Smelting Company, of Pueblo, Colorado, 1883–1889; since then director and technical member of the executive committee, American Smelting and Refining Company; Max Boehmer (born in Lüneburg, Germany), consulting mining engineer, Leadville, Colorado; Albert Arents (born in Clausthal, Germany), inventor of lead-mine machinery, introduced the rectangular large-sized lead furnaces with boshes, the type now used by lead-smelters in the United States; C. W. H. Kirchoff, editor of "The Iron Age," since 1883 special agent of the United States Geological Survey for statistics on production of lead, copper, and zinc; F. A. Heinze, interested in mining and smelting in Montana; C. de Kalb, mining engineer in Western and Southern States and on expeditions to Central and South America.[2]

The great manufacturers in special lines, aiming to improve the quality and usefulness of their products, and thereby to surpass their competitors, have frequently be-

[1] Theodore Sutro (born in Aachen, in 1845), prominent lawyer of New York City, was instrumental in raising the capital for his brother's large venture. In 1887 he successfully defended the interests of the Sutro Tunnel Company, and organized its successor, the Comstock Tunnel Company. Theodore Sutro was active in the reform campaign of 1894 in New York, and is an authority on the law of taxation. (See Chapter IV.) Another brother, Otto Sutro, musician and merchant, was the founder of the Oratorio Society of Baltimore, and prominent in the musical history of that city.

[2] The statistics in this paragraph are taken from *Who's Who in America*, 1906–1907.

come inventors. Many of the engineers above mentioned should be classed as inventors, foremost among them, Röbling and Steinmetz; similarly many of the men engaged in horticulture and the manufacture of food products, as well as many of the specialists to be mentioned in succeeding paragraphs.

The principle observed above, that the Germans were particularly prominent in those forms of industrial activity in which preliminary training is an essential to success, applies not only to the engineering professions, but also to the chemical industries, the manufacture of instruments, machinery, glass, steel, etc.

In the chemical industries the Germans are well represented.[1] In the manufacture of chemicals the two leading German firms are Rosengarten & Sons, of Philadelphia, and Charles Pfizer & Company, of New York, both of which have contributed an important share in the development of their industries, notably in the preparation of quinine, strychnine, morphine, and the mercurials, calomel and corrosive sublimate. Both of these firms own large establishments and are rated in the millions. Among pharmaceutical manufacturers the German element is represented by the firm of Sharp & Dohme, of Baltimore. The founders, Louis and Charles Dohme, were both born in Germany, Sharp, the silent partner, contributing capital. Two phases of the business were given particular attention by this firm, viz., first, the making of pharmaceutical preparations of standard strength and uniformity, with a view also to palatableness and attractive appearance; and secondly, applying chemical analysis and scientific research to vegetable drugs, as had been done pre-

[1] The writer is indebted for the information in this paragraph to Dr. A. R. L. Dohme of Baltimore.

viously only to inorganic substances. The latter feature is one introduced by the younger generation of the firm, trained carefully in the laboratories of this country and abroad. As importers of chemical glassware and German pure chemicals there are two leading German firms; Eimer & Amend, and Lehn & Fink.

In the history of patent medicine manufacture the Baltimore firm of Charles Vogler & Company played an important rôle. Their famous medicine was St. Jacob's Oil, which at one time was carried up and down the Mississippi in a steamboat owned by the firm. Another Baltimore firm, the A. C. Meyer Company, produced a liniment very similar, called the Salvation Oil. Other chemical firms not already mentioned are Maas & Waldstein of South Orange, New Jersey. The president, M. E. Waldstein, born in New York, is also the head of the Atlantic Chemical Works. The firm of Schieffelin Brothers, wholesale druggists of New York, was established in 1764. They claim to have introduced petroleum commercially in 1860.[1] The Meyer Brothers Drug Company, of St. Louis, manufacturers of drugs and perfumes, are leaders in the West. G. A. Koenig (born in Baden), professor of chemistry in the Michigan College of Mines, was the chemist of the Tacony Chemical Works of Philadelphia, 1868–1872. He manufactured sodium stannate from tin scraps, and is the discoverer of several new minerals. Historically the German retail druggists have performed conspicuous service throughout the country. The "Deutsche Apotheke," so frequently seen in our cities, conducted by well-trained pharmacists, had the effect of improving the standard of

[1] Bradhurst Schieffelin has been a benefactor of thousands of destitute persons, and organized the Bread and Shelter Societies, to remove destitute persons from cities to rural districts for their self-support.

the prescription chemist, with a good influence on the health of the community at large.

In the manufacture of scientific apparatus German firms are prominent. Bausch & Lomb, of Rochester, New York, are the leading manufacturers in the United States of scientific and optical apparatus, and have made many serviceable inventions.[1] Emil Meyrowitz, born at Danzig, Germany, is president of the Meyrowitz Manufacturing Company, and has introduced numerous improvements in optical work. He is now owner of the main store and three branches in New York, one in Paris (France), and one each in Minneapolis and St. Paul. Louis Gathmann, born in the province of Hanover, Germany, made improvements in the telescope, and is the inventor of the Gathmann gun. His fellow countryman, Emil Berliner, invented the gramophone in 1887, and is the patentee of valuable inventions in telephony.

The manufacture of machines is popularly and with some degree of propriety regarded as an American industry. The German element contributed very largely, however, in the development of this industry. An illustration can be furnished in the manufacture of agricultural machinery. The city of Canton, Ohio, owes its prosperity largely to its manufactures of agricultural implements. Mr. Aultman (of German blood) was one of Ohio's pioneer manufacturers[2] and is the head of the firm of Aultman, Miller & Company, at Canton, where the Buckeye mower was developed and for many years manufactured. He was also a partner in the Aultman & Taylor Company, of Mansfield, Ohio, where the "endless apron" thresher and many other

[1] Edward Bausch (member of the firm) was born at Rochester, and is a graduate of Cornell University.

[2] Ephraim Ball, at one time associated with Aultman, was in all probability also of German descent. The *Deutsche Pionier* states that it was so.

agricultural implements were made. The firm later became one of the largest in the thresher industry.[1] The Buckeye interests owed much to Lewis Miller, the modern mowing-machine being an offspring of his brain, and for this invention he will ever deserve the gratitude of his countrymen.[2] Aultman, Miller & Company established a twine factory (Akron, Ohio) in connection with their harvester plant. The use of twine in binding was a distinct advantage.

To get some additional assurance of the German representation in the manufacture of agricultural machinery, the writer has been in correspondence with the editor of the "Akron Germania,"[3] Mr. Louis Seybold, who is interested in the history of the Germans of his state. The following quotations from his letters give additional information: "The founders of this industry [agricultural implements] in Akron, Canton, Doylestown, Mansfield, etc., were of German extraction, but as far as I know, all born in this country. They were John F. Seiberling, John R. Buchtel, Lewis Miller, George W. Crouse (Kraus), Aultman, etc., who traced their origin back to the Fatherland. They could all talk the Pennsylvania-Dutch. Seiberling owned and operated the Empire Mower and Reaper Works in this city from 1870 to about 1890. Miller, Crouse, and Buchtel owned, under the name of Aultman, Miller & Company, the Buckeye Mower and Reaper Works,

[1] Cf. R. L. Ardrey, *American Agricultural Implements Industry of the United States*, p. 217, copyrighted 1894. Cf. also *Der deutsche Pionier*.

[2] Ardrey, *supra*, p. 209.

[3] This German paper recently published an elaborate Christmas edition containing a very interesting history of the Germans of the city and surrounding parts. The early settlement and the German contribution to the prosperity of the city are very clearly set forth. The date of the number is December 22, 1906. The example of the *Akron Germania* should be repeated in other places.

in Akron, Ohio, a few years ago absorbed by the Harvester Trust. Aultman and Miller were interested in the Aultman works in Canton, and I believe Mansfield also, manufacturing threshing-machines principally. The Seiberlings were interested in a smaller concern of this kind in Doylestown, Wayne County, Ohio."[1]

Another pioneer firm in the manufacture of agricultural implements was the Parlin & Orendorff Company, of Canton, Illinois. They served the cause by the introduction of a better plow. Orendorff was undoubtedly of German blood. Another German firm was Weusthoff & Getz, of Dayton, Ohio, who manufactured grain-drills, corn-planters, harrows, lawn-mowers, etc. Still another firm of German name is that of the Geiser Manufacturing Company of Waynesboro, Pennsylvania. They built the Geiser self-regulating threshers and horse powers, beginning the manufacture of engines in 1879, when they purchased the plant of F. F. and A. B. Landis (Pennsylvania-Germans, descendants of Mennonites), of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. F. F. Landis took at this time the position of superintendent, and in 1889 designed the New Peerless Thresher.[2] J. J. Glessner (born at Zanesville, Ohio) is chairman of the executive committee and vice-president of the International Harvester Company.

A manufacturer of machines in another department is James Leffel, who has given his name to the Leffel turbine wheels manufactured by his son-in-law, J. W. Bookwalter (German name Buchwalter, anglicized), at Springfield,

[1] From the same source the writer learned that Anton Berg (an old settler), now living in Akron, Ohio, practical locksmith and mechanic, claims that he made the first knives for the firm of Ketchum & Howe in Buffalo, who were making some of the first harvesting-machines in the years 1847 and 1848. Mr. Berg also made the first Buckeye machine in Akron. He is a native of Germany.

[2] Ardrey, p. 234.

Ohio, where also the Bookwalter engines are built. Blickensderfer (a good German-Moravian name) is the inventor of one of the popular typewriters of to-day.

In the history of glass-blowing in the United States German pioneers are found in the eighteenth century. It is claimed that Caspar Wistar, who came to America from Baden in 1717, built the first glass-factory in the Colonies, near Alloway Town, a few miles east of Salem, N.J., in 1738. He imported glass-blowers from Rotterdam to learn the trade from them, and, in conjunction with his son, manufactured glassware of all kinds for many years.[1] Amelung's glass-works, on Bennett's Creek, near the Monocacy River (Frederick County, Maryland), were probably as well known as any in the country at the time. Washington, writing to Jefferson concerning this "factory of glass upon a large scale on the Monocacy River," states that he is informed it would produce the value of ten thousand pounds in that year.[2] Baron Stiegel's glass-works, at Mannheim in Pennsylvania, were established before the Revolutionary War.[3] One of the noted glass-blowers of the present day is Valentine Remmel, born in Pittsburg, 1853, and son of a German father.[4] Carl Langenbeck, of German descent, is a specialist in clay products. He was formerly superintendent of the Rookwood Pottery, Cincinnati, and the originator of "Rookwood faience," and "aventurine pottery glazes." He is also the consulting chemist and engineer of several potteries, tile and mosaic works. Thomas Key Niedringhaus,[5] descended from a

[1] Cf. *The National Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. xii, p. 359.

[2] See Volume I, pp. 172–173. [3] See Volume I, pp. 140–143.

[4] Remmel is noted also as an organizer of the socialistic party. He was candidate for Vice-President on the ticket of the Socialist Labor Party, 1900.

[5] Mr. Niedringhaus was prominently before the public recently in his fight for the United States Senatorship. He had received the caucus nomina-

well-known German family in Missouri, was the secretary of the St. Louis Stamping Company in 1880, and is a director and vice-president of the National Enameling and Stamping Company.

In the iron and steel industry a large number of Germans have been prominent from the very beginning of its history. Perhaps the earliest iron-works on record were those of Governor Spotswood at Germanna (Virginia), about 1714–1720, which were operated by colonists from Siegen, Germany.[1] In Pennsylvania the first foundry was erected in 1716 by an English Quaker; ten years later the German Mennonite Kurtz built his works on Octorara Creek, in Lancaster County.[2] Berks County soon became a centre of the iron industry, and most of the iron-masters were Germans. The "Oley" works were established in 1745 by two Germans and an Englishman. On the Tulpehocken Creek, two miles from Womelsdorf (Conrad Weiser's original colony), iron-works were started in 1749, with the name "Tulpehocken Eisenhammer," still in existence in 1884, and called "Charming Forge." In Lancaster County the "Elisabeth Hochofen," which ran for more than one hundred years, was founded in 1750 by Johann Huber, a German. The furnace bore the inscription: —

"Johann Huber, der erste deutsche Mann,
Der das Eisenwerk vollführen kann."

He sold his works in 1757 to Baron H. W. Stiegel, whose enterprises at Mannheim have been fully described in an

tion, January 5, 1905, but failed of election by a bolt in the legislature in joint session. He is also vice-president of the Commonwealth Steel Company and secretary of the Granite Realty and Investment Company.

[1] Volume I, Chapter VII, pp. 178 ff.

[2] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 5, 1730; quoted by *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xvi, pp. 191–194. Much of the material above on the Pennsylvania iron industry of the early period is derived from the latter source.

early chapter.[1] But for the Revolutionary War, Baron Stiegel might have recovered fully from his subsequent financial difficulties. His manufacture of pig-iron was a success, and so also were his stoves. Christoph Sauer manufactured stoves in 1750. In Lebanon County the Germans erected the "Martin Forge," still existing in 1884.

In Pittsburg the first iron was made in 1792 by Georg Anschütz, a native of Strassburg. With two associates, one of them, John Gloninger, a German from Lancaster County, he built the Huntingdon furnace in 1796. Samuel Fahnenstock and Georg Schönberger, both Germans, built the "Juniata Forge," in Huntingdon County, in 1804. Peter Schönberger (son of Georg) was one of two who erected the "Cambria Iron Company" in Johnstown. Peter Schönberger and Robert Coleman (Scotchman) are said to have been the two most prominent iron manufacturers in Pennsylvania during the first half of the nineteenth century. In Eastern Pennsylvania the Germans Haldemann, Kaufmann, Wistar, Eckert took a prominent part. In the Juniata Valley, the pioneers were Spang, Schmucker, School, Swope, Royer, Baker, Diller, Trexler. Germans represented the industry in Center, Clarion, and Clearfield counties. In the last-named Friedrich Geissenheimer, in 1834, manufactured iron in his "Valley Furnace," using anthracite coal, the first time that had been done. These statistics show that the German iron-masters were quite well scattered over the whole iron-producing area of Pennsylvania.

In the nineteenth century John Fritz, still living in the Pennsylvania town of Bethlehem, was the father of the steel mill.[2] He was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania,

[1] Volume I, pp. 140–143.

[2] Cf. Herbert N. Casson's articles: *The Romance of Steel and Iron*, in *Munsey's Magazine*, April, 1906, p. 3.

in 1822, became a mill foreman in the Norristown Iron Works, and with others started a small machine-shop in 1852. He was made general superintendent of the Columbia Iron Works, Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 1854. He then entered the service of the Bethlehem Iron Company as general superintendent and engineer in 1860, and built the works of that company. He retired in 1892. From the Iron and Steel Institute of Great Britain [1] he received the Bessemer gold medal for services in the advancement of steel manufactures. He was selected by the Armor Plate Board, in 1897, to make plans and estimates for government armor-plate works.

A graphic account of the development of the great steel industry at Pittsburg is given in the recent articles of H. N. Casson.[2] The central figure is naturally the Scotchman, Andrew Carnegie. His two ablest lieutenants, however, were men of German descent, Henry Clay Frick and Charles M. Schwab. One is reminded of that brilliant feat in the history of Western border warfare, the conquest of the Illinois territory, when George Rogers Clark, of English descent, had two able German lieutenants, Helm and Bowman. The development of the steel and iron industry is comparable to an invasion of the vast unknown, opening up undreamed of possibilities. The conspicuous service of Frick consisted in the great fight that he made against organized labor during the Homestead strike in

[1] It is an interesting fact that a number of Germans were prominent in giving England the first rank in iron manufacture. Huntsmann, inventor of a casting process, was the son of a German. Siemens, the inventor of the regenerative steam engine, etc., was a Hanoverian. Bolkow, founder of the largest iron foundry of England, Bolkow, Vaughan & Company, was a German. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xvi, p. 194.

[2] Cf. Herbert N. Casson, *The Romance of Steel and Iron in America, Munsey's Magazine*, April to December, 1906, and concluded in 1907.

1892. It was a question as to which should be the master, the guiding head, or the brawny arm. Frick stood alone in the fight, but possessed the courage and persistence to carry it through. All steel-makers shared the fruits of his victory. Capital was set free for the first time to make sweeping improvements. Mr. Frick declared, a few months after the strike, that, although he had put in machinery displacing four hundred men, more men were employed very soon after in the iron and steel trade than ever before, and the work was done more easily.[1]

Charles M. Schwab had perhaps the most rapid rise in the history of the steel trade. Frick's antecedents were poor Pennsylvania-German farmers; Schwab's father kept a village store. The son, after crude beginnings, made the acquaintance of Captain Jones, of the steel-works. There Schwab showed natural talent for mechanics, and from his teacher, a leader of men, he learned to manage the laborers. After the accidental death of Jones, the heaviest burden of the Carnegie concern fell on the shoulders of Schwab. "It was he also who reconstructed the Homestead Works from the ruins after the great strike; who created the profitable armor-plate department; who originated the Saturday meetings of superintendents. With cheerful self-assurance he accepted any responsibility that was offered. Enthusiasm he found was better than experience; nothing daunted him. He swept into the golden sea with all sails set and with the band playing. Had he been asked to reconstruct the Empire of Russia or to federate the South American Republics, he would have replied without hesitation — 'Yes, good idea! I will attend to that next week.' Schwab's greatest achievement was the handling of the Homestead Steel

[1] Cf. Casson, July number, p. 457.

Works after the great strike. It seemed a four million dollar mistake. The machinery was not working properly, and the men were not working at all. There was a stupid rabble of strike-breakers and a sullen army of five thousand workmen to deal with. And the whole place had been for five months a battlefield, passion-swept and bloodstained, the Waterloo of organized labor. In the words of Carnegie, 'Schwab is a genius in the managing of men and machinery. I never saw a man who could grasp a new idea so quickly.' When Carnegie saw that Schwab had 'made good' at Homestead, he made him president of the whole concern, so that not even the masterful Frick was equal to him in authority. This has been perhaps the first instance in which so young a man, absolutely without business experience, was placed in command over so great a corporation." [1]

An interesting item in the history of steel production is the summoning from Germany of specialists in chemistry. "When the pioneers had demonstrated the value of chemistry in the iron and steel industry, Carnegie brought Dr. Fricke from Germany and paid him a salary of fifteen thousand dollars a year, to be the company's chemist. 'This was considered an enormous salary,' said Mr. Carnegie. 'The other steel men said, we cannot afford to pay such salaries to German scientists.' But he replied, 'We cannot afford to be without them.' Before the first year was out, Dr. Fricke had earned his salary over and over again by enabling the company to use ores that formerly steel men considered unavailable." [2]

Other iron men of German name are: William H. Pfahler (born in Lancaster County), since 1870 identified with the Abraham Stove Company, and president of the Model

[1] Casson, August number, p. 586. [2] Casson, July number, p. 453.

Heating Company.[1] There is Charles T. Schoen, who invented the pressed-steel coal and freight railway cars (1897); Otto Pluemer (born in Cassel, Germany), vice-president and treasurer of the Beveridge-Pluemer Company (pig-iron). William Edenborn (born in Westphalia, Germany), member of the executive and advisory committee, United States Steel Corporation (1901–1904), has long been connected with the Consolidated Steel and Wire Company, and has made many inventions important in the wire industry.[2] Henry Clay Frick, as president of the H. C. Frick Coke Company, is the largest coke producer in the world, operating nearly forty thousand acres of coal and twelve thousand coke-ovens, with a daily capacity of twenty-five thousand tons.

In the textile industries there are a few prominent German names. John William Fries (born in Salem, North Carolina, and member of the German-Moravian Church) is a noted cotton and woolen goods manufacturer and inventor of machines and processes for dyeing woolens and cloth. Henry L. Deimel (born in Germany) is an authority on the subject of hygienic clothing, advocating porous linen fabric for wear next to the skin. He is president of the Deimel Linen-Mesh System Company of San Francisco. Another influential factor in hygienic clothing are the agencies of the Jäger underwear establishments in all parts of the country. One of the greatest of American furriers is Gustav Beyer, born in Saxony, located in New

[1] He organized and was president of the National Founders' Association, and assisted in organizing the National Metal Trades Association. He was one of the original Committee of Seven that organized the Committee of Seventy, which accomplished the overthrow of the political ring of Philadelphia.

[2] The name of Röbling should of course not be omitted in connection with the wire industry. In Maryland the iron merchants have been R. C. Hoffman and R. Brent Keyser, both of German descent.

York City.[1] One of the most interesting figures in the textile industries is Alfred Dolge, born in Chemnitz, Germany (1848). He came to New York in 1866, and worked on the bench as a piano-maker. He started in business in July, 1869, and has been prominent in the manufacture of felt, including the finest grades, such as are used in the manufacture of pianos. In 1903 he organized the Alfred Dolge Manufacturing Company and established the first felt and felt-shoe factories on the Pacific Coast. In connection with Henry E. Huntington, he founded the town of Dolgeville, California, seven miles east of Los Angeles (subsequent to his ventures at Dolgeville, New York). He introduced in his factories a labor pension and insurance system. He is also president of the Dolge-Posey Company, manufacturers of piano sound-boards.

As tanners and manufacturers of leather the Germans have some prominent representatives, such as the firm of Foerderer (Robert H.), of Philadelphia, sole manufacturers at one time of vici kid; Schoelkopf, of Buffalo, famous for their sheep-skins. Charles Weisse was brought up in the tanning business and for eighteen years has owned his present plant at Sheboygan Falls, Wisconsin.[2] The firm of A. Groetzinger & Son, of Allegheny City, manufactures sole leather and belting, J. Groetzinger, of the same city, harness leather. G. Groetzinger's Sons, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, are also manufacturers of harness leather. Charles Hauselt, of New York, tans calf-skins, Kaufherr & Company, of Newark, alligator- and snake-skins. In the same city William Zahn manufactures glazed leather. In Milwaukee there are the leather firms Pfister & Vogel,

[1] He has recently retired from his large business. He is also an entomologist and owns one of the largest known collections of American beetles.

[2] He was a member of Congress, from the Sixth Wisconsin District (1903–1909). He was reëlected to the present (Sixty-first) Congress.

Trostel & Zohrlant. Allegheny City has several more German tanners, mainly of harness leather, Lappe, Holstein, Hax, Flaccus. Very well known is Charles A. Schieren, born in Prussia (1842); he established the business known as Charles A. Schieren & Company, tanners and belting manufacturers, one of the largest concerns of the kind in the United States. Mr. Schieren was a popular mayor of Brooklyn in 1894–95.

In cabinet-making and kindred industries the Germans are influential. Richard Herrmann, born in Chemnitz, Saxony, is one of the largest furniture manufacturers of the country, and president of the Dubuque Cabinet-Makers' Association.[1] The files, sectional cabinets, and card-index cases of the Globe-Wernicke Company of Cincinnati are familiar sights in offices all over the country. In Grand Rapids, Michigan, most of the furniture makers are Dutch, some are German.

In the manufacture and invention of vehicles of transportation the German element has unsurpassed representatives. The largest electric car and truck building firm in the world is the J. G. Brill Company, whose business in 1907 amounted to ten million dollars. The company operates not only the central factory at Philadelphia, covering nearly thirty acres, but during the last seven years has bought and is operating the following additional plants: American Car Company, St. Louis, Mo.; the G. C. Kuhlman Car Company, Cleveland, O.; John Stephenson Company, Elizabeth, N. J.; Wason Manufacturing Company, Springfield, Mass.; Danville Car Company, Danville, Ill.; and the Compagnie J. G. Brill, Paris, France. The founder, John George Brill, was born near Cassel,

[1] He is the founder also of the Herrmann Museum of Natural History, and secretary of the Iowa Institute of Arts and Sciences.

Germany, in 1817, and came to America in 1847. For nearly twenty years he was in the employ of Philadelphia car-builders, until 1868, when with his son, G. Martin Brill, he founded the J. G. Brill Company. After his death, in 1888, the business was continued by his four sons. Of these, George Martin Brill, one of the founders, lived until 1906; John A. Brill was a remarkable inventor in car and truck construction; while Edward and George Brill were directors of the lumber department.[1]

The largest vehicle factory in the United States is that of the Studebaker Brothers in South Bend, Indiana. They manufacture over one hundred thousand vehicles a year, including ten thousand automobiles. The Studebakers are Pennsylvania-Germans, originally from Switzerland, and belonged to the sect of Dunkards, German Baptists. In 1835 the father, a blacksmith, and five sons, migrated from the neighborhood of Gettysburg to Ashland County, Ohio. Two sons learned from him their father's trade; one of them was a wood-worker. The latter, J. M. Studebaker, made the wood-work for one of the first Studebaker wagons in 1852, his brothers ironed it, and he crossed the Plains with it in 1853. Returning from California, in 1858, he bought out his elder brother's wagon-shop, and established the firm of J. M. Studebaker & Brother, which later took in the younger brothers also. One of their early successes was making wagons for the government during the Civil War, which were all made by hand. Three wagons a day was then the high record. Now it is four hundred. The wagons that they sent to the army laid the foundation for their vast business. There was quality in them, and when a soldier came home to his

[1] These statements are based upon information derived from the firm by letter, August 18, 1909.

father, he said, "Buy a Studebaker wagon, as they were the only ones that gave us service." Questioned as to the history of the leadership of the Studebaker wagons, the reply[1] of one of the brothers was: "Hard work for fifteen hours a day for twenty-five to thirty years, judicious economy, integrity, and a determination to make the best goods in the market." It is a most gratifying phenomenon that the Pennsylvania-German wagon, historically known as the "Conestoga wagon," has not stopped in its development, but during the Civil War became the "Studebaker wagon," and, still remaining in the hands of Pennsylvania-Germans, has in the process of evolution changed into a modern automobile.

Inventive genius was also exhibited by the Mohawk Germans; an example of which is found in the career of Webster Wagner, founder of the Wagner Palace Car Company. Born at Palatine Bridge, Montgomery County, New York, in 1817, his ancestors were among the early German settlers of the Mohawk Valley. Under his elder brother he learned the wagon-maker's trade, but fortune was not with him, and at the age of thirty he was a ruined man. He became a ticket-agent and then had charge of a railway station. During this period he devised the plan of a sleeping-car. The idea of a sleeping-berth was suggested to him by the benches in the cabooses on which the railway employees slept. Wagner built four sleeping-cars for the New York Central in 1858. Later he turned

[1] In a letter to the writer, dated June 24, 1909, from J. M. Studebaker, president of the firm, and only survivor of the five brothers. With pride in his origin Mr. Studebaker writes: "Very few emigrated from the old country that equaled the Germans. They were a sturdy, thrifty, intelligent class of people. Above all, they had Christianity and character in them, and built up business strictly on the lines of honesty. We are Pennsylvania-Germans and came from Adams County and Lancaster."

his attention to the drawing-room car, completing his first one in 1867. He was author of numerous other inventions, such as the oval-shaped car, and the elevated panel for ventilation, which is found in every car in the land. He combined executive ability with inventive genius, and made a great fortune for himself and others. He also became very successful and popular in politics, being elected again and again to the state senate (1871 to his death in 1882). He opposed a third term for Grant, was instrumental in the nomination of Garfield, and was appointed to positions of trust, such as the Committee on Banks. His popularity was increased by his generous manner, his hospitality, his characteristic good sense. He never made an attempt to conceal his humble beginnings, but spoke of his youth as the happiest period of his life.[1]

The two most distinguished names in the history of American naval architecture are those of the Cramps and the Herreshoffs. Both of these families are descended from Germans. The paternal ancestor of the Cramps, Johann Georg Krampf, came to America from Baden before William Penn, and settled on the banks of the Delaware. Patriotic sentiment caused the change of the family name from Krampf to Cramp at the time of the Revolution. Similarly, the maternal ancestor's name Reiss became Rice; this family also came from Baden.[2] Shipbuilding ran in the blood of the Cramps from a very early period, as is proved by the fact that Paul Jones, commanding the Russian Black Sea fleet, recorded in his journal in 1788 that the naval architect John Cramp was employed by the Russian Ministry of Marine. The man who has left his

[1] Cf. *National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. ix, p. 208.

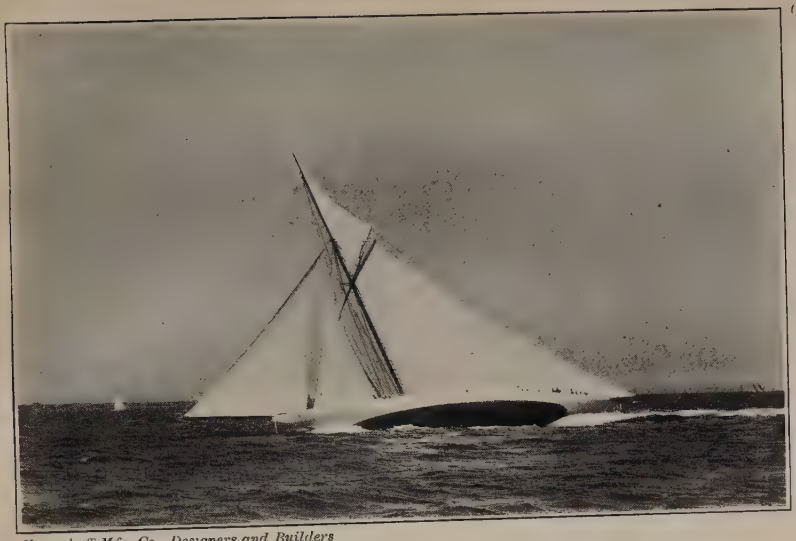
[2] Information received by letter from Mr. C. H. Cramp, August 25 and 26, 1909.

impress on American shipbuilding in the nineteenth century is Charles Henry Cramp, who began his life-work with the construction of ships of wood and canvas, and then became a leader in the transition to steel and steam. He designed the *New Ironsides* and many coast-defenders during the Civil War, and subsequently became a leading architect of the new navy that did valiant service in the Spanish War. He was a most earnest and persistent advocate of government subsidies in support of the merchant marine, and probably did more than any other one man toward raising the United States merchant marine out of the depths into which it had sunk in consequence of the Civil War.[1]

Charles Frederick Herreshoff, a native of Minden, Prussia, was the ancestor of the naval architects of New England.[2] An accomplished scholar and musician, he married the daughter of John Brown of Providence, one of the founders of Brown University. Their son, Charles Frederick Herreshoff (born in Providence, R. I., in 1809), agriculturist and shipbuilder, bent his energies in the direction of naval architecture. With his sons, all of whom inherited their father's skill and love for naval architecture, he laid the foundation of the Herreshoff Manufacturing Company. John Brown Herreshoff (born in 1841) was the noted "blind boat-builder"; his elder brother, James Brown Herreshoff (born in 1834), made most of the inventions, — the coil-boiler, the fin-keel for sailing-yachts, — which made possible the construction of the fastest steam- and sailing-yachts in the world. He also invented

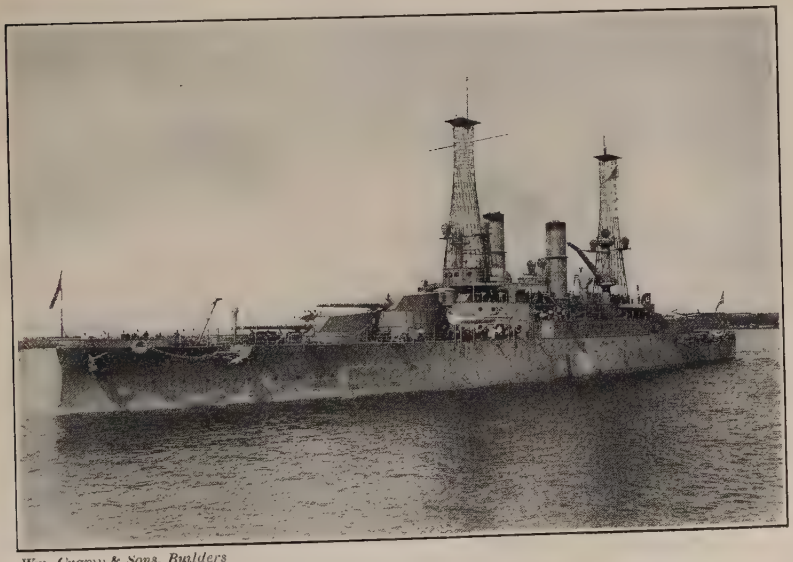
[1] Cf. A. C. Buell, *The Memoirs of Charles H. Cramp.* (Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1906.)

[2] Cf. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. xii, pp. 352, 353.



Herreshoff Mfg. Co., Designers and Builders

THE RELIANCE



Wm. Cramp & Sons, Builders

U. S. S. SOUTH CAROLINA

the sliding-seats in row-boats, now universally used in racing-shells.

In navigation and shipping the Germans have contributed a large share. We have seen that on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers they were pioneer skippers,[1] in flat-boats, sail-boats, and finally steamboats. The great promoter Baum, of Cincinnati, opened the first regular service between his city and New Orleans by means of sailing-vessels, Captain Bechtle, formerly a skipper on the Rhine, having the boat in charge, about 1805. As Jacob Yoder (Joder) in 1782 had been the first flat-boat skipper of the Ohio, so the operator of the first steamboat on the Western rivers was Bernard Rosefelt. The first boat was built in 1811, at Pittsburg, and was named after the city of New Orleans, which was its destination. The boat on its first trip encountered an earthquake at the mouth of the Ohio, but survived and reached its port. The captain was Henry Schreeve and his machinist was Becker; both claimed to be Germans. Heinrich Schreeve was also the inventor of a steam saw for cutting snags.[2]

Very important service in the development of American commerce was rendered by the German agents of the German trans-Atlantic lines from Bremen and Hamburg. The agents[3] of the North German Lloyd in New York have

[1] As ferrymen we have seen Germans on the Potomac (Harper's Ferry) and on the Ohio River (Maysville and Covington).

[2] Captain Schreeve (Schriewe), in December, 1814, on arrival at New Orleans, offered his services to General Jackson against the British. The town of Shreveport, Louisiana, was probably named after him. He died in St. Louis, in 1851. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vols. i and xi. For Jacob Yoder, see also Rosengarten, *German Soldiers in the Wars of the United States*, p. 158.

[3] The first prominent agent in Baltimore of the North German Lloyd was Albert Schumacher (born in Bremen, in 1802); after 1839 he was consul for Bremen and Hamburg, director of several railroads, and at one time president of the Baltimore Chamber of Commerce.

been the Oelrichs; the present general manager of the Hamburg-American Line is Emil Leopold Boas. The regular shipping service established new trades between the United States and Germany. It included exportation of large quantities of tobacco and raw materials of all sorts. Importations of German manufactures increased as a natural consequence. Large importing firms were established at the Atlantic seaports, which were of unquestioned advantage for both countries. Thus a large tobacco trade sprang up, with inland agencies at Cincinnati and Louisville. German shippers and promoters of commerce were quite as prominent on the Pacific as on the Atlantic Coast. The foundation by Claus Spreckels of a regular service between San Francisco, Hawaii, Australia, and New Zealand has already been referred to.[1] John D. Spreckels is president of the Oceanic Steamship Company. D. P. Schwerin is vice-president and general manager of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. These two lines own the largest fleets carrying passengers and trade between the American Shore, the Islands of the Pacific, and the Orient.

Rich returns reward the seeker for German influences in the field of industries concerned with the arts. The most cursory view will establish the fact that Germans are predominant as lithographers and manufacturers of musical instruments.

In the art of lithography too much credit cannot be given to Louis Prang, who was both the pioneer and the successful developer of the finest class of color-work in this country.[2] Louis Prang was born at Breslau in 1824, and

[1] See Chapter II, *ante*, p. 70.

[2] This is the opinion of Mr. George K. Henderson, principal of the Winona Technical Institute, Indianapolis, Indiana, the only school of lithography

came to the United States in 1850, a refugee of the revolutionary period. He came well trained in his branch, and settled in Boston, where he started as a wood-engraver, then became a lithographer, color-printer and publisher. He is also a writer on many subjects, the author of the "Prang Method of Art Instruction" and the "Prang Standard of Color." Some of the prominent German lithographers of the country are the Knapp Company (New York), the Goes Company (Chicago), the Gugler Company (Milwaukee), Bien & Company (New York), Hoen & Company (Baltimore), all of whom do high-class work. Of two hundred and forty firms existing in this country ninety per cent are owned by men of German nationality or their native-born sons, and of men employed, seventy per cent are of German birth, fifteen per cent are native-born, and the remainder are Irish, Scotch, French, and English.[1]

One of the most prominent lithographing firms is Bien & Company, of New York City, the head of which is Julius Bien, born in Hesse-Cassel, Germany. He arrived in the United States in 1849, and began business in a small way, filling in his spare time with painting portraits and banners. He soon became a specialist in scientific and artistic lithographing, and has executed a great deal of the most accurate and artistic work demanded by the United States Government. For many years Bien & Company have illustrated the United States Coast Survey Reports, the Pacific Railway Surveys, and the statistical atlases of the United States Census. They have issued the atlas of the "Records of the Rebellion," and Hayden's

in the country. Mr. Henderson is the author of an *American Textbook of Lithography* (Levey Brothers, Indianapolis), which is the outline of the history of the art in the United States.

[1] This is the statement of Mr. G. K. Henderson in a letter to the writer, February 17, 1907.

and Powell's expeditions. Julius Bien was president of the National Lithographers' Association from 1889 to 1895, and his work has received gold and silver medals at all the latter-day world expositions. Another firm that has done expert work for the Government is Hoen & Company, of Baltimore. The Hoens are likewise descended from German ancestors. They were among the first to use color in lithography.[1] Another German name is G. H. Buek & Company of Boston, who in 1891 joined in the formation of the American Lithographic Company of New York, of which Gustav H. Buek is vice-president and general art manager. He was the first to introduce facsimile water-color work into commercial lithography.

F. A. Ringler (born in Hesse-Cassel in 1852) is the inventor of a galvano-plastic process by which pictures and photographs can be reproduced on *clichés* in a few hours. This invention has been of great service to the illustrated newspapers and the illustrated supplements.

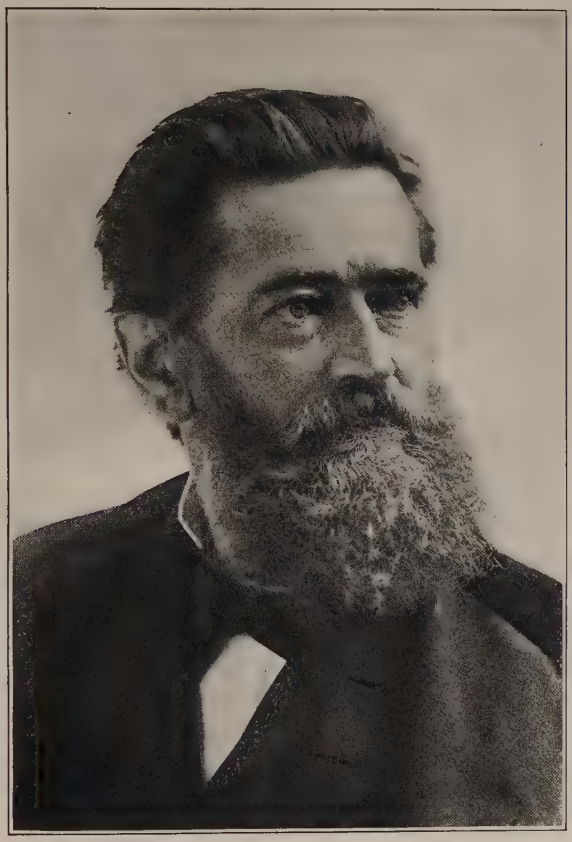
It would be too long a task to name the German printers of the United States; suffice it to remind the reader that many of the pioneer printers in the history of the United States, such as Sauer,[2] Miller, and many others in Pennsylvania; Buckner[3] and Henkel, in Virginia; Marschalk, in Mississippi (after the Revolutionary War), were Germans.

One of the most successful inventions of the age, producing a great change in the work of type-setting, is the so-called linotype. It was invented by Ottmar Mergen-

[1] A member of the present firm has informed the writer that his father was the first to print colored posters in his section of the country. The first attempt was made in the execution of an order from Washington, during the Mexican War, — a poster still exhibited by the firm.

[2] See Volume I, Chapter V, pp. 143–145.

[3] Cf. Schuricht, *The German Element in Virginia*, vol. i, p. 73.



LOUIS PRANG

thaler, born in Würtemberg in 1854, of South-German extraction. He came to Baltimore in 1872, and was employed by A. Hall & Company, manufacturers of electrical instruments. As the name implies, the linotype produces a line of type, including casting, while the operator touches letter after letter on a key-board. The labor and time saved are of especial importance to the daily papers. The New York "Tribune" was the first (1886) to try the machine in its composing-room. Its success was immediate, and now over seven thousand linotype machines are in daily use.

Being a musical people, the Germans quite naturally have given attention to the manufacture of musical instruments. In the United States they practically control the industry. The pioneer in violin manufacture of the highest standard was Georg Gemünder, born at Ingelfingen, Würtemberg, in 1816. His father was a manufacturer of musical instruments in Germany, and the son was ambitious to advance in the shops of the best masters. With this end in view he journeyed to Munich, Vienna, Pesth, and Pressburg, and finally sought the greatest violin-maker of the time, Vuillaume, in Paris. There he remained for a number of years, learning to distinguish the best Italian and other makes and to imitate them. The pupil soon began to rival his master, and when Ole Bull, on his return in 1845 from a concert tour to America, stopped at Paris to have his violin repaired by Vuillaume, the latter turned over the famous "Caspar da Salo" to his German assistant. Gemünder, several years after, when he had already settled at New York, had the pleasure of seeing the same violin again. Ole Bull was making another concert tour in the United States and appeared one day in Gemünder's shop. Showing him his violin, he chal-

lenged Gemünder to detect the place where it had once been repaired. Gemünder calmly scrutinized the instrument and showed him the spot, though it could never have been detected by any one who had not been told. Bull was surprised, and said the repair had been made by Vuillaume, the greatest violin-maker in the world. Gemünder then told him that the master had given the violin over to his pupil on that occasion.[1]

Gemünder sent several of his violins manufactured in his establishment at New York to the London Exposition of 1851. One was in imitation of Stradivarius, another made according to Amati, and a third according to Guarnerius. "Spohr, Thalberg, Vieuxtemps, and many others examined the violins and were very much surprised at their tone. Spohr observed: 'These are the first new violins that I ever saw, tried, and liked!'" The violins took the first prize. In the Vienna Exposition of 1873 Gemünder gained a wonderful and peculiar success. In competition for a prize to be given for the best imitation, Gemünder prepared his famous "Kaiser" violin. The judges declared this violin to be not a new one but a renewed original: "A genuine Guarnerius not only in regard to its outer appearance and character, but also in the wonderful quality of tone, and ease with which the tones come." Interesting are the stories Gemünder tells of his deceiving the greatest violin-players, allowing them to choose between two violins, one of his own make, a new one, and the other an old Italian. In many cases the violinist chose the new one, but after being told that he had made a mistake, and that

[1] The story of Gemünder's life is told in his autobiography, which reads like that of Benvenuto Cellini, in Goethe's translation. It is entitled *George Gemünder's Progress in Violin-Making, with Interesting Facts Concerning the Art and its Critics in General.* By George Gemünder. Published by the author. (Astoria, N. Y., 1881.)

they were both of the same price, the violinist would prefer the old instrument, yielding to an ancient prejudice against new violins. Gemünder claimed that his violins were exactly the same outwardly (in every detail of form and even varnish), and inwardly (as to tone-quality, "easy speaking," etc.); moreover that his violins possessed one superior feature,—they could be used in large modern concert halls, for which the old violins were too delicate. Gemünder was frequently accused of using chemically prepared woods for his imitations, a charge which he resented, declaring that wood in its natural state produced both power and equality of tone. Through minute study and native skill Gemünder has rediscovered the art of violin-making as it was practiced by the masterful Italian school. His violins have stood the test of time, i. e., since 1847. In the opinion of musical critics the violins manufactured by the firm that he established, Gemünder & Sons, Astoria, (Long Island City), New York, rank with the best in the world.

A high grade of guitars and other string instruments were manufactured in one of the homes of music, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, by the firm of Martin. Other factories of violins, guitars, and mandolins are scattered over the country. As a rule the demand for the piano and organ is very much greater in the United States than for other musical instruments and in consequence the manufacturers of the latter have not the same chance to expand.

In the history of piano manufacture Germans have made the largest number of the great inventions that have denoted progress. The inventions of Pleyel, Erhardt, Pape (who first used felt for the hammers), John Geib, Sr., and others, whether executed in Germany or abroad, reflect credit upon the German name. John Geib, Sr.,

for instance, was one of "twelve apostles" who went from Germany to England in 1760, and founded the piano business there. Broadwood, Stodart, and others acquired their knowledge through him.

The first pianoforte constructed in this country was by John Behrent (a German name), in Philadelphia, in 1775.[1] Charles Albrecht (German) began making pianos in Philadelphia some time before 1789, and continued until 1825. His pianos were copies of models imported from London (manufactured by German Londoners); they were good instruments for the time; one, dated 1789, is preserved in the art rooms of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, another was presented by Mr. Drexel to the New York Museum of Art. John Geib, Jr., on October 3, 1817, took out the second patent ever granted to a resident of New York, for improvements in the "shape and structure of the upright pianoforte." A clever German, Gutwaldt, came to the United States in 1811 and made pianos in Brooklyn, taking out a patent in 1818 for "an improvement in the framework of grands."[2] Another German, Sackmeister, in New York, registered a patent for "down-striking action." In Philadelphia, Conrad Meyer, born in Hesse-Cassel, was a notable figure. In 1833 he exhibited at Franklin Institute a piano with an iron frame. At the Philadelphia Exposition in 1876 he was declared the inventor of the solid iron plate frame now in general use in grands, squares, and uprights. Priority in this great invention is claimed for Alpheus Babcock, who is said to have taken out a patent which laid the foundation of metal plate casting in 1825. The credit of having made

[1] Cf. D. Spillane, *History of the American Pianoforte: its Technical Development and Trade*, p. 105, etc. (1890.)

[2] Spillane, p. 107.

the first frame of this kind, however, belongs to Meyer, since Babcock did not produce practical results until later. When he removed to Boston, his idea was taken up by Jonas Chickering, the great pioneer in New England, who had founded his piano factory in 1823.[1] Chickering took out patents in 1840, making improvements in Babcock's invention. The iron frame was a great step in advance; it kept the instrument in better tune, one great defect being, however, the thin nasal character of the tone. To remedy this defect and bring about certain final important improvements was the work of a German, Henry Steinway. Some of Steinway's great patents were: the Steinway method of "agraffe" adjustment, by which a more perfect "bearing" against the upward concussion of the hammers was provided; "overstringing" in grands, in conjunction with a plate model; alteration in "scaling" and stringing; also the third pedal, holding single tones without affecting the others. With these successive advancing steps, the modern piano, barring numerous minor improvements, has reached its present state of perfection.

Henry Steinway (originally Steinweg) was born in 1797 in the Duchy of Brunswick. While still a young man he learned the cabinet-maker's trade, fashioned zithers and guitars, and in Goslar learned how to build organs and pianos. In 1825 he established a piano factory of his own in Brunswick, but the narrow guild system prevailed, his family was large, and he turned to seek a fairer prospect of fortune. His eldest son Theodore remained to take charge of the factory left behind. Arriving in New York, the father and his four sons first served an apprenticeship. In 1853 they began in a small way, making one piano a

[1] Chickering was one of the few great piano manufacturers not of German blood.

week in the factory which they set up. The product of their labors met with unusual favor, and their skill and energy soon did the rest. Their constant improvements in their pianos brought them to a standard which probably has never been reached by any other factory in the United States. The Steinway piano at the present day is the acknowledged concert leader. Other factories that were now and then rivals for the highest honors have frequently since then lowered their standard to satisfy the popular demand for a cheaper piano. In spite of high standards and in virtue of them, Steinway & Sons have also been enormously successful from the commercial point of view. As early as 1859 Henry Steinway built a factory, at that time considered colossal, which gave employment to eight hundred workmen and completed sixty pianos a week. In 1866 he built a concert hall, with an auditorium seating twenty-five hundred people, and lived to see the erection of a plant at Astoria, Long Island, containing a sawmill, foundry with a water front, and a series of well-constructed lodging-houses for workmen. He died in 1871, but the institution which he had founded was carried on to greater success by his sons. Charles Herman Steinway is the president and director of Steinway & Sons at the present day.

The names of some of the large German piano manufacturers will show how the Germans predominate in this industry. In New York, besides Steinway & Sons, there are: William Lindemann & Sons (founded in 1840, William Lindemann being one of the pioneers of piano manufacture, earlier than Steinway, and preceded in New York only by Gutwaldt and Sackmeister); the Weber Piano Company[1] (founded in 1852 by Albert Weber, native of

[1] This firm was the first to establish a branch in Chicago (1880).

Bavaria); George Steck & Company (founded in 1857 by George Steck, native of Hesse-Cassel); Behning & Son (1861, founder, native of Hanover); Kranich & Bach (1864, both partners born in Germany); Marschall & Mittauer (1867, both born in Germany); Sohmer & Company (1872, founder, Hugo Sohmer, born in the Black Forest); Behr Brothers & Company (1875, Henry Behr, native of Hamburg); Schnabel, Lambert & Company (1878); Kraukauer Brothers (1878); Henry Kroeger & Sons (1879); Mehlin & Sons (more recent). Baltimore contains one of the leading piano factories, William Knabe & Company. The founder, William Knabe, born in 1803, in Sachsen-Weimar, established the factory in 1839 (then Knabe & Gaehle). The firm have since then taken out many valuable patents, and have stood in the front rank with Steinway and Chickering; Von Bülow and D'Albert have used the Knabe piano on their concert tours. In 1879 the Japanese Government ordered a large number of their instruments. In Philadelphia there are many firms, among them Schomaker & Company (the founder born in Germany in 1800); the successor of the pioneer C. F. Albrecht is the popular firm of Blasius & Company. This list is by no means a complete one. In the manufacture of supplies for piano-makers the firm of Strauch Brothers (the founder born at Frankfurt-on-the-Main) leads; the Alfred Dolge Manufacturing Company, mentioned before, supplies the finest quality of felt.

A large number of German firms appear among the organ manufacturers of the country, e. g., the Ann Arbor Manufacturing Company (Fred Schmid, president); the Barckhoff Church Organ Company (Pomeroy, Ohio); Lehr (Easton, Pennsylvania); Æolian Company, controlled by the Weber Piano and Pianola Company; Blamburg (Balti-

more); Eifert & Stoehr (Astoria, Long Island); Felgemaker Organ Company (Erie, Pennsylvania); Foerster & Sons (Milwaukee); J. P. Fuchs (New York); E. Giesecke (Evansville, Indiana); E. Grimm (Cincinnati); Pfeffer & Company (St. Louis); Schulz Company (Chicago); Seybold Reed Pipe Organ Company (Elgin, Illinois), who advertise that their output is fifteen organs a day; Wirsching Organ Company (Salem, Ohio); Wilhelm's Sons (Oakland, California); in the manufacturing department of the Estey Organ Company, Carl Brambach has been the leading man.[1] The presence of Germans as assistants and workmen in all factories in which musical instruments are made, whether conducted by Germans or otherwise, is also a notable feature.

German activity in a great variety of other industrial fields must necessarily receive scant attention in these pages, however worthy of fuller treatment. For instance, the writer learns on good authority that seventy per cent of the hardware business in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, is in German hands. Similarly the large rubber business of Akron, Ohio, is in the hands of the Germans, Seiberling, Swinehart, Metz, and Miller. Some of the best builders have been Germans, among firms still existing, e. g., Eidlitz & Son,[2] who have built many private and public buildings in and about New York City and elsewhere; also Henry Smith & Son (founder was born in Germany, anglicizing his name on coming to America), in Baltimore, who built the Maryland Club, the new Custom-House, Rennert's Hotel, and many of the most substantial warehouses and private buildings.

[1] Cf. Spillane, p. 284.

[2] Otto M. Eidlitz was appointed Tenement House Commissioner by President Roosevelt in 1900; was appointed commissioner in 1905 to examine causes of collapse of buildings in New York, and report on the same.

The Eberhard-Faber Pencil Company, in Brooklyn, is an offshoot of the great German pencil factory of Faber.[1] Names even more familiar in America are Welsbach and Pintsch, who have in the literal sense shed so much light upon us in our homes and on our travels. In lighting and gas engineering, Germans at home and in this country have been leaders.

Toys are imported in great quantities from Germany. Dolls with jointed limbs, from Sonneberg, musical toys from Nuremberg, ornaments for the Christmas trees from Saxony, Noah's arks from the Black Forest, have delighted us all without our being aware of their origin.

Two of the most prominent members of the American Tobacco Company are the German firms located in Baltimore, Gail and Ax, and Marburg Brothers, the latter so commonly known for their mixtures of smoking-tobacco (Yale, Lafayette Mixture, Marburg's Pickings, .etc.). F. A. W. Kieckhefer (born in Milwaukee) is in charge of the largest tinware and enameled ware factory in the world;[2] Hermann H. Kohlsaat (born in Illinois) does a large wholesale bakery business and owns a number of bakery and lunch establishments;[3] S. E. Gross (born in Pennsylvania), a large real-estate operator in Chicago, built twenty-one suburban farms, sold forty thousand lots, and ten thousand houses.[4]

A number of department stores have been established

[1] They own a cedar yard and mill at Cedar Keys, Florida, and a rubber factory at Newark, New Jersey.

[2] *Who's Who in America*, 1906–1907, p. 998.

[3] He was also part owner of the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, 1891–1893, editor and publisher of the *Chicago Times-Herald*, which was amalgamated with the *Chicago Record*, becoming the *Record-Herald*; interested also in the *Chicago Evening Post*, and a large contributor to charities.

[4] *Who's Who in America*, 1906–1907, p. 733.

by men born in Germany or men of German descent. The most famous of all in the United States are those of John Wanamaker, in Philadelphia (established in 1876) and New York (established in 1896). John Wanamaker[1] is a Pennsylvania-German, and has frequently in public expressed his pride in his descent. Of men born in Germany who are in the department store business, some of the most widely known are those of Jewish-German descent, e. g., Stern Brothers, of New York City, Louis Stern having been born in Germany in 1847, and Henry Siegel, of Siegel, Cooper & Company, born in Germany, in 1852.

If a list were to be made of the captains of industry in the United States, a large number of the names found in the preceding pages would have to be included. Such are Claus Spreckels, monarch of sugar; Henry Miller, of cattle; Frederick Weyerhäuser, of lumber; and George C. Boldt, of hotels.[2] There would be included Charles H. Cramp, the shipbuilder; Henry C. Frick, the ruler of the coke industry; Röbling, master in wire-cable manufacture. The names of Schieren, Herrmann, Niedringhaus, Kieckhefer, Studebaker, Brill, Wagner, Wanamaker, Oelrichs, Boas, Busch, Uihlein, Pabst, Gunther, and a host of others would find a worthy place.

Summing up the contents of this chapter, we have found that the thesis can be maintained that in all those industries requiring technical skill and special training, the German element has been very prominent in the United States, in some branches holding a monopoly.

[1] Mr. John Wanamaker was United States Postmaster-General from 1889 to 1893, and reduced the expenses of the department so considerably as to decrease the cost of postage to the public.

[2] Cf. Casson, *The Germans in America*, p. 702.

This was due in large measure to the fact that the technical schools of Germany had reached a high grade of usefulness long before institutions of a similar kind existed in the United States. But even after that the German element trained in this country remained prominent in the same branches, showing a bias of the German mind in this direction. As bridge-builders, electrical, civil, and mining engineers, the Germans have not only done a very large part of the work demanded by modern transportation and manufactures in the United States, but their inventive genius has made noble and lasting contributions to the sum of human achievement. They have also predominated in the manufacture of scientific apparatus and of musical instruments. They established the art of lithography, and were well represented as printers. Prominent was their share in the chemical industries, and the manufacture of glass, iron, and steel. In navigation and shipping they directed attention to foreign ports, and their names are numerous and distinguished on the rolls of the captains of industry in varied fields of activity.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

Popular impression concerning the Germans in politics — Their position defined — Their support of the Constitution of the United States — Germans active in the political issues of the nineteenth century: (1) The question of slavery; German leaders induce German voters to join the Republican Party; Carl Schurz; the Chicago Convention; the Germans of the Border States — (2) The question of the Civil Service; Carl Schurz as Secretary of the Interior institutes civil service reform — (3) Sound money — (4) Party reform — (5) Peace congresses; Holls, Bartholdt — (6) Personal liberty; resolutions on temperance and Sunday observance by the National German-American Alliance — The German language in the public schools, etc. — (7) Independent voting; Benjamin Franklin's nativism and testimony; Jacob Leisler an independent in politics; municipal government; Carl Schurz the "original independent" — Several types of German politicians described: Carl Schurz, Francis Lieber, Samuel W. Pennypacker, William Bouck, Philipp Dorscheimer, Michael Hahn — German governors and congressmen — Others in public life — Conventions of the German revolutionists — Socialism in the United States — The Socialist-Labor and the Socialist Party — The National German-American Alliance.

The common impression concerning the Germans in American politics is that their influence has not been commensurate with their numbers. The question has never been thoroughly studied, but it is more than probable that after a searching investigation has been made, the general opinion will be shown to be in error. Within the limits of this chapter it is possible only to suggest the lines on which such an investigation can be made.

The unfavorable impression may be due in part to the fact that from the beginning of their history the Germans have not been eager to hold public offices. The settlers of Germantown were embarrassed by the frequent resigna-

tions of the men of their choice, and imposed a fine of three pounds upon any one who should refuse to serve after election to public office. Mennonites and some other sectarians successfully pleaded a conflict with their religion, but others were not excused without showing good cause. Thus it was placed on record that Paul Wulff, elected to the position of town clerk on December 1, 1694, was fined three pounds for declining the office without good cause.[1] Paul Castner (Kästner) was elected to succeed him, but found it impossible to accept for reasons of conscience, and Franz Daniel Pastorius, the founder of the colony, was compelled to step into the breach. These items of history illustrate two facts, — first, that the Germans felt public office to be more a burden than a distinction, and secondly, that an undercurrent of public spirit prevailed among them which created a law calculated to impress the principle that public service when demanded was a moral duty. This was unmistakably the attitude of Franz Daniel Pastorius, the first office-holder and public servant in a typically German colony.[2] Repeatedly desiring to lay down the burdens of public affairs, he was just as often forced to take them up again by a sense of duty.

The Germans did not enter politics for a livelihood. They came as farmers, tradesmen, mechanics, merchants,

[1] See records of the court, *German-American Annals*, N. S., vol. vi, number 1, p. 10. Cf. also Seidensticker, *Bilder aus der deutsch-pennsylvanischen Geschichte*, p. 54. Pastorius, in a letter to William Penn in 1703, renewed his complaint of the difficulty of finding persons willing to accept public office, and expressed the hope that the situation might become improved by the arrival of more immigrants.

[2] For Pastorius' career see Volume I, Chapter II. Peter Minuit antedated Pastorius as the first German prominent in colonial politics (1624–1641), and made a brilliant record as governor of New Netherland, purchaser of the island of Manhattan, and founder of New Sweden. Cf. Volume I, Chapter I, pp. 10–13.

or professional men, and applied themselves diligently to their particular trades with a determination to succeed in them. Their strongly developed practical sense showed them that the professional politician, immediately ousted from office when his party was defeated, was engaged in a very unsafe and unprofitable business, while their plain honesty and a tender conscience compelled them to look upon politics as something unclean and corrupting. It were a fallacy, however, to say that because the Germans have not held many political offices they have had little influence on American politics. Selfish office-holders and aggressive political manipulators do not control the settlement of great political questions, nor do they advance government or civil service toward a higher ideal. Real influence is a different matter from the ins and outs of the political game; and while the German element has not been conspicuous in the latter, the attempt will be made in the succeeding pages to show that the Germans were always at hand when the time came to improve and transform politics.

The first step in coöperative self-government by the American colonies was taken at the instance of Jacob Leisler,[1] a German, who in 1690 called together the first congress on American soil. Leisler, elected governor by the popular party of New York, saw his colony threatened with invasion by the French and Indians. Assistance from England, then in the toils of the Revolution, seeming too remote, Leisler instituted self-help, and invited the governors of Massachusetts, Plymouth, East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia to a common council at New York. A meeting took place May 1, 1690, a memorable event in American history, being the first congress of the American colonies, the progenitor of

[1] Cf. Volume I, Chapter I, pp. 13–26.

the Continental Congress and that of the United States. Concerted measures for defense were undertaken, and the first aggressive movement against Canada was planned by this Congress of 1690.[1]

The political institution of which America is most proud, extending influence far beyond her own borders, is the Constitution of the United States, and the republican form of government therein constructed. That great work was not German, but the result of long parliamentary training, inherited from England, with perhaps an inspiration coming from the French philosophy of the eighteenth century. Among the framers of the Constitution of 1787 there were but few who had German blood in their veins. There was Gouverneur Morris, of New York, who was one of the committee on drafting the Constitution. He was a lineal descendant of Jacob Leisler through two of the latter's daughters.[2] Another member of the Convention of 1787 was General Frederick Frelinghuysen, grandson of the Reverend Theodor J. Frelinghuysen, born within the present borders of Prussia.[3] Many men of German descent aided in the adoption of the Constitution after it was framed; such were John Peter Mühlenberg, vice-president of the state of Pennsylvania in 1785 (Benjamin Franklin being president), and representative in Congress, 1789–1791, etc., and particularly his brother, Frederick August Mühlenberg, speaker of the Pennsylvania state legislature, member of the first four sessions

[1] Cf. Volume I, Chapter I, pp. 20–21.

[2] Mary Leisler, the daughter of the German governor of New York, widow of Milborne, married the Huguenot Abraham Gouverneur. Mary's son, Nicholas Gouverneur, married his cousin Gertrude Rynders, the daughter of Hester Leisler. The son of this marriage, Isaac Gouverneur, was the grandfather of Gouverneur Morris. Cf. Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, vol. ii, p. 187.

[3] Cf. Volume I, pp. 153–154.

of the United States Congress and Speaker of the House in the First and Third United States Congresses. If the Germans did not frame the Constitution, they were its defenders by word and action, and throughout the nineteenth century furnished the largest quota of soldiers contributed by any one national element in support of the government it created.[1]

During the nineteenth century, in all the most important issues that made for political betterment in the United States the Germans played a leading part. Such were (1) the question of slavery; (2) civil service; (3) sound money; (4) party reform; (5) temperance and personal liberty; (6) independent voting. These questions will be considered briefly in the succeeding paragraphs.

The question of slavery

Before 1850 the great mass of Germans for good reasons were Jacksonian Democrats. In the first place, the party carried on the traditions of the Jeffersonian Democracy, declaring all men (white) free and equal, and making no distinction as to foreigners. Liberty in the abstract was the sentiment also of the Whigs, but it meant liberty for the native in preference to liberty for the foreign population. There was a strong nativistic element in the party, which subsequently caused the formation of a new political organization, the American or Know-nothing Party.[2] In

[1] Cf. Volume I, Chapter XVI, "The German Element in the Wars of the United States during the Nineteenth Century." For the Germans as patriots and soldiers in the War of the Revolution, see Volume I, Chapter XI.

[2] About 1852 a secret, oathbound fraternity, with numerous lodges and with conventions which made nominations secretly, attained sudden importance. From the professions of ignorance with which its members met all questioning, they were called "Know-nothings." In 1854, the "Know-nothings" carried Massachusetts and Delaware; in 1855 most of New England,

the second place, the two parties represented class distinctions. The Whigs were rich, the Democrats poor; the former were more largely merchants, planters, bankers, land speculators, aristocrats; the latter more commonly tradesmen, artisans, laborers, and immigrants, who naturally had to begin at the bottom. The principle of states' rights, which was a part of the platform of the Democrats, did not appeal to the intelligent German, who had seen the evils of particularism at home, but the great body of German immigrants did not understand the question, nor did they bother about it until it became a leading issue that forced itself upon them.

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill[1] began to make the people who were not guided by selfish interests ponder deeply concerning another question even more important to the foreigner than states' rights, — the human question of slavery. The Irish remained true to the Demo-

New York, Maryland, Kentucky, and California, and polled a large vote in the South, mainly from former Whigs. Their platform demanded more severe naturalization laws and the selection of none but natives for office. In the national convention in Philadelphia, in 1856, they nominated ex-President Fillmore for the presidency. The slavery issue thrust the party aside, however, and in 1856 it polled but eight electoral votes, those of Maryland. Cf. *Encyclopædic Dictionary of American Reference*, vol. i, p. 37. The Know-nothing Party contained a large lawless element given to rioting and obstructing foreigners at the polls or on any other occasion. Cf. Hennighausen, *Reminiscences of the Political Life of the German-Americans in Baltimore during the years 1850–1860*, Seventh, Eleventh, and Twelfth Reports of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. Cf. also Schmeckebier, *The Know-nothings in Maryland*, Johns Hopkins University Studies (1899), and L. D. Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York State*. (New York, 1901 — Columbia University Dissertation.)

[1] The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was passed in 1854, and allowed the two new territories to settle the question of slavery for themselves. Nebraska was a free territory, and Kansas should have been, in accordance with the Missouri Compromise. By this new law the Missouri Compromise was expressly repealed. The historical struggle by both parties for the possession of Kansas followed.

cratic flag, and were more devoted than ever, misled by the idea of squatter sovereignty, which to them meant almost that every one might do what he wished. "The Germans, on the other hand," says Von Holst,[1] "had never been able to clearly perceive why the fundamental principles of natural law, Christianity, and democratic republicanism should be changed into their contraries when there was question of applying them in the case of men whose skin was black and hair was woolly. . . . They had no sympathy for the negro and therefore it cost them no effort to accommodate themselves to existing circumstances. They had as a rule not come into direct contact with slavery and were preoccupied with their own affairs. . . . But now a new law was to be established and they shared in its moral responsibilities. For the first time they were to take a stand on the question of slavery. The country was theirs and their children's. They understood the terrible seriousness of the matter, and entered firmly into the struggle as men of independent will and independent thought. They felt themselves Americans and not citizens of this or that individual state. The arguments of state sovereignty made no impression on them. . . . They inquired simply, 'Is the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in the interest of the Union? All the talk as to whether the Missouri Compromise was a 'compact' and as to who made it, seemed to them idle. The fact that it [the Missouri Compromise] had been looked upon as a law [since 1820] for more than a generation as inviolable, stamped the Kansas-Nebraska Bill as an outrageous breach of faith, against which the German conscience of right and German rectitude rebelled. Considering their tendency toward political doctrinairism, squatter sovereignty would perhaps have had a certain

[1] Von Holst, *Constitutional History of the United States*, vol. iv, p. 426.

charm for them, if it had not been invented solely for the purpose of admitting slavery by a back door. To the native American the question [of states' rights] was complicated — to the German (without the historical background), the question was politically and morally so simple that it could not be recognized as a question at all. . . . The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, devised to extend negro slavery, proved wonderfully effective for the political emancipation of the German-Americans. They everywhere began to act independently and to withdraw from the camp in which it was desired to make Southern principles an absolute party obligation for Northern men."

It should be remembered also that the first protest ever made in the United States against negro slavery came from the Germans in their original settlement. On April 18, 1688, a meeting was held by the German Quakers of Germantown protesting against the buying and keeping of negro slaves, and a formal document in the handwriting of Pastorius was submitted to the monthly gathering of the Quakers, April 30, and brought before the annual meeting of that religious organization in the same year.[1] Similarly, the Salzburgers of Georgia, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, made determined efforts to prevent the introduction of slaves into their settlement. The ministers and trustees of the colony held out for a long time against the prevailing sentiment of the entire province, and finally submitted the question to the arbitration and decision of the fathers of their church in Europe.[2]

Von Holst tells us that according to a list drawn up by the Cincinnati "Gazette" there were in 1854 eighty German newspapers against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill,

[1] Cf. Vol. I, Chap. II, pp. 45–46. [2] Cf. Vol. I, Chap. IX, pp. 242–243.

and only eight in favor of it. The American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society (New York) made resolutions rejoicing in the unanimity of the German press against the Nebraska Bill, so inimical to their "democratic principles" and the renown of their adopted country.

The number of the Germans had grown great, sufficient to make their influence felt at the ballot-box. Politicians recognized the fact, and tried to wheedle the German voters as their own interests demanded. But there had been a large immigration of very intelligent Germans since 1848, who themselves were capable of acting as leaders unto their people. The petty newspaper controversies between the Greens and Grays[1] ceased under the pressure of the great responsibility imposed by the slavery question. Resentment and moral indignation on the part of the Germans followed the attempts made by demagogues, to capture the German vote for the slave interests. However, for some time leaders and voters were disturbed as to the choice of the party that would represent their position on the great issues. The Whigs were making overtures to them, and some good men joined that party. A number of the German radicals began to form an independent party (*Der Bund Freier Männer*), organizing in Louisville, and spreading through most of the Western States in 1853. The platform adopted was similar to that of the Wheeling Convention of 1852,[2] except that greater prominence was given the opposition to slavery.[3] But the

[1] The Grays were the German immigrants of the early nineteenth century, including political refugees of 1817–1820 and 1830–1835. The Greens were the refugees of 1848 and thereafter. See Volume I, pp. 587–590.

[2] See below, under the head "Conventions of the German Revolutionists," near the end of this chapter.

[3] Cf. E. Bruncken, *German Political Refugees in the United States during*

Germans were destined soon to find their place. It was with the new Republican Party, at first known as the Anti-Nebraska men, who held their first convention in 1856, at Philadelphia, nominating Frémont. The "Forty-eighters" pulled hardest in the direction of the Republican Party, and gradually drew the larger part of the German vote to their side. The Democratic German newspapers, being older, and therefore financially better situated, for some time held on, but they were often embarrassed to find editors.[1] There was a good reason why many Germans were cautious about joining the Republican Party. Many of the recruits of the new organization were drawn from the "Know-nothings," and many of the speeches gave utterance to decidedly nativistic tendencies. Again the Puritanic element in the new party was radical on questions important to the Germans, — personal liberty, temperance, and Sunday observance. All the more honor, therefore, belongs to the German element for overlooking these drawbacks and making an unselfish effort to advance the interests of humanity, i. e., to banish slavery from the country. They forgot their own personal discomforts or dislikes and gave strength to the idealistic movement. Prominent among the leaders were Georg Schneider, editor of the Illinois "Staats-Zeitung," Gustav Körner, lieutenant-governor of Illinois, 1852–1856; F. A. Hoffmann, lieutenant-governor of Illinois, 1860–1864; Friedrich Münch, Franz Sigel, Arnold Krekel, E. Preetorius, and others in Missouri; F. Hassaurek[2] and C. G. Ruemelin of

the Period from 1815–1860, p. 44. (1904.) Also Bruncken, *The Political Activity of Wisconsin Germans, 1854–1860*. (Madison, 1901.)

[1] Cf. Bruncken, *German Political Refugees in the United States*, p. 46, who quotes Esselen, a contemporary German editor.

[2] Friedrich Hassaurek was a brilliant and fearless speaker in the interests

Ohio; Friedrich Kapp of New York, and many others. In Illinois, Ohio, and Wisconsin, where it was understood the Republicans could not carry the state without the German vote, resolutions were passed by local conventions shielding the foreign element against nativism. In many other states, where the German vote, if not as large, might still hold the balance of power, the questions concerning foreigners were discreetly hushed. During the presidential campaign of 1856, the "Forty-eighters" were active all over the country in their support of Frémont. Friedrich Hecker, the military chief of the Baden insurrection in 1849, was a candidate with Abraham Lincoln on the Republican electoral ticket in Illinois, and went on the stump in his own and other states. He spoke at a meeting in Philadelphia, together with Reinhold Solger of Boston, and at the Academy of Music in New York with Friedrich Münch and Gustav Struve where Julius Froebel[1] presided. Körner, Kapp, and Hassaurek were very prominent Republican speakers in this campaign.[2] All of these men were political refugees from Germany. Greatest and most influential of them all, however, was a younger

of the Republican Party. In Kentucky, to gain a hearing, he appealed to the hospitality of the people; in Dayton, Ohio, he threatened to stay a month and try night after night until given a chance to speak. At another time, being abused and pelted with stones and missiles of all kinds, he laid down a revolver, and threatened to shoot any one that advanced upon him. Having thus intimidated the rough element, he was permitted to speak. When Lincoln had appointed Hassaurek resident minister to Ecuador, he went to thank the President, "for appointing him to the highest position the administration had the power to give." (The capital city, Quito, is between nine and ten thousand feet above sea-level.) Lincoln enjoyed the joke, and repeated it to his cabinet and friends.

[1] Nephew of Friedrich Froebel founder of the Kindergarten. He was distinguished as a man-of-letters and politician of republican principles in the revolutionary periods of 1830 and 1848.

[2] Cf. Bruncken, *German Political Refugees in the United States*, p. 52.

man, destined soon to become conspicuous in the affairs of the nation, Carl Schurz, who was now putting his shoulder to the wheel in the interest of the Republican Party in the state of Wisconsin. "The old cause of human freedom," says Carl Schurz in his autobiography,[1] "was to be fought for on the soil of the new world. The great final decision seemed to be impending." The defeat of Frémont was a stunning blow to Carl Schurz. It reminded him of the breakdown of the great movement for popular government in Europe in 1848. "Was the democratic principle to collapse in America too? It took me some time to recover and recognize the fact that this was only the first battle in a long campaign, a campaign of many years."

Even in Wisconsin events proved that the German vote was merely tolerated by the Republican Party as a case of necessity, the Know-nothing spirit being still very strong. Carl Schurz was nominated by the Republicans in 1857

[1] *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, vol. ii, pp. 67–69. (The McClure Company, New York, 1907.) Carl Schurz describes his first speech (1856) as follows: "I was eager to take part in the contest. But at the same time, a feeling came upon me that I was still sadly incompetent for the task. I was surprised by a visit of Mr. Harvey, subsequently governor of Wisconsin, who asked me whether I would make a little speech in German at a mass meeting. No! I could not think of it, for I was not prepared. Would I not then at least come and hear him speak at the meeting. There was a large crowd, and Mr. Harvey spoke with uncommon eloquence. After the applause the chairman of the meeting coolly arose and said, 'I have now the great pleasure of introducing Mr. Carl Schurz of Watertown, who has fought for human liberty in his native country, and who has come to us to do the same in his adopted home. He will address his fellow citizens of German birth in their native language.'" Schurz continues, "I stammered a few initial words about the unexpected honor, and then for half an hour or more I blurted out what happened to come into my mind about the slavery question. After the first sentences the words came easily and my hearers seemed well pleased. This was my first political speech in America. Invitations to address meetings poured in upon me from all sides."

for lieutenant-governor. When the votes were counted, it appeared that Schurz was defeated by 107 votes, while the Republican candidate for governor, Randall, had been elected by 454 votes. All the rest of the Republican candidates were likewise successful. It was clear that a large number of the Republicans had refused to vote for their German candidate. The Democrats were not slow in pointing out this fact, attempting to effect a bolt from the Republican Party. But it redounds to the glory of the German Republicans that they stuck to their colors in spite of the defeat of their candidate. An attempt was made to nominate Schurz for governor in the election of 1859, but Randall won, receiving a renomination. Schurz was tendered the nomination for lieutenant-governor, but he declined to run for the office a second time. In the Chicago convention which nominated Lincoln, the leaders of the Germans had been chosen as delegates, Münch and Krekel of Missouri; Körner and Georg Schneider of Illinois; Hassaurek of Ohio, and Schurz of Wisconsin. The latter had had some trouble in being elected a delegate because of Whig opposition, but when that was withdrawn, he was made the chairman of the state delegation. The Germans in the convention were in favor of William Henry Seward for President. Seward's presence, broad culture, and intellectual leadership in the anti-slavery agitation, his Eastern manner, and his opposition to Know-nothingism, made him appear as the natural nominee, and many of the Germans at the time regretted that a less known, though promising candidate should be the convention's choice.[1] When their favorite was defeated, the

[1] In his reminiscences Carl Schurz expresses this view, but also his disappointment at the politicians who surrounded Seward, and concludes that, in the light of succeeding events, the interests of the party and nation were best served with Lincoln at the head of the ticket.

Germans felt no resentment, but entered the campaign with a will, and Carl Schurz was one of the delegation appointed to notify Lincoln of his nomination.

Carl Schurz's fame had by this time spread beyond the limits of his adopted state. He now commanded both languages with equal facility. His fluency, brilliancy, and effectiveness had been felt as early as 1858, when he was one of the speakers in Illinois during the great Lincoln-Douglas campaign, and in 1859, when he entered the stronghold of nativism, and delivered a speech at Boston in the historic Faneuil Hall. In Lincoln's campaign of 1860, he was easily one of the most prominent orators of the Republican Party.

Andrew D. White, when ambassador of the United States at Berlin, was questioned by the Iron Chancellor as to the cause of the rapid success of Carl Schurz, in spite of the handicap of his foreign birth. The answer was: "Before the Lincoln presidential campaign, in which Schurz took so large a part, slavery was always discussed either from a constitutional or philanthropic point of view, orators seeking to show either that it was at variance with the fundamental principles of our government or an offense against humanity; but Schurz discussed it in a new way and mainly from the philosophic point of view, showing not merely its hostility to the American ideas of liberty and the wrong it did to the slaves, but, more especially, the injury it wrought upon the country at large, and, above all, upon the Slave States themselves; and in treating all public questions he was philosophic, eloquent, and evidently sincere." Bismarck listened and answered: "As a German I am proud of Carl Schurz."[1]

[1] *Autobiography of Andrew D. White*, vol. i, p. 586. (The Century Company, New York, 1905.) The father of Andrew D. White, typical of the

The prompt and patriotic service of the Germans in the Border States — Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland — is likewise worthy of the highest recognition. The United States Arsenal in St. Louis was rescued and held by the German organized militia and the Turners. Their preparedness and eagerness to enter the conflict saved Missouri for the Union.[1] The existence and the struggles of the only Republican newspaper in Maryland have nowhere been adequately chronicled. This was the German paper called "Der Wecker," which, true to its name, boldly rang out its alarms, and awakened the minds of its readers. The founder was Carl Heinrich Schnauffer, the "Tyrtæus" of the revolution in Baden, who dedicated his poetic "funeral wreaths" (*Totenkränze*) to the lost cause from his retreat in Geneva. Requested to leave Switzerland, he came to America in 1851, and with rare ability conducted his paper until his death in 1854. Schnauffer's successors were his companions at arms in the revolution, Franz Sigel and subsequently Wilhelm Rapp (destined to become the Nestor of American journalists), who brought the "Wecker" to a high standard before they departed for the West. Baltimore, then opprobriously called "mob town," and a veritable hot-bed of Know-nothingism, was not at that time a fitting soil for the reception of the new Republican Party's sentiments. The rowdies of the town made an attempt to demolish the press of the "Wecker," but they were thwarted by the wife of Heinrich Schnauf-

thinking patriotic American of that period, on his death-bed followed the campaign literature on the subject of slavery, which his son read to him: "Of all the speeches he liked best those of this new orator [Carl Schurz]; he preferred them indeed to those of his idol Seward." "His arguments seemed to me [A. D. White] by far the best of the whole campaign — the broadest, deepest, and most convincing." *Autobiography*, vol. i, pp. 86–87.

[1] For an account in detail, see Volume I, Chapter XVI, pp. 531–536.

fer, who stood on the threshold of the newspaper establishment with her babe in her arms and defied the mob. The Germans on both sides of the Ohio River also stood firmly by the Union, as has been recorded in the pages of the Cincinnati historical publication, "Der deutsche Pionier." The achievement of the Germans in this great crisis was that they, holding the balance of power, threw their entire weight into the scale of justice, humanity, and national union.

Civil service

The spoils system, which had been inaugurated by the Jacksonian Democracy, grew to be ever more injurious after the Civil War, with the growth of taxation and the increase of federal offices. A commission was appointed by President Grant in 1871, of which George William Curtis was chairman, to inquire into the matter of civil service. The result was the trial of a plan suggested by the commission, and a selection of men after competitive examination, in 1872. But the pressure from politicians personally interested in the maintenance of the old system was too great, and the experiment was abandoned in 1875. It was then that Carl Schurz stood out so strongly as the champion of civil service reform, and became a severe critic of Grant's administration. Schurz supported Hayes in his close campaign against Tilden, and there was an impression abroad that he had received positive pledges from the presidential candidate that civil service reform would be carried out in good faith. He was appointed Secretary of the Interior by President Hayes. He was confirmed on March 11, 1877, and immediately applied the methods of civil service reform in his department. Before the week had expired, the clerks were assured that no removals

would be made except for cause; that if the force at any time were to be reduced, the least competent should be removed; that no promotions would be made except for merit; and that, as there were no vacancies, no recommendations to office could be entertained. This was not empty declamation, for Schurz did not even bring a new private secretary with him. Shortly after, he established a board of inquiry, composed of three clerks of the highest class, who were to investigate and determine upon questions connected with appointments, removals, and promotions. In our own day Schurz's course sounds like the only natural and sane one, but this was actually the first time that such a method had been employed in the history of our country. Grover Cleveland made the next great and even more difficult step in civil service reform, when, as President of the United States, elected by the Democratic Party, which had not been in office for more than a quarter of a century, he refused to expel worthy Republicans, and would not satisfy the importunate demands of his party for office. While Carl Schurz, as a member of the cabinet, led in the application of civil service reform, the German voter gave unmistakable evidence of his view of the case at the ballot-box. The overwhelming defeat sustained by the Republican Party in the states of Pennsylvania, New York, and elsewhere in 1882 was construed as an emphatic condemnation of the spoils system, and the German vote was undoubtedly a strong element in the movement. The constant changes in federal positions — appointments not dependent on merit, nor discharges upon the quality of service — had caused the Germans to look upon American politics as something to be shunned. In the Fatherland, they had been accustomed to a class of civil servants who, though sometimes overbearing, were

honest and faithful to the core, and who held their offices securely during good behavior.

Sound money

A statesman and thorough student of American politics has said: "History will record it as a pregnant fact that the vast mass of Germans have been on the right side of the financial questions which in recent years have so agitated this country. Whether they have called themselves Republicans or Democrats, they have been almost to a man opposed to all wild fiscal experiments, to all financial tricks and efforts to outwit the eternal laws of nature, to the 'greenback craze,' to the 'silver craze,' and to all those outbursts of unreason which for a time have seemed to threaten the future of this country."[1]

The Sound Money League of Pennsylvania contained among its members and leading spirits many men of German blood, such as Michael D. Harter and Theodore C. Knauff, author of "The Silver Question in a Nutshell," "The Dissatisfied Farmer," etc., published by the society. The Reform Club of New York City, founded in 1888, had among its earliest members Carl Schurz, Oswald Ottendorfer, Henry Villard, Jackson S. Schultz, William N. Kremer, and Hermann A. Metz (Democrat, elected comptroller of the city of New York, appointed by Governor Hughes a member of the charter revision commission). Since 1889 the treasurer of the Reform Club has been Louis Windmüller, born in Westphalia, in 1835. He came to America in 1853, has been a very successful merchant and banker in New York City, and indefatigable in his

[1] Quotation from a speech of Andrew D. White, ambassador to the German Empire, at a farewell banquet given by the German-Americans, New York, May 22, 1897, pp. 9–10.

advocacy of sound currency and reform in the tariff and civil service. As a member of the executive committee of the German-American Reform Club, he took a prominent part in the election of William L. Strong as reform mayor of New York City.

Party reform

Andrew D. White has summed up the German influences under this head in saying: "So too in the improvement of political methods our country must acknowledge a similar debt to our fellow citizens of German descent."[1] He continues: "In the recent constitutional convention of this state, no voice was more potent and no efforts more effective in behalf of honest politics and better methods, especially in regard to the general civil service, the proper safeguards of education, and at a later period in the organization of municipalities throughout the state than that of the man whom I rejoice to call my friend, the Honorable Frederick William Holls;[2] and in the movement which led to a reform of the ballot, no man was more effectively energetic than Mr. Gustav Schwab."[3]

In New York State politics there occurred very recently a

[1] Extract from a speech made in New York, May 22, 1897.

[2] F. W. Holls was born in Zelienople, Pennsylvania, in 1857, the son of a German Lutheran minister. He graduated at Columbia University in 1878, from the Law School in 1886, and was honored by the University of Leipzig with the degree of D.C.L. in 1898. He was delegate-at-large to the constitutional convention, New York, 1894; chairman of the Committee on Education; author of amendments prohibiting state aid to sectarian schools; providing for civil service reform, and separating state and municipal elections; commissioner of government of cities of the third class, etc.

[3] Gustav Henry Schwab was born in New York, in 1851; educated in New York and Germany; member of the firm of Oelrichs & Company (North-German Lloyd); was chairman of the Committee on Foreign Commerce and the Revenue Laws, Chamber of Commerce, State of New York; was a member of the Committee of Seventy, in 1894; was decorated by the King of Italy and the Emperor of Germany.

good instance of the support given by the German element to reform movements. It was during Governor Hughes's fight against race-track gambling, when the state senate stood equally divided on the question, and the race-track interests were confident of victory. The possibility seemed too remote that Senator Otto G. Foelker of Kings, who had shortly before undergone a surgical operation, would attend the session, and if he should undertake to risk his life, a prolonged debate would force him to retire or collapse before the vote could be taken. But the enemy had not reckoned with the fortitude and determination of Mr. Foelker. Against all predictions and the advice of physicians, the senator appeared, literally carried to his seat, awaited the time for casting his ballot, and caused the passage of the bill by a vote of 26 to 25.[1] More was at stake in this vote than race-track gambling; it was a trial of strength between good government and boss rule, and the eyes of all good citizens were turned anxiously toward the state capitol at Albany. It was one of those moments in American political history when advance or reform depended upon the conscience and fidelity of the German voter, and the latter was not found wanting.

Frequently the criticism is made that Pennsylvania, the state in which the German population has been largest from the beginning, is most conservative, and has been at times unprogressive in her political history. Secondly, that *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, the large German element is responsible for it. Whether the criticism be just

[1] The following extract from Governor Hughes's letter to Foelker (June 11, 1908) shows the importance of the act: "I desire to express my appreciation of your heroic action in coming to the senate this morning. Your courageous performance of duty at so grave a risk deserves the highest praise and will long be pointed to as a fine illustration of fidelity and patriotic devotion to the interests of the state."

or not, it was often heard a few years ago, before the cleaning-out of the political stables that followed the disclosures of scandals in connection with the building of the state capitol at Harrisburg. Patriotism and civic virtue have, however, been on as high a plane and of as frequent occurrence in Pennsylvania as elsewhere. If Pennsylvania has been tolerant of evil-doers, or very conservative, it is due, perhaps, to a strain in her character received from the numerous non-resistant sectarians, and the large Quaker element, who refused at the beginning to hold public office as opposed to their religion, and subsequently remained indifferent toward the game of politics. The same element produced a strong peace party at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, but in spite of these characteristics made a most desirable class of citizens. In the chapter on the Revolutionary War two German families were taken as typical of two opposing currents, — the Mühlenbergs, preaching war from the pulpit, and the Sauers, some of whom became Tories, representing with their printing-press the non-resistant German sectarians.

The fighting spirit of the Mühlenbergs has many modern instances; such is found in the career of William H. Pfahler, Civil War veteran, prominent manufacturer in Philadelphia, one of the original Committee of Seven who organized the Committee of Seventy which brought about the overthrow of the political ring that had long ruled Philadelphia. In most of the municipal reform movements the German element has taken a prominent part, as for instance in Baltimore in the overcoming of the Raisin Ring; in San Francisco, where Rudolf Spreckels has furnished the sinews of war in the fight against a most depraved and powerfully intrenched boss rule; in Toledo, where L. W. Wachenheimer was the prosecuting attorney against

THE TAMMANY TIGER LOOSE—WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

Thomas Nast, in Harper's Weekly, Nov. 11, 1871

the Toledo Ice Trust. From 1860 to 1871 the governments of the city and state of New York were in the clutches of four men, under the leadership of William M. Tweed, one of the most corrupt and tyrannical of ring-masters ever known. Through bribes, bulldozing, and deception of the lower classes at the polls, they succeeded in looting the public treasury to a degree passing belief, increasing the city's debt from twenty to over one hundred million dollars. While the leading spirit in overthrowing the ring was Samuel J. Tilden, no one man had more to do with inflaming public sentiment against the bosses than the German cartoonist, Thomas Nast,[1] who, with the effect of the handwriting on the wall, drew the picture of Tweed and his lieutenants behind the prison bars before such an outcome was expected by the most sanguine of the reformers, and who invented the Tammany Tiger symbol, and placed him with ferocious glare and expanded jaws over the prostrate form of bleeding Liberty, and who revealed the vultures ready to swoop upon their booty, or hiding in a cleft of the mountain, "waiting for the storm to blow over," crying in mockery "let us prey." He showed the people the solution to "What are you going to do about it?" and would have finished the career of the bosses with the gallows rope, an example to future generations. Another leader in this reform movement was William F. Havemeyer (born in 1804), who twice before had been elected mayor of the city of New York (1845 and 1848), and now in this great crisis of 1871 a third time became the people's choice for the position of trust which had been so much abused.

As a prosecuting attorney William Wirt, of German

[1] For an outline of the career of Nast, the founder of the cartoonist's art in the United States, see Chapter VII, pp. 360–363.

parentage,[1] won laurels in the early history of our country in the trial of Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States (1801–1805), who conspired to form an independent state in the Southwest, and was summoned to Richmond in 1807 on the charge of treason. As counsel on the government side the eloquent Wirt made the great effort of his life, in a speech which takes important rank in American oratorical literature.

Numerous have been the German mayors of cities who have stood for reforms or independence, as Charles Adolph Schieren, mayor of Brooklyn, Adolph H. J. Sutro of San Francisco, General John A. Wagener of Charleston, and Rudolph Blankenburg, reform mayor of Philadelphia, brilliant victor (1911) over a corrupt political ring.

Peace congresses

The first step in the direction of international arbitration and elimination of the worst features of war was taken in 1899 by the Peace Conference at The Hague. The president of the American delegation was Andrew D. White, and its secretary, Frederick William Holls. The latter at one period of the conference served on a very important embassy to the German Emperor and the Chancellor of the German Empire, involving the success or failure of the Peace Conference.[2] It was a question whether or not Germany, and with her the Triple Alliance, would accede to the propositions acceptable elsewhere. The mission was completely successful, and is one instance

[1] Both of Wirt's parents were German; his father was born in Switzerland, his mother in Würtemberg. In Wirt's speech the description of the island home of Blennerhasset, an ideal retreat in the primeval forest, invaded by the ruthless slayer of Alexander Hamilton, is probably the most famous passage from a literary point of view.

[2] Cf. *Autobiography of Andrew D. White*, vol. ii, pp. 308 ff.

of many wherein Holls was employed in councils with crowned heads. During the deliberations of the conference, he was the only member of the whole body whose name was given by general consent to a successful proposal, for he was the author of the article on "Seconding Powers," which was finally adopted in full session with virtual unanimity, and is generally known as "la Proposition Holls." The death of this promising diplomatist in 1903 was a very great loss to his country and to the German element in the United States. In him were embodied the best qualities of the German in American politics, — independence, virility, high ideals, and broad culture.[1]

The initiative for the next International Peace Conference came from a German-American. The Interparliamentary Union, consisting of delegates from many of the great parliaments of the world, with the object of promoting international arbitration, held its annual meeting in St. Louis in 1904. Richard Bartholdt,[2] United

[1] A fitting memorial volume was prepared under the auspices of Columbia University, containing the addresses held by eminent men at the memorial service. (Printed privately, MCMIV.) The following ancedote illustrating the versatility of F. W. Holls was told by A. D. White at the latter's fireside : During The Hague Conference an elaborate Fourth of July banquet was given to the delegates of The Hague Conference by the United States. Holls was the chairman of the committee on arrangements. He was the master of several European languages, and his culture was many-sided. He was a skilled musician, and it occurred to him that as the representatives of the various nations came into the old church at Delft (where the tomb of Grotius was decorated that day), they might be received, each by the national hymn of his native land. The organist did not seem equal to the task, so Holls dismissed him, and he himself played the anthems of the different countries. A servant who had long been in the employ of diplomatists, and who knew all the dignitaries, gave the signal as they approached, whereupon Holls played the appropriate national air, much to the pleasure of those crossing the threshold.

[2] Richard Bartholdt was born in Germany, in 1855, and came to the United States in boyhood; he was president of the Board of Public Schools at St. Louis in 1891; member of Congress, Tenth Missouri District, 1893–1911.

States Congressman from Missouri, elected president of the Interparliamentary Union, offered a resolution, adopted unanimously, requesting the governments of all the world to send delegates to a second international conference. The result was the convocation, after several delays, of the Second Peace Conference at The Hague in 1907.[1]

Personal liberty — Temperance — Sunday observance

The attitude of the German element on the temperance question and Sunday observance has been clear-cut, independent, and frequently in opposition to the trend of dominant opinion. The historian [2] records : " Against the struggle of large sections of the American stock, particularly the descendants of New England colonists, the Germans introduced customs like beer-drinking, the different use of the Sabbath, etc., and for these rights they have used political power as well as social agitation." In every city with a large German population, the Puritanic element found themselves rebuked at the polls whenever they attempted legislation restricting what the German believes his freedom of choice or his personal liberty. One of the early instances was that of the Graham Liquor Law in Wisconsin. In 1872 the Republican party, feeling strong enough to act independently of the German vote, introduced a law, which was passed through the legislature, nominally to prevent the evils arising from the sale of intoxicant liquors. It was a blow dealt by the Puritanic and resented bitterly by the large German element, who

[1] Cf. William I. Hull, *The Two Hague Conferences*, p. 4, etc. (Ginn & Co., 1908.)

[2] Frederick J. Turner, *The German Immigration to the United States*, *Chicago Record-Herald*, September 4, 1901.

FREDERICK WILLIAM HOLLS

always jealously guarded their personal freedom; it was a measure also which had serious economic results, causing large losses for the extensive brewing interests of the state. There resulted an organization of the liberal-minded throughout the state, called the State Association for the Protection of Personal Liberty. The leaders of the association, prominent among whom was the German, F. W. Von Cotzhausen, effected various alliances with other parties, and at the next election, in the fall of 1873, the same Republican governor (Washburn) who two years before had been elected by a majority of over nine thousand was defeated by a Democratic majority of over fifteen thousand. For the first time in eighteen years, January 1, 1874, a Democratic governor entered the capitol at Madison. The enormity of the victory may have been due largely to the "Grangers' movement," but the Germans had a good deal to do with it.

The descendants of the Germans of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are frequently found in the camp of the Prohibitionists, e. g., Joshua Levering of Baltimore, who was the Prohibition nominee for President of the United States in 1896. He was born in 1845, and is descended from Wigard Levering (Weekhart Libering), a landowner in Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1685.[1] The more recent German immigrations, beginning with the refugees of the early nineteenth century, are practically without exception on the side of personal liberty. The resolutions adopted by the second convention of the National German-American Alliance,[2] held at Baltimore in

[1] Cf. *Sixth Annual Report*, Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, p. 47.

[2] This union of all German societies of the land represents about a million and a half of German-American citizens. The purposes of the organization are outlined at the close of this chapter.

September, 1903, represent fully the position taken by the German element on these questions.[1] An abstract of these resolutions is as follows: "The right of personal liberty is guaranteed to every citizen of the Republic by its Constitution. 'Blue Laws,' so-called, restricting the personal liberty of the individual, are in opposition to the fundamental principles of our government and the enlightened spirit of the age in which we live. The 'Blue Laws' pretend to promote the sanctity of Sunday and to suppress intemperance. In practice, however, they accomplish neither purpose and tend to make hypocrites of our people. Puritanical Sunday laws are largely responsible for the existence of unlawful drinking-places and for the corruption of municipal officers intrusted with the enforcement of laws. We are furthermore opposed to the misuse of text-books in the public schools for Puritanical purposes; for children, under the guise of the study of hygiene, are given a wrong conception of temperance, which to the narrow-minded is synonymous with total abstinence. By such teaching there is fostered in the minds of children whose parents partake of alcoholic beverages, such as beer or light wines, in a temperate manner, an unnatural contempt for their parents, these being stamped as base sinners, or even criminals. Physicians of reputation have repeatedly stated that temperance lectures in public schools as delivered at present are of questionable value, and have recommended that they be abolished altogether. Even our military authorities favor the reintroduction of the canteen in the army, because the effect of its abolition was increased intemperance. The purchase of large quantities

[1] Cf. *German-American Annals*, vol. i (*Americana Germanica*, vol. v), pp. 683–686. (1903.) The resolutions are there printed in full, in the English and German languages.

of liquor at one time, as, for instance, on Saturday night for the succeeding day, produces topers and slaves of strong alcoholic drinks."

"Sunday should be interpreted as a day of rest and recreation. Man was not made for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath for man. The individual should be given perfect liberty to spend the day as he wishes. The fanatic would suppress all public life on Sunday, including traffic, the selling of newspapers and of the necessities of life. The question of Sunday observance as a day of prayer and repentance is a religious one, and the state must remain apart from the church in virtue of the principles laid down in the Constitution."

The spirit of the above resolutions was reproduced in the movements against the Hepburn-Dolliver Bill in 1904. The National German-American Alliance was represented by its president, C. J. Hexamer,[1] before the Committee on the Judiciary. He made clear the fact that the German population was actuated by sincere and patriotic motives. He quoted also the opinion of prominent educators, on the "concomitant evils of prohibitory regulation."[2] Among interesting arguments delivered before the Committee on the Judiciary, there was that of Mrs. Fernande Richter of St. Louis, in which she declared the cause of woman and the home endangered in consequence of prohibition. Woman enlisted on this side of the question was a novel feature, as was also the support of many German pastors representing some of the oldest and most influential churches in the country. Pure in their own lives, they re-

[1] His argument, as delivered before the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, United States, January 20, 1904, is given in full in *German-American Annals*, vol. ii, pp. 128–132.

[2] Quoted from *The Investigation of the Liquor Problem*. By Charles W. Eliot, Seth Low, and James C. Carter. Cf. *ibid*, p. 131.

presented the cause of temperance against abstinence.[1] The bill before the House was not one of absolute prohibition, but of prohibition against the importation of alcoholic liquors from other states by people living in prohibition states. The House Committee reported the bill favorably with the amendment that importation should be allowed, provided the alcoholic liquors were for private use. This was in effect a complete victory for the cause of temperance against abstinence.[2]

In many of our cities the clash between the Puritanic and the German views of life has frequently led each party to extremes. The Germans would indulge far more immoderately than is their wont in the Fatherland, and the Puritanic element would teach their children to despise the person that touched the cup or bought a Sunday newspaper. The younger generations, if not prejudiced by their elders, knowing nothing of the bitterness of the ancient warfare, by tacit compromise, tolerance, and better understanding of the needs of the American people, will no doubt settle the question equitably, and separate it altogether from politics.

The German language

The school question, that is, the introduction of the

[1] The arguments of Mrs. Richter and the abstracts of those of the ministers are given in *German-American Annals*, vol. ii, pp. 199 ff. and 263 ff.

[2] The arguments throughout were based upon the right of personal liberty, which is after all the essential point for the German. Another argument which has frequently been made in favor of the beer-drinking habit is that it is less detrimental to health, if detrimental at all, than the use of stronger alcoholic drinks, such as whiskey, rum, absinthe, cordials, and wine. Beer, if displacing the stronger drinks, produces an improvement. There have been arguments advanced also, pointing to good effects of the German beer-garden, which has spread so widely over the United States within recent years. Its music, relaxing quality, and sociability in or near our busy cities, have impressed favorably many thinkers on social questions.

German language into the public schools, was also a cause for which the Germans in various localities brought pressure to bear at the polls. The Germans in Ohio, having given powerful support to the Democratic Party in the election of 1836, began to feel that the party owed them some recognition. The preservation of the German language in the next generation has always been a fond aim of the German immigrant; so it was in Cincinnati. Though there existed a Presbyterian school and a Catholic institution in which German instruction was given, nevertheless a more general opportunity was desired. Since they had paid taxes for the support of the public schools, the Germans considered it their right to exercise some influence on the course of study. According to their idea, English was not to be excluded, but German was to be taught, parallel with the language of the country, in the public schools. The German element turned to the legislature of Ohio, and the latter in 1838 passed a law by which the German language might be taught in the public schools in those districts where there was a large German population and the people desired it. The law was expected to be enforced by the school board, who, however, interpreted the law as advisory and not compulsory. In the succeeding election of 1839 pledges were taken from the candidates that the wording of the law should be revised so as to prevent any possibility of loopholes. Accordingly the law was changed in 1840, which marks the date of the introduction of German-English public schools in Cincinnati and Ohio. The leading German advocates in this movement were Renz, Molitor, Rädter, Rehfuss, Mühl, Klauprecht, and some others.

The introduction of the German language into American legislative bodies was attempted in Pennsylvania. In

1836 a meeting of Germans of the city and county of Philadelphia was held, which was attended by about two thousand persons. In the addresses the economic importance of the German element as farmers and merchants was emphasized in justification of their attempting to assume a position of equal importance with the English-speaking element. A new constitution was to be created, written in both languages, and the German language was to be taught in the public schools. The legislature of Pennsylvania, following an ancient precedent,[1] ordered the important laws that had been enacted during its session to be published also in the German language. The movement also had the result that in Pennsylvania the messages of governors were printed in both the English and German languages. The custom, however, fell into disuse after the German newspapers grew in numbers and importance, for they printed in detail all political records and such matters as the German voter needed to know. In the matter of German schools Pennsylvania went even farther than Ohio, and did so earlier. In the year 1837 a law was passed by which German schools were to be founded (1) on an equal basis with English, and (2) some in which all instruction was to be given in German. Nowhere else was the latter privilege asked for or obtained.[2]

[1] During and subsequent to the period of the Revolution, important legislative action in Pennsylvania was invariably ordered to be printed in both English and German. Cf. *Minutes of the Convention of 1789–1790* (November 28, 1789): "Resolved, that it be the order of the day for Tuesday next, to appoint a printer to this convention in the English, and another in the German language." Interpreters were appointed in the law courts for the Pennsylvania-Germans, and many of their descendants, conversant with the English language, insist on this ancient privilege even at the present day.

[2] For the struggles of the Germans in Ohio and Pennsylvania for German-English public schools, see Körner, *Das Deutsche Element, 1818–1848*, pp. 197 ff. and 61 ff.

Independent voting

The safeguard in a political system based on a rule by the majority is independent voting. It is both the compass and the pilot of the ship of state, pointing out and firmly holding to the path of intelligence, honesty, and patriotism. Independent voting is opposed to the old tradition of fidelity to party, but is one of the most powerful and beneficent influences in modern politics. It is a remarkable fact that the early Germans, quite as much as the immigrations of the nineteenth century, who had the advantage of able political leadership and well-edited newspapers in their own language, should have proved themselves independent voters. The Germans, with few exceptions, could not be relied upon either by demagogues or by astute party men to vote consistently with their party organization. The politician catering to the German vote often found himself strangely deceived. He never expected that the German might think for himself and vote as seemed right to him. The politician in his wrath would declare the Germans politically incapable. From his point of view they were un-American. They did not cling to one party. The fact of the matter is, they were independent voters, and they appeared as such at a very early period. Benjamin Franklin made this discovery before the Revolutionary War, and he was provoked to an extent surprising in that suave diplomatist. In a letter to Peter Collinson, Benjamin Franklin[1] says: "I am perfectly of your mind that measures of great temper are necessary with the Germans, and am not without apprehensions that through their indiscretion, or ours, or both, great disorders

[1] Cf. Sparks's *Works of Franklin*, vol. vii, pp. 71–73. The letter is dated Philadelphia, May 9, 1753.

may one day arise among us." Then he speaks of the ignorance of the Germans, their incapability of using the English language, the impossibility of removing their prejudices, — "not being used to liberty, they know not how to make a modest use of it," etc. "They are under no restraint from any ecclesiastic government; they behave, however, submissively enough at present to the civil government, which I wish they may continue to do, for I remember when they modestly declined intermeddling in our elections, but now they come in droves and carry all before them except in one or two counties." The last sentence betrays the learned writer of the letter; the uncertainty of their votes is the cause for his accusations of ignorance and prejudice. On the point of ignorance we get contradictory evidence in the same letter: "Few of their children in the country know English. They import many books from Germany and of the six printing-houses in the province, two are entirely German, two half-German, half-English, and but two entirely English.[1] They have one German newspaper and one half-German. Advertisements intended to be general are now printed in Dutch [German] and English. The signs in our streets [Philadelphia] have inscriptions in both languages, and in some places only German. They begin of late to make all their bonds and other legal instruments in their own language, which (though I think it ought not to be) are allowed good in our courts, where the German business so increases that there is continued need of interpreters; and I suppose within a few years they will also be necessary in the Assembly, to tell one half of our legislators what the

[1] This large use and production of books disproves want of education. The Germans' lack of familiarity with the English language was popularly looked upon as ignorance.

other half say. In short, unless the stream of importation could be turned from this to other colonies, as you very judiciously propose, they will soon so outnumber us that all the advantages we have will, in my opinion, be not able to preserve our language, and even our government will become precarious."

One of the earliest independents in American politics was Jacob Leisler, the German governor of New York, who was the representative of the people's party, and became a martyr[1] to their cause (1691). Another German in New York City, Peter Zenger, founded the first independent political newspaper in New York, and prepared the way for the liberty of the press in the United States.[2] The independent action of the German element on the slave question, on sound money, personal liberty, in municipal reform movements, has been spoken of in previous paragraphs. One example among thousands of independent voting is that of Louis Windmüller (born in Münster, Germany), treasurer of the Reform Club of New York since 1889, who supported Cleveland on the tariff issue and McKinley on the financial question.

The greatest independent in American politics, one who has frequently been called the "original independent," was Carl Schurz. This political luminary, so justly called the greatest of the German-Americans who came to the United States, made a brilliant career on both sides of the Atlantic, every feature of which is full of interest. A brief sketch of his life will therefore be given here, to be followed in the succeeding paragraphs by an account of some of the leading Germans prominent in American political affairs.

[1] Vol. I, Chap. I, pp. 23–24. [2] Vol. I, Chap. IV, pp. 105–110.

Typical German figures in American politics

Carl Schurz was born in the village of Liblar, near Cologne, March 2, 1829. After a preparatory education in the Catholic gymnasium at Cologne, he entered the University of Bonn, in 1846. There he came under the spell of Professor Johann Gottfried Kinkel, a poet, orator, and idealist. When the revolutionary movement of 1848 began, Kinkel, the inspirer of youth, at once enlisted as a private among the insurgents. Schurz followed his teacher's example, and served as adjutant under General Tiedemann, until the latter's surrender of the fortress Rastadt, with forty-five hundred revolutionary troops, July 21, 1849. The young Schurz, a Prussian subject, expecting no quarter if captured, made his escape through the sewer connected with the Rhine, and fled to Switzerland. Kinkel in the mean time had been taken prisoner, tried for treason, and sentenced to imprisonment for life in the fortress of Spandau, near Berlin. His enthusiastic young admirer now conceived the daring ambition of rescuing him. Under a disguise, and with the aid of wealthy sympathizers, this romantic project, after a failure that seemed to banish all hope, was successfully carried out in November, 1850.[1] The event had a sensational effect throughout Europe, and became the theme of poetry and fiction. Friedrich Spielhagen, the novelist, fellow student of Schurz at Bonn, described the incident in his novel "Die von Hohenstein."

Schurz and Kinkel [2] escaped to Scotland. Schurz spent

[1] See *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, vol. i.

[2] Kinkel came to this country, but after a five years' residence returned to London as a professor and newspaper editor. Subsequently he accepted a call to the Polytechnicum in Zurich in 1866, where he lived until 1882.

about two years in London and Paris, supporting himself as a newspaper correspondent, and learning the French and English languages. In 1852 he crossed to America with his bride, Margaretha Meyer (the daughter of a well-known Hamburg merchant), with whom he had become acquainted in London during the gloomy period of his exile. He first resided in Philadelphia, and then removed to Watertown, Wisconsin, where he at once attached himself to the Republican Party. His candidacy for lieutenant-governor of Wisconsin, his campaign speeches, and the fame of his arguments against slavery have been described in paragraphs above. As a reward for his influence on the election of Lincoln, he was appointed United States Minister to Spain. He presented his credentials at Madrid, July 16, 1861, but in December of the same year resigned his post in order to enter the service of the Union Army. He was commissioned brigadier-general, in April, 1862, and in June took command of a division in the corps of General Franz Sigel. He took part in the second battle of Bull Run, was appointed major-general in 1863, and commanded a division of the Eleventh Corps under General O. O. Howard. His military career at Chancellorsville, Chattanooga, Gettysburg, and in the Georgia campaign under Sherman, has been outlined in another chapter.[1] At the termination of the war Schurz was one of the first to resign his commission as general, his resignation being the second one received by the War Department (General Sigel's was the first). During the war and while in active service in the field, Schurz had not ceased to use his powers of eloquence in behalf of the Republican Party. He occasionally took a leave of absence from the army when it seemed necessary to

[1] Volume I, Chapter XVI.

arouse enthusiasm in support of the administration, and in 1864 made some notable speeches in the second Lincoln campaign.

In the summer of 1865 Schurz received an important commission to make a tour of the Southern States, and report on the condition of the country and the state of public sentiment. His report was candid and judicial, full of suggestions, and a model of its kind. Then followed a few years of journalistic work, as Washington correspondent of the New York "Tribune," editor of the Detroit "Post," and in 1867, editor of the "Westliche Post" (also joint proprietor with Emil Praetorius), his residence becoming St. Louis. Visiting Europe, he was received with distinguished honors in Germany, and in an interview with Bismarck gave an account, by request, of his Kinkel exploit. Bismarck declared that in Schurz's place he would have done the same thing.

In the Republican Convention of May, 1868, which nominated General Grant, Schurz was temporary chairman, and instrumental also in inserting in the platform a resolution recommending a general amnesty. In the campaign that followed, Schurz was again one of the most effective speakers of the Republican Party. On January 19, 1869, the Missouri legislature elected him Senator, the first German-born citizen who had ever been a member of the upper house of Congress.[1] "The career of Carl Schurz in the Senate would have been sufficiently remarkable if regarded merely as a demonstration of his great gifts as a parliamentary orator, and of his readiness as a debater. He was not only the most effective speaker in the Republican Party, but the greatest orator who has

[1] For an account of Schurz's senatorial campaign, his joint debate with Senator Drake, etc., see *Reminiscences*, vol. iii.

appeared in Congress in our generation. Unlike many of his most distinguished colleagues, he never resorted to inflated or bombastic rhetoric and never stooped to any of the well-worn artifices with which demagogues from time immemorial have been wont to tickle the ears of the mob. As was truly said of him, he always spoke as a rational man to rational men; he was always sure of his subject and always full of it, and the natural consequence was that he always had something to say that was worthy of serious attention, even from those who might differ from him in opinion." "His English style very rarely and even then only slightly betrayed his foreign birth and education; and in acquiring so perfect a command of the foreign idiom, he had never in any degree forfeited his mastery of his native tongue. To his other qualities he added a quick wit with a biting sarcasm, which could cut very deep without ever overstepping the bounds of parliamentary decorum, and which made him formidable both in attack and in defense." "Schurz's greatness as an orator lay in this, that he not only spoke as a rational man to rational men, but as a man of heart and conscience, who judges every man by himself and feels that his best hold is in appealing to the better nature of his hearers. What he said of Sumner in his unsurpassed eulogy of the Massachusetts Senator, that 'he stands as the most pronounced idealist among the public men of America,' might with equal truth be said of himself."[1] He was asked at one time why he would strive for ideals that were distant as the stars, and he replied, "the stars are what we must sail by." "He was the original independent in politics and the whole political faith of the independ-

[1] The passages in quotation marks are taken from the New York *Evening Post*, Monday, May 14, 1906.

ent can be deduced from his utterances." He disagreed with his party on a number of important issues: in the matter of the Ku-Klux laws; in advocating a general amnesty; he opposed the administration of Grant on the San Domingo question; he exposed the crookedness of men in high places in regard to the sale of arms to France during the Franco-Prussian War. He entered the Liberal Republican movement in Missouri in 1870, the first prominent current of independence in politics. In 1872 he presided over the Liberal Convention which nominated Horace Greeley for the presidency, and supported him through his campaign against Grant. At all times he showed his independence of party, and pointed to the greater ideal of reform and patriotism. He stood for reform in the civil service and the tariff, at times when reform had few friends, when the Republican Party, corrupt from long tenure of office, seemed omnipotent, when reformers were looked upon as impractical theorists. James Russell Lowell thought the loss of Carl Schurz to the Senate was a national misfortune. Many friends in America and abroad gave expression to their regret at his retirement.

He visited Europe and on his return was asked to stump the state of Ohio in favor of Hayes and honest money, against Allen and inflation. He transferred the fight that he had carried on in the Senate to the stump, and his efforts had much to do with winning the close victory for Hayes. He carried with him a large independent vote that like himself thought Hayes the safer man for sound currency and civil service reform. As Secretary of the Interior, member of the cabinet of President Hayes, Schurz carried out continuously for the first time the idea of civil service reform. Even more strenuous were his

duties in the improvement of his department. He was looked upon before assuming office as a visionary without any business capacity, but he very shortly proved the contrary to the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of his constituents. The Indian Bureau was in a deplorable condition. Indian agents were cheating the wards of the nation of benefits bestowed upon them. As quickly as Schurz found men guilty or careless, he removed them without hesitation. Another branch of his department which was dear to his heart was forestry. Therein also his German blood and training asserted themselves. He was the first official in a high position to check the devastations of forests and call the nation's attention to the great natural resources contained in the timber-lands. He naturally came into collision with the great corporations, but he was utterly without fear when a moral question was at stake. The agricultural department received his attention, the pension and patent offices, the census, public lands, the surveys, and railroads. He lived in his office and not in the lobbies, and served his nation without regard for the host of enemies he was making. His talents were great, his capacity for work enormous, but that which stands out above all was the strength of his character and the example of his life devoted to high ideals. His position as member of the cabinet ended his political life in office. He had been weighed in the balance of political corruption and had been found wanting, — but his martyrdom had a wonderful effect in inspiring others to emulation of his example.

His remaining years were devoted to literary work and to the continuation of his struggle for reform. Schurz became one of the editors of the New York "Evening Post" in July, 1881, and continued to the end of 1883. In 1884 he took a prominent part in the independent

movement which rose against the Republican Party and culminated in the election of Grover Cleveland, a man after his own heart. The life of Henry Clay from the pen of Carl Schurz appeared in 1887, and some competent judges say that they never understood Henry Clay before reading the biography by Schurz.[1] Numerous are the articles by his pen that appeared in American monthly periodicals, such as the one in the "Atlantic" on Abraham Lincoln. His "Reminiscences" are a masterpiece, valuable alike for their literary style and historical materials. Carl Schurz was an able lecturer on historical subjects. Contemporaries speak of a memorable series of historical lectures given at the University of Michigan, when the speaker, as in the days of the anti-slavery campaigns, held his hearers spellbound by the earnestness of his convictions, the broadness of his scholarship, and the eloquent flow of his language. Ex-President Andrew D. White said that he considered it a "bad slip" in his administration that he had never thought of calling Carl Schurz to a chair of history at Cornell University.[2]

A number of times Schurz was chosen president of the National Civil Service Reform Association, and was gratified by the progress of the movement. He supported Cleveland in the campaigns of 1888 and 1892, but opposed the silver craze of the misguided Democratic Party.

[1] Biographers before him had always canonized Clay or dragged him in the mire. Schurz, who aimed at telling the truth, and was sympathetic, made the figure of Clay respected in the estimation of fair-minded readers.

[2] A. D. White, first president of Cornell University (1867–1885), made this remark in conversation with the writer, and has permitted him to use it here. Carl Schurz being busy in public life, the thought of offering a professorship in Cornell University was remote from the president's mind. "But what an eloquent lecturer he would have been, and I think he might have accepted for the great service he could have done us," said ex-President White.

His speeches throughout the country to German-Americans, whether in German or English, were always full of the ideal of good citizenship, and, though Carl Schurz was inspired with the critical spirit of reform, he never grew to be a pessimist. Unlike his able contemporary, Friedrich Kapp, who returned to Germany after 1871, but just as Francis Lieber (who refused the offer of public office in Prussia), Carl Schurz always remained true to the country of his adoption, and would not entertain the thought of returning to his native land, though conditions there had changed for the better, and approached the realization of his early hopes. There has probably never been paid a more dignified tribute to a public man than the memorial service in honor of Carl Schurz, which took place November 21, 1906, in New York City, six months after his death. The intellectual and moral forces of the country were represented by those who took part in the service. The meeting was presided over by Joseph H. Choate, ambassador to England, who delivered the introductory address. The speakers were ex-President Cleveland, President Eliot of Harvard, Professor Eugen Kuehnemann of Breslau, as the representative of German universities, Charles J. Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy, Booker T. Washington, the philanthropist of his race, and Richard Watson Gilder, the poet and editor, all of them men who have made idealism the ruling principle of their lives.

Another noble figure in American politics, worthy to be placed by the side of Carl Schurz, is Francis Lieber,[1] the educator of American youth at two important univers-

[1] One of the best essays written on Francis Lieber is that of F. W. Holls: *Franz Lieber, Sein Leben und Seine Werke.* Vortrag gehalten, 1882. (New York: Steiger & Co., 1884.) Cf. also *Franz Lieber,* Denkrede von H. A. Rattermann, reprinted from *German-American Annals,* December, 1904.

ities, authoritative writer on international law and political ethics, and participant in the great movements of political regeneration in Europe and America during the nineteenth century.

Francis (Franz) Lieber was born at Berlin in 1800. "Boys, polish your muskets," cried his venerable father one day, entering the house; "he has broken loose again" [meaning Napoleon from Elba]. That was glorious news for the young men of the house, one of whom, Francis, was but fifteen years of age. Appearing before their mother, they asked her consent, and she, stalwart as the mother of the Gracchi, though the anxieties of the campaign of 1813–1814 were scarcely overcome, embraced her boys and said, "Go." Franz, a soldier for the love of it, enlisted in the veteran Pomeranian Colberg Regiment, which soon got into the thickest of the fight. In the battle of Ligny his company of one hundred and fifty was reduced to thirty. Under Blücher, the regiment took part in the battle of Waterloo. Lieber came out of all battles without a scratch until, in the attack on Namur, he was severely wounded in the neck and chest. Only after months of suffering in a hospital had he sufficiently recovered to return home to Berlin. Then he took up again his studies at the gymnasium and university, where his love of liberty brought him under suspicion. Among Lieber's papers the inquisitors found some poems of freedom which they published to prove his guilt. Lieber declares that he thus got a reputation as a poet in spite of himself.[1] He was thrown into prison, and when released was forbidden to visit or study in any Prussian university. He therefore

[1] The Kraftausdruck "mordfaul" was also found in Lieber's journal, and was interpreted as "crooked in the planning of murder." Cf. Holls, *supra*, p. 8.

FRANCIS LIEBER

went to Jena, where he took his doctor's degree in 1820. Then came the period of the Greek revolt, inspiring young Europeans of classical culture with enthusiasm for the liberty of Greece. Overcoming all difficulties, Lieber, like many hundreds of idealists, forced his way to the land of ancient art and literature. Most of those that got to Greece died, heroically in battle, or, more frequently, wretchedly of fever. After untold hardships Lieber left Missolonghi (where Byron died), in 1822, on board a small vessel that sailed for Italy. One and one half scudi was all the money that he had left after paying his passage. He had considerable trouble about his pass, and was not allowed to go to Rome. In order to satisfy his ambition to see the Eternal City he cleverly used his pass as far as Toskana, from whence he went afoot to Rome. A brilliant idea struck him on his arrival, namely, to apply to the Prussian ambassador. Penniless and tattered, the young man appeared before the famous Niebuhr, who then occupied the embassy, and from that time on dated their lifelong friendship. The historian of ancient Rome at once recognized the sincerity and ability of the young enthusiast, and kept him in his family for more than a year as a private tutor for his oldest son. Thus Lieber was enabled to study Rome to his heart's content, and under the most favorable guidance. Niebuhr then used his influence to gain for his protégé a permission to return to Berlin. In spite of favorable promises, Lieber, when he returned home, was arrested, and thrown into the prison of Koepnik. After much trouble, Niebuhr succeeded in getting him out, but safety for Lieber could now only be obtained through exile. In 1825 he was in London, eking out an existence as a newspaper correspondent and tutor. Two years later he decided to go to America, with Niebuhr's

approval, but with the admonition that he should not forget to return to Germany, and should never write any more political treatises. The warnings of his faithful friend were not obeyed, however, as his succeeding career will show.

Letters of introduction from Niebuhr served Lieber well in Boston. He first took a position as an instructor of gymnastics. But literary work also occupied him, among other things an American adaptation of the Brockhaus "Konversations-Lexikon." His friends, Judge Story and G. S. Hillard of Boston, assisted him. The work was called "Encyclopædia Americana," was published by Cary of Philadelphia, and formed the basis for the subsequent "American Encyclopædia," published by the Appletons. Lieber's articles on political science, on Greece, his biographies of Grotius, Macchiavelli, and Montesquieu, are very noteworthy. He also wrote on the subject of prisons, concerning which he could speak from personal experience as few other writers. His views concerning prison discipline and reformatories were highly valued. He was employed in 1833 to draw up a plan for the education of the students of Girard College in Philadelphia. During the execution of this commission he learned to know the élite of Philadelphia, as he had previously become acquainted with the leading spirits of New England.[1]

In 1835 Lieber was called to the professorship of History and Political Economy in South Carolina College, Columbia, South Carolina, at that time one of the leading

[1] Among his intimate friends and associates in Boston were Josiah Quincy, president of Harvard University; W. E. Channing, the pulpit orator; the Greek scholar, President Felton; the historians Prescott, Bancroft, and later, Motley, George Ticknor, Charles Sumner, and the poet Longfellow. In Philadelphia his friends were H. C. Carey, the banker, Nicholas Biddle, the jurists Binney and C. J. Ingersoll, Judge Thayer (the author of a memorial address in honor of Lieber), and the ex-King of Spain, Joseph Bonaparte.

universities of the prosperous South. His leaving the North was a matter of regret to many of his admirers, but to Lieber it brought perhaps as many advantages as disadvantages. Life in the North would have given him more intellectual stimulus, but probably less leisure for his great works. The intimate acquaintance with Southern people and their view of the great struggle soon to come made him far more judicial and fair-minded than he could have been otherwise. In the South he produced the great works upon which his international fame depends, giving him rank with Grotius and Montesquieu as a writer on international law. His first monumental work appeared in 1837 called "Manual of Political Ethics," which was followed by "Legal and Political Hermeneutics" (1839), and "Civil Liberty and Self-Government" (1853). These are his greatest works, and the last-named is the most popular. Besides these he wrote a number of essays, of which the "Character of the Gentleman," "On Questions of the Post-Office and Postal Reforms," "Great Events described by Great Historians," "Essays on Property and Labor," "Penal Laws and the Penitentiary System," "The Necessity for Continuous Self-Culture," are good examples. "These works," says the Honorable Russell Thayer, "are all written with as much ease and purity of idiom as if English had been his native tongue, a fact not more remarkable than that he, a German, should have become the great American teacher of the Philosophy of Anglican Political Science." In 1856 he resigned the professorship in South Carolina College, and was immediately elected to a similar chair in Columbia College, New York, that of political science in the law department. During the Civil War Lieber rendered services of great value to the government, and was frequently called to Washington

to consult with Lincoln, Stanton, and Seward on important questions of military and international law. He had been one of the first to point out the unwisdom of secession, and had been very active in the support of union. On the requisition of the President and General Halleck he prepared the "Code of War for the Government of the Armies of the United States in the Field," which was adopted by the armies of the North and published as General Orders No. 100 of the War Department. This code has been characterized as a masterpiece by many European publicists, and it suggested to Bluntschli his codification of the laws of nations, Bluntschli adding Lieber's "Instructions" as an appendix to his "Modernes Völkerrecht."[1] Deeply was Lieber made to feel the asperities of civil war, for his oldest son, who had married in the South during his father's long residence there, fought in the army of the Confederates, and died on the field of battle, while two younger sons were in the Northern armies defending the Union.

Lieber did not live many years after the close of the war. At the time of his death, October 2, 1872, he was by appointment of the government the umpire of the commission for the adjudication of Mexican claims. He was planning another great work on the "Origin and the National Elements of the Constitution of the United States"; only a fragment has come down to us, but it promised to show the author at his best. The personality of Lieber was most attractive. He was a child among children, a fencer, gymnast, and sportsman with boys, and a stimulating, witty, buoyant companion among men.

[1] Cf. Holls, p. 18; and Thayer, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xiv, p. 564. In Europe Lieber had many friends: Humboldt, Niebuhr, Bunsen, Mittermaier, Von Mohl, Bluntschli, Laboulaye, De Tocqueville, Von Holtzendorff.

His features were those of a handsome strong man, of great intellectual capacity and of unusual force. In his youth he could swim four miles without being overtired, and he was a "Turner" with heart and soul. Judge Thayer says that "few men combined such amiability with greatness and strength"; and Judge Story said "his conversation is always fresh, original, scintillating with reminiscences; he always sets me thinking." Lieber was a hard student, rarely idle, and on occasion could work almost night and day with little sleep. The motto of his study was: —

"Patria Cara,
Carior Libertas,
Veritas Carissima."

That was the motto of his life; though his Fatherland[1] was dear to him, liberty was more precious, and truth the highest ideal of all. It is the motto also of the German university teacher.

Another interesting type of German politician, representing an early period of immigration, is that of the ex-governor of Pennsylvania, Samuel W. Pennypacker. The family dates back to the pre-Revolutionary period, and is Pennsylvania-German.[2] Politicians and journalists have been very much puzzled about the governor. He is always true to the people, or at least that is his

[1] Lieber forever remained true to his adopted country. On a visit to his native land in 1844, and again in 1848, Frederick William IV of Prussia tried to keep him in Berlin, offering him a professorship of penology at the University, and the superintendentship of prisons in the kingdom. Lieber refused to be employed as long as the reactionary government remained. He was deeply interested in the Franco-Prussian War, and would have preferred to be a soldier once more, had his age permitted. But he never thought of returning to Germany to live.

[2] The earlier spelling of the name was Pannebecker. Cf. Kuhns, *Studies in Pennsylvania-German Family Names*, *Americana Germanica*, vol. iv, p. 318.

purpose. He wants to know what they want, and then goes ahead and does it if he can. "This governor may appear guileless and innocent, he may seem to have a far-away look in his eyes, but nobody fools him. He means what he says and he will stand no nonsense — the people of the state have long realized that. One of his inflexible traits is that he never tells what he is going to do until he has made up his mind to act and has given orders for the action."[1] An instance of his courage and promptness was seen in the proclamation of May, 1906, in which he called on all men in the anthracite region to keep the peace during that restless period, and warned them that no violence would be tolerated. People knew him to be a man of his word. They were convinced that he would exhaust every resource of the state to prevent a repetition of the scene of three years before, when rioting and murder were frequent, homes were dynamited, and the state thereby disgraced. The governor had informed himself well through the newspapers, and struck his blow at the proper time, according to his own way of thinking, and he got the people to think the same way. He was perfectly fearless, and could not be browbeaten by party friends or enemies.

Long service on the bench made him an excellent judge of human character. He was considered the most intellectual governor Pennsylvania has had since the day of Governor Hoyt; he is a better reader than listener. On the bench Governor Pennypacker was regarded as a learned and just judge; in the rôle of politician he is generally considered not a success, needing the help of a Quay to put him into office. Others as stoutly deny this, and declare that he has made a study of politicians as well as newspapers, and has set the one class in awe of him, and

[1] Quoted from the New York *Evening Post*, Thursday, May 17, 1906.

made the other respect him. The old Pennsylvania-German virtues are exemplified in him, such as an ideal home life, his good humor, his intimate knowledge of agricultural matters, and his hospitality. "Come into Pennypacker's mills and have some apple-jack with me," is the motto in the governor's den in his farm home, and is deduced from a legend of the Revolutionary War, according to which George Washington, having his headquarters in the Pennypacker farmhouse, on a wintry day cheered up a young aide with that cordial invitation. The striking feature in Pennypacker's success in politics was not ambition or diplomacy, but character, and above all, "rugged honesty and fearlessness, and for these characteristics and his fair-mindedness, it is said that if there were a vacancy on the Supreme Court bench to-day, he would be nominated and elected by an enormous majority of the people of Pennsylvania."[1]

Another German of the early immigration who won distinction in the politics of his state was William Bouck, governor of New York. He was a representative of the old Palatine population in Schoharie County, who had been Jackson Democrats, and remained faithful to the Democratic Party. Bouck (Bauk) had made a reputation for simplicity and honesty while discharging his duties as canal commissioner of the state. He had driven his old white horse and buggy along the tow-path the whole length of the canals, and by keeping careful watch of the contractors had, in his simple way, saved the state much money.[2] His nickname was "the Old White Hoss of Schoharie." The old man's white hair and whiskers matched the color of his horse. He was not cultivated, but had

[1] New York *Evening Post*, May 17, 1906.

[2] Cf. *Autobiography of Andrew D. White*, vol. i, p. 57.

a very impressive figure; he looked very wise and said little.[1]

Another interesting type is the German political boss as he sometimes exists in localities where Germans are very numerous. Such was Philipp Dorschheimer, born in Rhein-Hessen, in 1797. He came to America at the age of nineteen. Having had a good training in flour-milling at home, he started as an overseer in a mill in New York State, and subsequently became a hotel proprietor in Buffalo, New York. He learned enough English to get along well with the native population, and retained enough German to do the same with the Germans, never, however, ridding himself of native dialect and linguistic monstrosities, which produced a humorous effect. However, he had the gift of impressing people mightily in private conversation, and those that left him came away in awe of his power and influence. He also possessed the politician's memory and ease of intercourse. It was in the city of Buffalo where he gained the reputation of having the vote of the Germans in his control. The victory of the Whigs in 1840 gave him a postmastership, but he did not use this position to acquire money, nor did he in any other political office that he ever held. His connection with the Mansion House of Buffalo as hotel-keeper (until 1864) gained for him even a larger circle of acquaintances. In 1848 Dorschheimer joined the Free-Soil Party and worked and voted for Van Buren. He had the instinct for divining what the future had in store, and he joined the Republican Party as soon as it was formed, supporting Frémont strenuously. In the Convention of 1856 at Philadelphia, he moved about unconcernedly among governors, senators, judges, journalists, and the great men of the party. If people asked who that

[1] Cf. *Autobiography of Andrew D. White*, vol. i, p. 57.

gigantic figure was, the reply came, "O! that is old Dorschheimer, the great leader of the New York Germans." He made a speech at that convention, saying that he was only a simple old German, no politician, but this one thing he could tell the convention, namely, that he knew his people and that there was no man they would rather vote for than Frémont. He was understood, and he made good his promise. In 1859 the Republican Party elected Dorschheimer state treasurer, and in 1863 President Lincoln appointed him chief revenue collector for the district in which Buffalo lay. Only an honest man could be chosen for such a place, and honesty was a rarer quality than cleverness.

Dorschheimer did not die a rich man; nevertheless he was able to give his son William an excellent education. The young man became a spirited political leader, a Democrat, twice vice-governor of New York, opponent of Grant in 1872, supporter of Tilden in 1876, and withal an improved edition of his father in politics.[1] There are hundreds of Dorschheimers throughout the United States, who have won their influence through sturdiness and honesty.

Admirable types of leaders of the German element and also of public-spirited citizens are furnished by Friedrich Münch of Missouri; General J. A. Wagener of South Carolina; and Gustav Schleicher of Texas. All of them have been mentioned in previous chapters. Gustav Schleicher at one period of his career proved his entire independence of parties, gaining a third election to Congress on his own past record. The Democratic Party that elected him having split, he took the stump himself as an independent candidate, and secured his election through his own efforts. Schleicher was a member of some of the most important

[1] Cf. Körner, *supra*, pp. 140-143.

congressional committees, such as the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the one on Railroads. His reports on the relations with Mexico and on other matters of arbitration were accurate and thorough. He died in office, and the orators at the funeral service included General Butler of Massachusetts and James A. Garfield, subsequently President of the United States. Schleicher was a popular hero throughout Texas, his reputation being by no means confined to the German element.[1]

Another example of a German prominent in public life is that of Michael Hahn, who was born in the Palatinate in 1830. He came to America at an early age with his parents, who settled in New Orleans. He was trained in law, and early entered the political arena. In 1862 New Orleans was taken by the Union forces, and Hahn, who had also before the event been opposed to the principles of the Confederacy, formed the Union Association, the purpose of which was to create a Union Party in Louisiana. Hahn was elected to the United States Congress in 1863 by this party. He advocated the reorganization of the state on the basis of the abolition of slavery. He founded a newspaper, "The True Delta," to represent his party's views. At the next election, in 1864, he was made governor of Louisiana by the loyalists of the state. The difficult task of the reorganization of the state's affairs now devolved upon him, and he had a great share in initiating the movement of the actual emancipation of the slaves.[2] Subsequently Hahn devoted himself to the improvement of the schools of his state, and in particular the public schools. He was also a town-builder, founding Hahnville, in St. Charles Parish.

[1] Garfield in his eulogy also made mention of Schleicher's use of excellent English.

[2] Cf. Körner, *supra*, p. 378.

As compared with other leading Germans, Hahn had greater opportunities in his state; nevertheless he was a man of unusual ability and courage, who could create opportunity. He never feared opposition, and on one occasion became the object of an attack and was severely wounded by a mob (1866).

Few men born in Germany have, like Hahn in Louisiana, had the good fortune of being elected governor of a state. The fact of his being identified with a foreign element, which offended the strong nativistic tendencies of each political party, defeated Carl Schurz as a candidate for lieutenant-governor of Wisconsin. Sometimes the failure to pronounce the English language just like a native ruined a candidate's chances for office.[1] There were quite a number of Germans who were elected lieutenant-governors of states where the large German vote required recognition; some, such as Edward Salomon, war governor of Wisconsin, having been elected lieutenant-governor, on the death of the regularly elected governor (in this case Governor Harvey) succeeded to the governor's office. More recently Reinhold Sadler (born in Prussia, in 1848) has been governor of Nevada. But he also was first elected lieutenant-governor, succeeding to the governorship on the death of Governor Jones in 1896. Sadler was then chosen governor for the term, 1898–1903. It has been very different with men of German descent, and no doubt, if the count were made very carefully, almost every state in the Union would show a man of German blood in its list of governors. The German blood has been represented among Pennsylvania's

[1] The two most successful native Germans in American political life, Carl Schurz and Gustav Schleicher, spoke faultless English. Most foreigners are unable to pronounce the English language without foreign accent, a serious handicap in public speaking and in a political career.

governors by Simon Snyder, Joseph Hiester, John A. Shulze, George Wolf, Joseph Ritner,[1] Francis Shunk, William Bigler, John F. Hartranft, James A. Beaver, and S. W. Pennypacker. Governor Bouck of New York has already been mentioned. There was Governor Kemper of Virginia; Werts and Frelinghuysen of New Jersey; Altgeld[2] of Illinois; Goebel, elected governor of Kentucky,[3] and assassinated; Treutlen, governor of Georgia

[1] Joseph Ritner, though a (Jacksonian) Democrat, was a pronounced abolitionist. His governor's message in 1836 inspired the poet Whittier to dedicate the poem "Ritner" to him, beginning: —

> "Thank God for the token! one lip is still free,
> One spirit untrammelled, unbending one knee.
> Like the oak of the mountain, deep-rooted and firm,
> Erect, when the multitude bends to the storm."

Governors Ritner, Shulze, and Wolf rendered their state conspicuous service through their advocacy and support of the public schools.

[2] John Peter Altgeld, born in Nassau, Germany, in 1847, was brought to America a few months later by his parents, who settled near Mansfield, Ohio. At the age of sixteen the boy entered the Union Army and fought until the end of the war. He settled in Missouri, taught school, and studied law. He was admitted to the bar in 1869, and was elected state's attorney for Andrew County, Missouri, in 1874. In the following year he removed to Chicago, soon acquired a large practice, and in 1886 was elected to the bench of the superior court as a Democrat, for a time serving as chief justice. In 1893 he was elected governor of Illinois, the first governor of foreign birth, and the first citizen of Chicago to hold that office in Illinois. It was the first time in forty years that the state had given a Democratic nominee the majority. During the first years of his administration the World's Columbian Exposition was held in Chicago. A railroad strike occurred in Chicago in the following year, during which President Cleveland sent federal troops to help restore order. Just as Altgeld had at the beginning of his administration pardoned the anarchists Fielden, Neebe, and Schwab, so he continued to be interested in the penal problems of the state, and succeeded in improving conditions, and establishing new reformatory institutions. In 1896 he was renominated for governor against his protests, and defeated. He was an advocate of free silver. In 1899 he was defeated as an independent candidate for mayor of Chicago. He died in 1902.

[3] The assassination threw all Kentucky into two camps and almost produced a state of civil war. The trials for the murder of Goebel were finally concluded only this year (1909).

in the revolutionary period; J. A. Quitman,[1] governor of Mississippi; H. J. Hagermann, governor of New Mexico; E. W. Hoch of Kansas (1905–1907); A. P. Swineford (father Pennsylvania-German), second governor of Alaska (1885–1889); Stephen Miller, third governor, Minnesota; H. A. Buchtel (1907–1909), and J. F. Shafroth (1909–1911), Colorado.

As congressmen the native Germans have been more numerous. The following is a partial list of congressmen born in Germany, complete only to the Forty-eighth Congress,[2] with a few additions of more recent names. No attempt has been made to include the vast number of congressmen of German descent. Unless otherwise indicated the men named were members of the House of Representatives.

George Baer, Maryland, 1797–1801 and 1815–1817; Richard Bartholdt, Missouri, 1893–1911; George Louis Becker, Minnesota, 1857–1859; Joseph Bellinger, South Carolina, 1817–1819; Simon Börum, Continental Congress, 1774, 1775, 1777; Edward Breitung, Michigan, 1883–1885; Lorenz Brentano, Illinois, 1877–1881 (born in Mannheim, Baden); Friedrich Conrad, Pennsylvania, 1803–1807; Edward Degener (born in Brunswick), Texas, 1869–1871; Peter Victor Deuster (b. in Rhenish Prussia), Wisconsin, 1879–1883, reëlected Forty-Eighth Congress; Anton Eickhoff (born in Westphalia), New York, 1877–1881; Lucas Elmendorf, New York, 1797–1803; Wilhelm H. F. Fiedler, New Jersey, 1883–1885; G. A. Finkelnburg (Prussia), Missouri, 1869–1873; Alexander Gillon,[3]

[1] Cf. Volume I, pp. 519 ff.

[2] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xiv, pp. 331–336. (Rattermann.)

[3] Gillon was born in 1741 at Rotterdam, while his parents, coming from Hessen, were on their way to America. Gillon was the first captain of the German Fusileers of Charlestown (1775), and subsequently admiral of the Southern fleet. He captured three English cruisers in 1777, sailed to France

South Carolina, 1793–1794; Richard Guenther (Prussia), Wisconsin, 1881–1889; Johann Hahn, Pennsylvania, 1815–1817; Michael Hahn[1] (Rhenish Prussia), Louisiana, 1863–1864; Julius Hausmann, Michigan, 1883–1885; Wilhelm Heilmann (Hessen-Darmstadt), Indiana, 1879–1883; Israel Jacobs, Pennsylvania, 1791–1793; Martin Kalbfleisch,[2] New York, 1863–1865; Johann J. Kleiner, 1883–1885; Jacob Krebs, Pennsylvania, 1826–1827; Wilhelm Ernst Lehmann (Saxony), Pennsylvania, 1861–1863; Michael Leib,[3] Pennsylvania, 1799–1806 (Senate of Pennsylvania until 1814); Leopold Morse [Maas] (born in Rhenish Palatinate), Massachusetts, 1877–1885; Nicholaus Müller, New York, 1877–1881, 1883–1885; Heinrich Pöhler (Lippe-Detmold), Minnesota, 1879–1881; Jacob Ried[4] (Baden), Continental Congress, 1783–1785; House, representing South Carolina, 1795–1801; David Ritchie [Rütschi] (German Swiss), Pennsylvania, 1853–1859; Johann Ritter, Pennsylvania, 1843–1847; Peter Saille [Sailer?] (Lotharingia), New York, 1805–1807; Benjamin Say, Pennsylvania, 1808–1809; Johann Jacob Scheuermann, New York, Continental Congress, 1786–1787; Gustav Schleicher (Darmstadt), Texas, 1875–1880; Jacob Schüremann, New Jersey, United States Senate, 1799–1801, House, 1789–1791, 1797–1799, and 1813–1815; Carl Schurz, Missouri (United States Senator), 1869–1875; Adam Seybert,[5] Pennsylvania, 1809–1815 and

in 1778, and in the frigate *South Carolina* took many prizes. In 1782 with a large fleet he made an expedition to the Bahama Islands, taking possession of them.

[1] Also elected governor of Louisiana, as mentioned above.

[2] Was later elected mayor of Brooklyn.

[3] Leib (Doctor of Medicine) was appointed postmaster of Philadelphia by President Madison.

[4] United States Judge, South Carolina, appointed by President Adams, 1801.

[5] Seybert was famous as a statistician.

1817–1819; Albert Smith [Schmidt] (b. Hanover), Maine, 1839–1841; Dietrich Smith [Schmidt] (Ostfriesland), Illinois, 1881–1883; Meyer Strouse [Straus] (b. Bavaria), Pennsylvania, 1863–1867; Wilhelm Ernst Strudwick, Maryland, 1796–1797; J. Swanwick, Pennsylvania, 1795–1798; Heinrich Wiesner, New York, Continental Congress, 1774–1776; Richard Heinrich Wilde[1] (Hamburg), Georgia, 1815–1835; Johann Joachim Zübly (Switzerland), Continental Congress, 1775–1776.

A few of the congressmen of German name of the present time are as follows: J. A. Beidler, Ohio, 1901–1907; John L. Brenner, Ohio, 1897–1901; Frederick George Bromberg, Alabama, 1873–1875; Charles N. Brumm, Pennsylvania, 1881–1889; 1895–1899; E. D. Crumpacker, Indiana, 1897–1909; R. C. De Graffenried, Texas, 1897–1902; Charles Henry Dietrich, Senator, Nebraska, 1901–1905; Charles H. Dickerman, Pennsylvania, 1903–1905; John J. Esch, Wisconsin, 1899–1911; Daniel Ermentrout, Pennsylvania, 1881–1889, 1897 to death in 1899; William Henry Flack, New York, 1903–1907; H. P. Goebel, Ohio, 1903–1911; J. V. Graff, Illinois, 1895–1911; B. Hermann, Oregon, 1905–1907; Charles N. Hildebrand, Ohio, 1901–1905; J. W. Keifer, Ohio, Speaker, 1881–1883, member, 1877–1885 and 1905–1911; Rudolph Kleberg, Texas, 1896–1903; Frank B. Klepper, Missouri, 1905–1907; Marcus C. L. Kline, Pennsylvania, 1903–1907; Theodore F. Kluttz, North Carolina, 1899–1905; Philip Knopf, Illinois, 1903–1909; Charles B. Landis, Indiana, 1897–1909; Frederick Landis, Indiana, 1903–1907; John J. Lentz, Ohio, 1897–

[1] Wilde was a prominent writer and poet (in the English language). He was born in the harbor of Dublin, his parents being on the way from Hamburg to America.

1901; Henry C. Loudenslager, New Jersey, 1893–1911; Adolph Meyer, Louisiana, 1891–1907; Warner Miller, New York, 1879–1883; William A. Rodenberg, Illinois, 1899–1900, 1903–1911; C. R. Schirm, Maryland, 1901–1903; Martin L. Smyser, Ohio, 1889–1891, 1905–1907; Frank C. Wachter, Maryland, 1899–1907.

Numerous also are the representatives of the German element as justices in the courts of the United States, e. g., H. Bischoff, E. B. Amend, and L. A. Giegerich (born in Bavaria), justices of the Supreme Court of New York; G. N. Lieber (son of Francis Lieber), Judge-Advocate-General, United States Army, 1895–1901 (late professor of law, United States Military Academy); G. A. Endlich, judge in Twenty-third District, Pennsylvania, since 1890; Henry Lamm, justice of the Supreme Court of Missouri; K. M. Landis (descended from Pennsylvania Mennonites), judge of the United States District Court, Illinois, since 1905, who imposed the fine of $29,000,000 upon the Standard Oil Company for accepting railroad rebates; Peter Stenger Grosscup, judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, who annulled the $29,000,000 fine in 1908; and many others.[1]

The precious gifts of high office are treasures which the native population with some degree of justification yields only to its own stock. Rare ability and the pressure of necessity have sometimes, though very infrequently, produced an exception, as in the case of the

[1] Judge Landis's fearless and terrible judgment, imposing the maximum penalty upon the guilty corporation, has undoubtedly had the effect of proving that no one is above the law. Judge Grosscup, in reversing the decision and granting a new trial (naming the maximum penalty, $720,000, i. e., $20,000 on each of thirty-six counts instead of fourteen hundred and sixty-two counts), has greatly contributed to restoring confidence in the financial world.

great financier, Albert Gallatin, the Anti-Federalist (born in Switzerland, of an ancient, possibly French, noble family), and Carl Schurz, the brilliant orator and uncompromising reformer. That portion of the German element which for at least one generation has become a part of the American stock has a far better opportunity of election to the highest offices. Thus a Mühlenberg was Speaker of the first House of Representatives, and a brother of his, lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania during Franklin's administration. Michael Hillegas (1728–1804),[1] a merchant of Philadelphia, whose father was one of the very early German immigrants, became treasurer of Congress, 1775–1789, one of the most difficult and responsible positions that the young nation had to fill. The German element has been represented at different times by members of the cabinet, as William Wirt,[2]

[1] Michael Hillegas, successful business man, engaged in sugar-refining and possessed of means, threw the entire weight of his influence on the patriotic side. In June, 1774, he became treasurer of the Committee of Safety, of which Benjamin Franklin was president. The Continental Congress in 1775 appointed him treasurer of the United States, a position which he held for fourteen years, until the inauguration of Washington in 1789. The period of his service was the most trying in the history of our country, when the treasury was drained from many quarters without adequate means to replenish its funds. In 1782 Hillegas, on the order of the general assembly of Pennsylvania, published the proceedings of the state convention, together with many national documents, e. g., the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, etc., a compilation of great historical value.

[2] Wirt's father was born in Switzerland and his mother in Würtemberg. His parents died while he was young, and he was cared for by an uncle. He was admitted to the bar in 1792, and opened an office at Culpeper Court House, Virginia. Being naturally vivacious, and of agreeable personality, he was thrown in with the gay young element of the state, and soon had the reputation of a *bon vivant*. But he settled down to a sober life of study, preparing him to meet such opponents as Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, and Daniel Webster. He went to Richmond in 1799, and met there all the great men of the state and occupied various offices. In 1807, by President Jefferson's appointment, he was a counsel in the trial of Aaron Burr. One

the celebrated Southern orator and prosecutor of Aaron Burr, who was Attorney-General of the United States for the unusual period of twelve years, under Presidents Monroe and Adams, from 1817 to 1829; F. T. Frelinghuysen was Secretary of State, 1881–1885, in General Arthur's cabinet; John Wanamaker was Postmaster-General in Harrison's cabinet, 1889–1893; Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior under Hayes; the cabinet of President Taft includes at the present time three men of German descent: George von Lengerke-Meyer, Secretary of the Navy (born in Boston of North-German parentage, ambassador to Italy, 1900–1905, to Russia in 1905, Postmaster-General under President Roosevelt); Richard A. Ballinger (born in Iowa of German parentage, mayor of Seattle, commissioner of the General Land Office), Secretary of the Interior; Charles Nagel (born in Texas of German parents, who in 1883 migrated to St. Louis), Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

Christopher Gustavus Memminger, born in Würtemberg in 1803, was the Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederate States appointed by President Davis. He had been treasurer[1] of South Carolina under Governor Pickens.

of his speeches, lasting four hours, is one of the most admired oratorical efforts of his life. Its florid style and periodic structure made it a great favorite for academic declamation. In 1816 he was appointed by President Madison United States District Attorney for Virginia, and under Presidents Monroe and Adams he served as Attorney-General, 1817–1829, holding the latter position with great repute, and being ranked "among the ablest and most eloquent of the bar of the Supreme Court" (Judge Story). William Wirt was given the degree of LL.D. from Harvard in 1824; he removed to Baltimore in 1829, and died in 1834. Cf. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. vi, p. 86.

[1] He was conspicuous as a reformer of the schools of the state. Upon the base of his bust in the council chamber of Charleston is the inscription: "Christopher Gustavus Memminger, founder of the present public school system of Charleston. In grateful appreciation of his services for thirty-three years."

Memminger had one of the most difficult offices among all Confederate appointments. Although dissatisfaction with the government was expressed on all sides, and accusations came fast, he nevertheless emerged with an honorable name and reputation.[1] Among early financiers there should also be named Michael Hillegas, mentioned above as treasurer of Pennsylvania and of Congress during the Revolutionary period.

The highest office in the gift of the people of the United States has never been filled by a man of pure German blood. There have been two presidents of Dutch descent, Martin Van Buren and Theodore Roosevelt. The Dutch are racially as much a part of the German element as any other of the unmixed Low-German stocks from Pomerania, Hamburg, or Bremen, but their history, for practical reasons, has not been included in this work. A theory has been advanced to the effect that the ancestry of Abraham Lincoln was German, based upon the fact that his grandfather's name appears on a Land Office treasury warrant (No. 3334) as Abraham Linkhorn.[2] The

[1] A favorite plan of his was to join Charleston and Cincinnati with a railroad, which he took up again in 1874.

[2] The argument was first made by Mr. L. P. Hennighausen, a most diligent and successful investigator of the historical records of the Germans in Maryland (author of the *History of the German Society of Maryland*). A facsimile of the land warrant, contained in the Land Office at Richmond, is printed in Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, vol. i, p. 10 (see also p. 14), and reprinted in the *Eleventh and Twelfth Reports of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, pp. 37–42. The name Abraham Linkhorn is very clearly and distinctly written, and reappears, moreover, in Record Book B, p. 60, in the office of Jefferson County, Kentucky, on a surveyor's certificate, May 7, 1785. Abraham Linkhorn was a man of some means and education, was killed by the Indians, and his son Thomas, father of the sixteenth president of the United States, grew up without schooling or paternal care amid coarse frontier surroundings. The name Linkhorn could not, as has been conjectured, be a clerical error for Lincoln. The elaborate genealogical investigation by J. H. Lea and J. R. Hutchinson, *The Ancestry*

discovery has occasioned a controversy which finally favored English origin of the Lincoln family.

There remain to be considered before closing this chapter a number of coöperative efforts made by the German element to represent a cause or establish a political influence. The first instance of such a movement came from abroad, as was shown in foregoing chapters,[1] an attempt to form German states within the territory of the United States. It was before the Civil War, when Europeans generally considered the United States a complex whose component parts might at any moment disjoin and form separate sovereign principalities. The Germans thought that by concentrating their immigration on particular states, such Germanized states might in time separate from the Union if they did not get just what they wanted. The first attempt at concentrated immigration occurred in 1835, when the "Giessener Gesellschaft" was founded; Missouri reaped the benefits of it. About a decade later the "Adelsverein" sent thousands of German colonists into Texas; and lastly an immigration was concentrated

of Abraham Lincoln (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), takes no account of the "Linkhorn document," which omission destroys its value in the controversy. It attempts to give a very complete genealogical chain, leading through Massachusetts ancestry back to a family of Lincolns in England. The work of M. D. Learned: *Abraham Lincoln. An American Migration. Family English not German.* (Philadelphia, 1909), brought philological training to bear, showing that the variant forms *Lincoln*, *Lincon*, *Lincen*, *Lincorn*, *Linkorn*, *Linkhorn*, are all variations of the same name wherever the family appears. Learned published two documents that he discovered (deeds of 1726, 1794), which expressly state that the forms *Lincen*, and *Linkhorn* are erroneous for *Lincoln*, but represent common pronunciations of the name. Applied to places and persons *Lincoln* was derived from *Lindcolonia*, which by laws of euphonic change became *Lincolonia* and *Lincoln*. The form *Linkhorn* has not been found to be a German name.

[1] Volume I, Chapters XIV and XV, "Settlement of Missouri, Wisconsin, and Texas."

upon Wisconsin. But none of these states developed into what the German promoters had hoped for them. They received a large German population, to be sure; but still were outnumbered by the rest of the inhabitants taken together.

Another instance of concerted effort occurred with the advent of the "Forty-eighters." Some of these, by no means a majority, were frenzied dreamers in matters of politics. A "Republikanischer Freiheitsverein" was founded in Pittsburg in May, 1848, which was largely attended, and the purpose of which was in part political, and in part philanthropical; the latter principally in regard to supporting the German refugees of the revolutionary period. A similar demonstration was made in Cincinnati, and a fair was held to raise money in support of the revolutionary movement in Germany. Women were more active than men in this undertaking. Belleville, in Illinois, and Glasgow, in Missouri, in 1849 held bazaars and the like for the same purpose. The patriot Kinkel (whom Schurz had rescued from prison at Spandau) traveled through the United States making speeches in his brilliant manner, and arousing the Germans to favor the cause. Kinkel's idea was to float a loan of two million dollars in the United States, to be used in support of a second revolution in Germany. The collections were made in large and small amounts, even in one- and five-cent pieces. But the enthusiasm was over by 1852. Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, had been in America before Kinkel, and started a similar undertaking for the support of revolution abroad. The precedent of Kossuth's previous efforts aided Kinkel's undertaking in some quarters, but hindered him in others.

The most fantastic of all the extravagant schemes of that revolutionary period in America was the so-called "Wheeling Congress." The plan was that of Goepp, a

young "Stürmer und Dränger," who published a book "E Pluribus Unum," which was to electrify mankind with the idea of a world republic, of which the United States were to be the hub. All the countries of the world were to be annexed to the United States. The United States would in course of time be Germanized, that is, yield to the influence of German ideas and culture. The so-called German ideas were largely the weird ideas of the founders, such for instance as presented in the book published by Goepp and Poesche, called "The New Rome."[1] The Wheeling Congress met in September, 1852, and was to advance the ideas of Goepp. There were over a thousand revolutionary societies in existence, but only sixteen delegates responded to the call. Philadelphia, Boston, Roxbury, Albany, Troy, and Pittsburg were represented. Chicago's Germans were not much in evidence, and Milwaukee's delegates, in spite of mass meetings that had been very successful, did not appear. Queer resolutions were adopted at this meeting, such as to abolish the Presidency and the two Houses of Congress, even the government by states. Marriage was to be abolished, and children were to be trained by the state. Money was to be done away with, and a progressive system of taxation instituted, by which it would be impossible for the rich to possess over a certain amount. The right of inheritance was to be cast away, slavery was to be abolished, and poor children were to be clothed and fed at the public expense. Similar socialistic, anarchistic, and humanitarian resolutions were passed at the beer benches of revolutionary societies in many leading cities of the country, e. g., in Cincinnati,

[1] Published by G. P. Putnam, New York, 1853. It was dedicated to Franklin Pierce, President of the United States. The secondary title was "The United States of the World."

Baltimore, and Richmond, but we should not take them too seriously. The Wheeling Congress has been given exaggerated importance by writers on German-American history. When we remember that only sixteen people came together, hardly more than could be seated around two tables at the Kneipe, and that those were mostly young, inexperienced enthusiasts, with half-baked notions on politics and society, we ought to refrain from severe condemnation. None of the great leaders who figured prominently in the succeeding political campaigns were present, and if they did identify themselves with the revolutionary societies, they very soon discovered their folly and futility, and withdrew from them.[1]

The older generations, the refugees of the thirties, represented by such men as Gustav Körner ("Der graue Gustav"), Friedrich Münch, and others did not countenance the movement from the beginning, and their conservatism had a salutary effect. At succeeding conventions, and there followed several, such as that of 1854 in Cincinnati, platforms were adopted in which the opposition to slavery became the main plank, together with defensive measures against the Know-nothing movement. These two principles, and particularly the first, became the leading subjects for discussion by the Germans in the epoch immediately preceding the Civil War.

The Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party

Socialism in American politics has been most thoroughly under German influence.[2] Before the Civil War, and

[1] For an account of the revolutionary societies, their ideas and doings, cf. T. S. Baker, *America as the Political Utopia of Young Germany, Americana Germanica*, vol. i, pp. 62–102. (1897.) Cf. also *Der deutsche Pionier*, vols. vii and viii.

[2] For a history of the subject, see the following works: Morris Hillquit,

beginning about 1848, the movement was begun and confined almost entirely to German immigrants, mainly of the working-class. The real founder was Wilhelm Weitling, born at Magdeburg in 1808, a man of magnetic personality and great ability as a speaker and writer.[1] As a journeyman-tailor he became widely acquainted in European cities, and in the forties was the most influential figure in the numerous colonies of German workmen in the capitals of Switzerland, France, Belgium, and England. He was a connecting link between the old type, the utopian critic of society, and the modern aggressive reformer. Weitling was invited to America in 1846 by a group of German Free-Soilers, who desired him to take charge of their journal, the "Volkstribun," the publication of which was suspended, however, before his arrival. A year later, when rumors of revolution came from Germany, Weitling returned to take part, but after the collapse of Liberty's cohorts, he appeared again in New York, now actively engaged in advocating social reforms. The Central Committee of United Trades was organized in New York in 1850, consisting of delegates of labor organizations, representing about twenty-five hundred members. The "Republik der Arbeiter," a weekly paper, in 1851 became the organ of the movement; their mass

History of Socialism in the United States (Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1903); Hermann Schlüter, "*Die Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1907); A. Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Der Moderne Socialismus in den Vereinigten Staaten* (1890); R. T. Ely, *The Labor Movement in America* (1886), and *Socialism and Social Reform* (1894); F. A. Sorge, *Die Arbeiterbewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten, 1867–1877* (Neue Zeit, no. 13, 1891–1892).

[1] *The World as it is and as it should be* (*Die Menschheit, wie sie ist und sein soll*), 1839; *The Guaranties of Harmony and Freedom* (*Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit*), 1842; *Evangel of a Poor Sinner* (*Evangelium der armen Sünder*), 1846.

meetings and pamphlets attracted the attention of the American press, and enlisted the coöperation of workingmen of other nationalities. Of great importance in the history of socialism in the United States is the first national convention of German workmen, in Philadelphia, called together by the "Republik," October 22–28. Ten leading cities of the East and West and forty-two organizations were represented. Weitling's favorite idea of the "exchange bank" was indorsed, an institution in which each producer could deposit his product in the central depot, and receive in exchange a paper certificate of equivalent value, which would enable him to purchase, up to its face value, any articles at cost in the bank store. The idea of industries coöperating in support of the institution was the original part of the scheme. But Weitling provoked antagonism by his irritating self-assertion, and withdrew from public life, accepting a position as clerk in the Bureau of Immigration. The "Allgemeiner Arbeiterbund" declined until, in the middle of the fifties, new life was infused by Jóseph Weydemeyer, a personal friend of the great socialists Marx and Engels in Germany, and an ardent student of scientific socialism. Weydemeyer strove to introduce the doctrines of Karl Marx into the Workingmen's League, delivering many lectures in German and in English. The league made the mistake in 1858 of electing to the editorship of its new weekly magazine, the "Social Republic" ("Soziale Republik"), the well-known revolutionist and political visionary, Gustav Struve, under whose influence the league again declined.

During the same period an influence toward the spread of socialistic doctrines were the Turner organizations, which were primarily gymnastic or athletic organizations, but, as in Germany also, always had political lean-

ings.[1] The Turners affiliated with the Free-Soil Party, and subsequently became members of the new-born Republican Party; some of the organizations expected some time to form an independent Socialist Party in the United States. In 1850, the same year that the convention of the "Allgemeiner Arbeiterbund" was called by Weitling, the Turners met and organized the "Vereinigte Turnvereine Nordamerikas," the name of which was changed the following year to "Socialistischer Turnerbund." A "Communist Club" was organized in New York in 1857, whose principles were more philosophical than reformatory or aggressive.[2] They attracted public attention in 1858, when they arranged a brilliant commemoration festival of the Revolution of 1848; at the mass meeting, which was attended by all national elements, F. A. Sorge and Fr. Kamm spoke for the Germans.

The abolition of slavery was one of the demands of all German socialistic societies, and when the war became imminent, they volunteered in such numbers as to destroy all other interests. "The Turners from every quarter," says Professor Ely, "responded to Lincoln's call for troops, some of the unions sending more than one half of their numbers. In New York they organized a complete regiment in a few days, and in many places they sent one or more companies. There were three companies in the First Missouri Regiment, while the Seventeenth consisted almost altogether of Turners. It is estimated that from forty to fifty per cent of all Turners capable of bearing arms took part in the war." Others prominent in the ranks of the Socialists that took part on the Union side were

[1] A more detailed account of their work and extent will be given below, in Chapter VIII.

[2] Cf. Schlüter, *Deutsche Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika* (*Der Kommunistenklub*), pp. 160–162.

Joseph Weydemeyer, August Willich (member of the Communistic League of London with Marx and Engel), both of whom have a distinguished war record, Robert Rosa (Prussian officer), Fritz Jacobi (eloquent member of the New York Communistic Club), Alois Tillbach, and Dr. Beust, all of whom also inspired others with their example. The war so much thinned the ranks of the socialists that no further steps in the movement took place until 1867.

The next period of the socialistic movement was one of organization, and it stood under the guidance of the International Workingmen's Association (popularly known as the "International"), organized at London, in 1864. Almost every revolutionary society of Europe had a representative at that time in London, prominent among whom were the Italian patriot Mazzini, and the Germans Frederick Engels, and Karl Marx, the father of modern socialism. The latter's draft of a constitution and declaration of principles was accepted. The platform[1] included the principle that the emancipation of the working-class must be accomplished by the working-class itself, and that their emancipation would depend upon the solidarity of the various branches of labor coöperating in all civilized countries. The "International" established a direct influence in the United States by the founding of "sections" in New York City (1868), Chicago, and San Francisco. Most of the original members were Germans, but after 1871 the sections grew to thirty or more, and the number of enrolled members to about five thousand, composed also of Americans and Europeans of all nations. The leading spirit of the American sections of the "International"

[1] It is reproduced in an abstract by Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States*, pp. 178 ff.

was F. A. Sorge, the general secretary, a "Forty-eighter," friend and co-worker of Marx and Engels. The "International" also exerted an influence indirectly through the National Labor Union, which had grown up on American soil independently, in consequence of labor agitation and organization. At the first convention, held in Baltimore, in 1866, to unite organized labor, a German socialist of the Lassallean school, Edward Schlegel, representing the German Workingmen's Association of Chicago, was the first to propose the formation of an independent political labor party. Although his suggestion was not carried into effect, Schlegel's eloquent address made so deep an impression on the delegates that they elected him vice-president-at-large in "appreciation of his views and abilities."[1] The plan of forming a political labor party out of the National Labor Union was taken up by the American, William H. Sylvis, but he died (1869) before he could give his Labor Reform Party a solid foundation. The Labor Reform Party was supported by the German trades-unions in New York City through their organ, the "Arbeiter Union." This paper published the proceedings of the "International," and during Dr. Adolph Douai's editorship, came more and more under the influence of socialism. Douai[2] was one of the most brilliant of the political

[1] Hillquit, p. 184.

[2] Douai, born in Altenburg, Germany, in 1819, received an excellent education preparing him for the career of teacher. Taking an active part in the revolution of 1848, he was imprisoned, and soon after emigrated, arriving in Texas in 1852. He founded a small paper at San Antonio, for which he did all the work himself, often working one hundred hours a week. Since the paper was devoted to the cause of abolition, Douai was compelled to leave, after a three years' struggle, during which he suffered many persecutions. The negroes of Texas always kept him in grateful memory, and in 1868 sent him a copy of a newspaper with the following announcement in bold type: "This paper, edited and set by negroes, is being printed on the same press from which Dr. Douai for the first time advocated the emancipation of the

refugees of 1848, and subsequent to his editorship of the "Arbeiter Union," became one of the leading exponents of the socialism of Marx in the United States, in the capacity of editor of the "New Yorker Volkszeitung," 1878–1888.

After several preliminary steps in organization, a political party representing Marxian socialism, held its second convention in December, 1877, at Newark, New Jersey, and adopted the name, "Socialist Labor Party of North America" (its first name was "Workingman's Party"). The "Socialist" (editor, J. P. McDonnell), the "Sozial Demokrat" (editor, C. Conzett), and the "Vorbote" (editor, Harbinger) were to be the official organs of the party, and A. Douai was to be made assistant editor of all three papers.[1] For twenty years the Socialist Labor Party remained the dominant factor in the socialist movement of the United States. The membership was mostly foreign, largely German, and, feeling the ineffectiveness of such a condition, the party strove consistently to Americanize itself. Two plans of action were adopted, one to seek influence with the labor unions, the other to go directly to the polls as an independent party. The former involved the

negroes in Texas. Let this serve him as a token of gratitude of the colored race that they preserve the memory of his efforts for their freedom." Hillquit, p. 191.

[1] Between 1876 and 1877 about twenty-four papers supported the party; of these, eight were in the English language (one a daily, seven weeklies), fourteen were printed in German (seven of them dailies — Chicago *Sozialist* and Chicago *Volkszeitung; Volksstimme des Westens* (St. Louis); *Neue Zeit* (Louisville); Philadelphia *Tageblatt; Vorwaerts* (Newark); *Ohio Volkszeitung* (Cincinnati). The Bohemians and the Scandinavians each had a weekly socialistic paper. In 1878 a new daily, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung,* was established in the interests of socialism and trades-unions. With brilliant editors such as Alexander Jonas, Dr. Douai, and, at the death of the latter, Hermann Schlüter, the *Volkszeitung* at once assumed the leadership of the socialist movement, and has kept it to the present day.

danger of the loss of the party's socialistic principles, the latter, because of the ridiculously small vote gained at the polls, seemed to prove that their efforts would be useless. During the crusades against the socialists in Germany in 1878, following the attempted assassination of the Emperor William I, a number of recruits came to America, reviving somewhat the drooping spirits of the Socialist Labor Party. In 1881 the Social Democratic Party of Germany (which drove Bismarck into the adoption of the beneficent compulsory insurance laws against accident, invalidism, etc.), sent two representatives to America to acquaint German-Americans with the conditions existing under the severe anti-socialist laws. The men chosen were two socialist deputies in the German Reichstag, Louis Viereck[1] and F. W. Fritsche, popular speakers, who were warmly welcomed by large audiences at mass meetings held in New York, Boston, Newark, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Chicago, and other cities. The tour of the German deputies, though that had not been the purpose, revived considerably the public interest in the socialistic theories. But when the foreigners had departed, the party again lost enthusiasm.

At this time anarchism, the denial of all social progress, appeared in the United States, as a great danger to the Socialist Labor Party. Any organization of society, even if based upon absolute equality, is to anarchism as baneful as centralized power, for it interferes with the exercise of unchecked personal liberty, and the absolute sovereignty of the individual. John Most (born at Augsburg in 1846) appeared on the scene in 1882, a "martyr" of the cause, having just completed a sixteen months'

[1] The present editor (and founder) of the monthly journal, *Der deutsche Vorkämpfer, Monatsschrift für deutsche Kultur in Amerika.* (New York.)

sentence at hard labor in London for an article in his paper congratulating the Nihilists on the assassination of Alexander II. From his infancy fate had always been against him, casting him about from a cruel stepmother to a worse employer, forcing him to struggle hard for an education, then, when inspired with the socialistic principles of the "International," throwing him into prison successively in Austria, Saxony, Prussia, and England. With all the greater force did he flourish the torch of anarchy and hurl his threats at society. He now started a revolutionary blaze from city to city before enthusiastic mass meetings in the United States. The result was a convention at Pittsburg in 1883, a proclamation of "communistic anarchism," and the formation of a central group at Chicago. Then came the Haymarket tragedy in 1886 as a great calamity for the anarchists. It was during a period of strikes and labor agitation. The initiative of George A. Schilling had caused the organization of the Eight Hour Association of Chicago, and the ablest orators of the anarchists had become the most popular speakers advocating this movement. The police force had infuriated the mob by a wanton destruction of the lives of six or more strikers, which was followed by Spies's proclamation of revenge, and a mass meeting at night in the Haymarket. After the speeches were over, and the crowd for the most part dispersed, the blundering police made an attack on those remaining, when from an adjoining alley a bomb was thrown by some person unknown. It may have been done by some one to revenge the murders committed by the policemen. The explosion of the bomb caused the death of one policeman and the wounding of many more. An indiscriminate firing began at once, as a result of which seven policemen were killed and about sixty wounded,

while on the laborers' side four were killed and about fifty wounded. The entire blame fell upon the anarchists, and the grand jury indicted the leading members, August Spies (German), Albert R. Parsons (native American), Samuel Fielden (English), Adolph Fischer (German), Michael Schwab (German), George Engel (German), Louis Lingg (German name), O. W. Neebe (native American), R. Schnaubelt (German name), and William Seliger (?) for the murder of the policeman who was killed by the bomb. Of these Schnaubelt escaped, Seliger proved the Judas of the company, turned state's evidence, and was granted immunity. The public clamored for the lives of the anarchists, the press advocated it, and after a farcical trial, in which absolutely no participation in the throwing of the bomb could be proved against any one of the anarchists (three of them had not been at the Haymarket meeting at all), the court found them guilty of murder and sentenced them to death.[1] The Supreme Court of the State confirmed the judgment of the lower court, and the Supreme Court of the United States dismissed the appeal on the ground that the court had no jurisdiction in the matter. Spies, Parsons, Fischer, and Engel were hanged in November, 1887, Schwab and Fielden appealed to the governor, and their sentences were commuted to life imprisonment.[2]

Though the trial of the anarchists was "the grossest travesty on justice ever perpetrated in an American court,"[3] still the anarchists had been most violent in their revolu-

[1] Except Neebe, who was sentenced to imprisonment in the penitentiary for fifteen years.

[2] Six years later Governor Altgeld granted an absolute pardon to Fielden, Neebe, and Schwab, on the grounds that "the judge was biased, the jury packed, the defendants not proven guilty, the trial illegal." *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. xi, p. 51.

[3] Hillquit, p. 250.

tionary agitation, and were felt to have been a menace to society. Such prompt and sweeping punishment cut away the very roots of anarchism in this country, and the good effect was also felt by the Socialist Labor Party, who were rid of their dangerous internal enemy. The further history of the latter party showed a struggle between two factions, the one advocating alliance with labor unions and attempting to form an independent political party in spite of defeat at the polls, the other, conservative, arguing upon the futility of entering the political field, resenting Americanization, and counseling refusal to vote with any party until the time should be ripe for their socialistic theories. The former faction entered various alliances at different times until they formed a permanent union with the Social Democratic Party, of which the labor leader Eugene V. Debs and the German socialist Victor L. Berger[1] were the principal organizers. This party after the union was renamed the Socialist Party, though in some states the name Social Democratic Party remains in use. The other faction of the Socialist Labor Party remained conservative, and retained the name Socialist Labor Party.

Of the two, the Socialist Party has been the most successful at the polls, securing nearly two hundred and fifty thousand votes in the congressional elections of 1902, while the Socialist Labor Party received only about fifty thousand. In spite of the fact that the party was almost as successful as the Free Soil Party in 1848, which got about three hundred thousand votes, and elected a number of congressmen, the Socialist Party, being too well distrib-

[1] Victor L. Berger, of German parentage, was born in Austria in 1860. He has been editor of the Milwaukee *Daily Vorwaerts* since 1892, and has been untiring in his efforts to organize the Social Democratic Party. His party has been very successful in Wisconsin, holding eighteen offices in the state in 1907. Berger is very popular in Milwaukee.

uted over the whole country, has never been represented in Congress.[1] The party has been more successful in local politics, electing its candidates for mayor in the Massachusetts shoe-towns of Brockton and Haverhill; also in Sheboygan, Wisconsin, and Anaconda, Montana. Councilmen and aldermen were elected in a number of towns in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Kansas, Iowa, Indiana, Montana, and Colorado, and it seems therefore, that the Socialist Party is to prove its usefulness first in municipal reform.

National German-American Alliance

Within the last decades the Germans have made a successful attempt at uniting all the German clubs of the United States, whether social, musical, gymnastic, military, or political, into one large national organization. The movement began in the original home of Germanism, the state of Pennsylvania, and in its ancient stronghold, Philadelphia, where a union of all the German societies of the state was effected in the year 1899. Since then the organization has grown into the so-called "National German-American Alliance," which includes societies of every city, state, and territory of the United States where there is a German population. The membership is about a million and a half. A platform adopted at one of the early conventions of the society plainly states the purposes of the organization. They are as follows: To increase the feeling of unity in the German element of the United States; to pursue worthy aims which do not run counter to good citizenship; to oppose nativistic influences; to cultivate a spirit of cordiality between America and the Fatherland; to investigate the history of the German im-

[1] Cf. Hillquit, pp. 341 ff.

migrations and their influences in America. The purpose is not to found a German state within the United States, or to meddle with party politics, yet to defend principles, even if they be in the political field. Questions of religion are to be excluded. The German language is recommended for introduction into the public schools; for the cultivation of the body (a sound mind must dwell in a sound body), gymnastic work. Public schools are to be divorced from politics and to be totally removed from political influences. Germans are exhorted to become naturalized citizens as soon as possible, and never to fail in or neglect their duties as voters. Opposition is to be made against laws which put needless difficulties in the way of obtaining the rights of citizenship (character and reputation to stand above the ability to answer test questions). Opposition is planned against restriction of the immigration of Europeans in good health, with the exception of the criminal class. The repeal of laws which run counter to the modern spirit is to be striven for, viz., such as restrict free communication (Sunday laws) and the personal liberty of the citizen (prohibition legislation). Additional aims are: the cultivation of German influence and literature by means of schools, lectures, etc.; investigation of the Germans' share in the history of the United States in peace and war, together with all phases of German-American activity. Such are the main features of the platform of the German-American Alliance. The object on the whole is to preserve and unite what is best in German culture and character, and devote it to the best interests of the adopted country. The principle, therefore, which Carl Schurz and Friedrich Münch announced for the Germans in America — namely, that they become American citizens as quickly as possible, without, however, losing their culture and

character — has won in our own day. The old fantastic schemes of building separate German states, or influencing American politics for selfish interests, have been buried forever. Germany also recognizes this fact, but she may console herself for the loss of so many of her people by taking pride in their achievements in the United States.

In the present outline of the German influence in American politics, it has been shown that, while the German element had little to do with the framing of the Constitution of the United States, it had a great deal to do with the defense and development of the republican form of government which the Constitution founded. In all the important political issues that have been progressive in the nineteenth century the German element has been influential: (1) the abolition of slavery; (2) the reform of the civil service; (3) the upholding of the sound-money standard; (4) party reforms; (5) peace congresses; (6) questions of personal liberty; (7) independent voting. Some of the typical German figures in American politics have been: Carl Schurz, Francis Lieber, Samuel W. Pennypacker, William Bouck, Philipp Dorschheimer, Friedrich Münch, J. A. Wagener, Gustav Schleicher, Michael Hahn. A list of United States congressmen born in Germany, and a partial list of recent congressmen of German descent was given to illustrate the large German representation in American public life. The Socialist Party throughout its history has been under German influence, and has shown usefulness in municipal reform movements. The platform of the German-American Alliance is typical of the patriotic and progressive attitude taken by the German element in regard to the nation's best interests.

CHAPTER V

THE GERMAN INFLUENCE ON EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Introductory — Four periods: (1) 1683–1800: German schools and teachers in the eighteenth century; Franklin College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania — (2) 1800–1825: American students at German universities; Ticknor and Everett; Cogswell and the Round Hill School, Northampton, Massachusetts; influence of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg; Beck and Follen — (3) 1825–1875: first professorship of German at Harvard, 1825 — Various German influences; reports of Griscom, Bache, Stowe, V. Cousin — The state universities — Educational revival produced by Horace Mann; his travels in Germany, and reports — Normal schools; Henry Barnard — Herbartian doctrines — Cornell University, technical education; schools of forestry — (4) 1876 to present time: Johns Hopkins University, graduate studies — German university system transplanted — The German element represented in university faculties — The kindergarten — Plan of a German seminary at Philippsburg — German private schools — Teaching of German in the United States — Union of teachers — Reform in modern language teaching — Vocational teaching — German ideals of higher education.

THE German influence on education in the United States has been profound. While the German element living in this country has been active in the progressive educational movements of the nineteenth century, nevertheless the greater part in establishing German methods in American education has been done by the Americans themselves. Though living under the spell of English and French traditions, they went all over Europe in search of the best models for their educational institutions, and found them in Germany. The basis and the superstructure of our American educational system, the elementary school, inclusive of the kindergarten, and the university, were cre-

ated under German influence. The college has been fashioned after the English pattern, with adaptations; the secondary schools have been under various influences, partly German.

In presenting the history of German educational influences, it is convenient to mark off four chronological periods: (1) the eighteenth century; (2) the first quarter of the nineteenth century; (3) the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century; (4) from 1876 to the present time. The first and second are hardly to be considered periods of influence; in the first, German schools existed primarily for the Germans themselves, with slight influence only on other elements of the population; within the second came the dawn of interest in things German and the beginning of the exodus of American students to the German universities. The date 1825 is chosen for the beginning of the third period, because in that year the first appointment of a professor of German took place at an American college, Harvard leading in the movement. The next fifty years were the formative period in the building of the American educational system, and German influences increased until they reached the high-water mark in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when by the foundation of the Johns Hopkins University in 1876 the German university was transplanted to American soil.

First period: the eighteenth century

The earliest instance of intellectual exchange between Germany and New England was the correspondence of Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke. The Boston theologian in 1709 sent a collection of one hundred and sixty books and tracts on pietism to Halle, and also several sums of money collected in support of the

philanthropic work of the German reformer. Francke's reply was a Latin letter of sixty-nine pages, describing fully the work of the Halle institutions. Cotton Mather at once printed an appreciative account of Francke's work ("Nuncia bona terra longinqua"), and planned the establishment of some similar institution in Massachusetts. The epistolary intercourse between New England and Germany was continued for another generation, for the sons of Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke continued the correspondence. Francke's example unquestionably had an influence on the establishment of Bethesda College in Savannah, Georgia, by George Whitefield, who planned this "Orphan-Home," in accordance with the principles laid down by Francke. "God can help us in Georgia," he writes in 1742, "as well as he helped Professor Franck(e) in Germany."[1]

In the eighteenth century the schools of the Germans were parochial. The religious denominations commonly took care of the schooling of their children, and the ministers were commonly the teachers. This was true throughout Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and elsewhere. Sometimes teachers were imported from Germany; when no minister could be secured, teachers often served also as readers of the Scriptures or of sermons, and many of them, as Ulmer in Maine, Schley in Maryland, Holzklo in Virginia, Arndt in North Carolina, were the leading spirits of their colonies. In the parochial schools the German language was taught, frequently to the exclusion of the English.[2] But that was by no means a com-

[1] Kuno Francke, *Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke, Harvard Studies*, vol. v, pp. 66–67. Cf. also Kuno Francke, *Americana Germanica*, vol. i, no. 4, *Further Documents concerning Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke.*

[2] Undoubtedly the use of the German language more than any other cir-

mon practice. In those early days reading and writing formed the basis of an education ; to be well grounded in the Bible, and to be able to write a good hand, gained admittance anywhere, including the legislatures. Among the German teachers there were some who stood head and shoulders above their surroundings, men of German university training who compared favorably with the best scholars of their time. Such, for instance, was Franz Daniel Pastorius, the founder of Germantown, the friend of William Penn. He was the first German teacher in America, serving in the English Quaker School in Philadelphia, 1698–1700, and taking charge of the first German school, established in 1702 in the Germantown settlement. The latter was supported in part by scholars' fees, in part by voluntary contributions, and possessed two features that have played a prominent part in the history of American schools, — it was coeducational, and it added a night school for those that labored during the day or were too far advanced in age for the day school. The personality and achievements of Pastorius have been described in a previous chapter.[1]

Every German sect had its schools, — the Mennonites, for instance, as early as 1706 founded an institution where Christopher Dock afterward educated the young. This pioneer teacher, who labored devotedly in his profession for more than half a century (1714–1771), instituted the law of love in place of the rule of force which was holding undisputed sway in all contemporary schools. He introduced the blackboard into the American school-room, and in 1750 wrote, though with difficulty persuaded to do so, his

cumstance caused the reproach of ignorance by the native element. A person that does not speak the language of the country fluently, is in the popular estimation, uneducated.

[1] Cf. Volume I, Chapter II, pp. 43–45.

remarkable book on school-teaching, called "Schulordnung," and printed by Christopher Sauer. Christopher Dock's book is the first pedagogical work published in America, and reveals the author's beautiful character and his insight into human nature.[1] His school order advised not only the training of children in their studies, but demanded also their instruction in righteousness. Morality, conduct, and scholarship were the order in which these educational elements were instilled. If at this period the three R's were taught, a fourth, religion, was never omitted and was generally placed at the beginning. The Schwenkfelders were noted as teachers in the middle of the eighteenth century, and the Moravians established schools at Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Lititz, and also academies for young women, which were patronized by the native as well as the German population, and drew pupils from every one of the colonies. The Lutheran and Reformed German churches, being most numerous, naturally established the most schools throughout the territory of German settlements. Mühlenberg and Schlatter, once students of Francke at Halle, did much to improve the schools. But even earlier than they, between 1720 and 1740, there were good scholars, as Boehm, Weisz, Stiefel, Hock, and Leutbecker, all teaching in Pennsylvania, and all of them of good German training.[2] Christopher Sauer, the printer and publisher, took a prominent interest in German schools, particularly in the Union School, the Germantown Academy, founded in 1761.

[1] Dr. Martin G. Brumbaugh, superintendent of schools in Philadelphia, has collected and translated the works of Christopher Dock, with a sketch of his life, and illustrations showing some of his school-room furniture. Published by Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1908.

[2] Cf. Learned, *The Teaching of German in Pennsylvania*, *Americana Germanica*, vol. ii (1898–1899), no. 2, p. 73. Weisz was a graduate of the University of Heidelberg.

Benjamin Franklin was interested in the education of the Germans, particularly in their acquirement of the English language. His motives were both political and philanthropical. When the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia (founded in 1743) agitated the foundation of the "Public Academy of the City of Philadelphia," the institution that later developed into the University of Pennsylvania, Franklin designed its curriculum, and recommended the study of German and French, besides English. The Academy grew into a college, and in 1754 the trustees appointed William Creamer (Krämer) professor of the French and German languages, a position which he occupied until his retirement in 1775. Professor Creamer gave instruction to a very large number of students.[1]

Benjamin Franklin was the first American on record who visited a German university. It happened in 1766, when the American philosopher attended a meeting of the Royal Society of Science in Göttingen, while on a trip through Germany. It is recorded in the Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen[2] that Benjamin Franklin, with the royal English physician Pringle, visited Mr. Hartmann in Hanover in order to see his apparatus for electrical experiments. Franklin was made a member of the Göttingen learned society.[3]

[1] It is noteworthy that the first attempts of this kind at Harvard and the University of Virginia were not at once so successful. They were made in 1825, almost seventy-five years later. The German classes at the latter institutions were not as large, especially at the beginning. To be sure, Pennsylvania had a large German population to draw from.

[2] September, 1766. The fact of Franklin's visit to the University of Göttingen was first brought to light by B. A. Hinsdale in his valuable article, *Notes on the History of Foreign Influence upon Education in the United States*, *Report of the Commissioner of Education*, 1897–1898, vol. i; see pp. 604–607.

[3] An interesting conversation with Franklin is reported by Dr. Achenwall of Göttingen, *Anmerkungen über Nord-Amerika und über grossbritannische Colonien aus mündlichen Nachrichten des Herrn Dr. Franklin.* (Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1769.) Helmstedt, 1777, with an appendix containing John Wesley's

The Philadelphia Academy or College where William Creamer had been the professor of French and German until 1775, received a new charter in 1779, in virtue of which the six strongest denominations of the city of Philadelphia were represented on the board of trustees. Two of the most prominent German ministers of the city, Johann Christoph Kunze and Kaspar Weiberg, were appointed trustees, and through their influence a resolution was carried, to the effect that "a German professor of philology should be appointed, whose duty should be to teach the Latin and Greek languages through the medium of the German tongue both in the Academy, and in the University." Kunze, being considered one of the most eminent teachers of the classics in America, was elected to fill the position.[1] Professor Kunze considered also the establishment of a preparatory school for the university with which he was connected. He encouraged a student of Halle, Mr. Leps, who arrived in Philadelphia in 1773, to begin a Latin school. Twenty-four subscribers were found, each contributing ten pounds. The sons of the subscribers received free instruction, others paid fees. The school was modeled after Francke's Pedagogical Institute in Halle and flourished for some time. The successor of Kunze in Philadelphia was the Reverend J. H. C. Helmuth, who was ardent in his desire to promote the study of the German language. He was very successful with his students, and they increased to the number of sixty.

In 1787 an act was passed by the assembly of Pennsylvania incorporating a German college in the county

addresses in the American colonies. Translated by J. G. Rosengarten, Philadelphia, 1903.

[1] Cf. Learned, *Dedication of the Bechstein Library in Philadelphia*, March 21, 1896, p. 37.

of Lancaster, "for the instruction of youth in the German, English, Latin, Greek, and other learned languages, in theology, and in the useful arts, sciences, and literature." In honor of Benjamin Franklin, — who was the largest contributor to its funds,[1] an earnest advocate of its foundation, and who, in spite of his advanced age, journeyed to Lancaster to lay the corner-stone in 1787, — the institution was named Franklin College. The foundation of two rival seats of learning was, strangely enough, not beneficial to the cause of the German language. The German "Institute" in Philadelphia, a department of the university, was suppressed, in part to favor the new Franklin College, but the location of the latter was not found to be as fortunate as was expected.[2] The attempt to establish the German system of higher education in Pennsylvania, so gloriously begun, thus ended in failure. The time was not ripe for it, there was no demand, and there was no foundation, i. e., the schools were not ready to furnish adequate preparation.

Franklin's visit in Lancaster to lay the corner-stone of Franklin College inspired a young resident of that city, Benjamin Smith Barton, to study abroad. His studies included medicine and the natural sciences, and after pursuing them at home, he studied in Edinburgh, London, and finally at the University of Göttingen, where he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1789. He was

[1] He subscribed the sum of $1000 from his moderate fortune, a sum to be considered very large for that time.

[2] Marshall College of Mercersburg (the "High School" of the German Reformed Church) united with Franklin College in 1850, and Franklin and Marshall College became the name of the institution for higher education at Lancaster. Cf. J. H. Dubbs, D.D., LL.D., *History of Franklin and Marshall College* (Lancaster, Pa., 1903); also, R. C. Schiedt, D.D., Ph.D., *On the Threshold of a New Century.* (Philadelphia, 1900. Publication Board, Reformed Church.)

the first American Göttingen doctor.[1] The German influence was not yet destined to be consecutive or lasting. For natural historical reasons, the English and, since the Revolutionary War, the French influence penetrated more deeply. Thomas Jefferson's great interest and activity in educational matters favored French models. He recognized the importance of modern languages, but the language of polite society at the time was French. Little was known about German literature and philosophy even in England; far less, therefore, in the United States, where, in spite of political emancipation, a colonial spirit of dependence on the mother country still prevailed in all matters of education and culture. English authors did not discover Germany until 1780, and not until William Taylor had translated many German literary works, and the poets, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Walter Scott, and subsequently Thomas Carlyle beat a trail into the "kingdom of the mind." Some of the English poets visited the Continent and brought back some knowledge of Germany, and considerable inspiration from German poetry and letters. Madame de Staël's "De l'Allemagne," which opened intellectual Germany for France, performed a similar service in England when translated and published in London in 1814. The translation went to America immediately thereafter. "Possibly a few Bostonians," says the historian Henry Adams, "could read and speak

[1] He returned to America and occupied a prominent position as a physician in Philadelphia until his death in 1815. He wrote a large number of scientific works, and in 1813 became the successor of Benjamin Rush as professor of the theory and practice of medicine in the University of Pennsylvania. The second American student at Göttingen was probably W. B. Astor, the son of John Jacob Astor, the New York merchant prince, born in Germany. W. B. Astor studied at Heidelberg two years, and then went to Göttingen in 1810. Cf. Hinsdale, p. 608.

French; but Germany was nearly as unknown as China until Madame de Staël published her famous work."[1]

It is interesting in this connection to read George Ticknor's account of the difficulties he encountered when attempting to acquire a rudimentary knowledge of German. Having a taste for learning, he conceived the ambition of attending a German university. He had read with interest the books of Madame de Staël, he had heard of the large library at Göttingen, and was interested in Villers' defense of that university against an attack by Jerome Bonaparte. He tried to study some German before going abroad, but there was no one in Boston who could teach him. At Jamaica Plain there was a native of Strassburg, who gave instruction in mathematics. This German mathematician, Dr. Brosius, was willing to do what he could, but warned his pupil against his own Alsatian pronunciation. "Nor was it possible to get books. I borrowed a Meidinger's Grammar, French and German, from my friend Mr. Everett, and sent to New Hampshire, where I knew there was a German dictionary, and procured it. I also obtained a copy of Goethe's 'Werther' in German (through connivance). I got so far as to write a translation of 'Werther,' but no further."[2] All the while there remained in the mind of the eager student the ringing utterances of Madame de Staël, "All the north of Germany is filled with the most learned universities in Europe. In no country, not even in England, have the people so many means of instructing themselves, and of bringing their faculties to perfection; — the literary glory of Germany depends altogether upon these institutions"; these con-

[1] Cf. Hinsdale, p. 608.

[2] *Life, Letters, and Journal of George Ticknor*, vol. i, pp. 11–12, 18–19; Hinsdale, pp. 608, 609.

veyed a promise to the young American scholar, starved at home by the want of good libraries and the lack of opportunities to associate with live men of learning and letters.

George Ticknor and Edward Everett went abroad from 1815 to 1817, and became the first two New England students at the University of Göttingen. They were the pioneers in the movement, which rapidly gained strength and constituted a formidable educational influence. Between 1815 and 1850 several hundred young American students made pilgrimages to German centres of learning, matriculating in the universities of Göttingen, Berlin, Halle, and a few in Leipzig.[1] Among the famous names of American students at Göttingen before 1850 and shortly after, besides Everett and Ticknor, there were George Bancroft, G. H. Calvert, Wm. Emerson, H. W. Longfellow, J. L. Motley, B. L. Gildersleeve, Francis J. Child, E. T. Harris, G. M. Lane, W. D. Whitney, Th. D. Woolsey, G. L. Prentiss, H. B. Smith, F. H. Hedge, W. C. King, and B. A. Gould. George William Curtis and Timothy Dwight studied at Berlin. The American popularity of Leipzig, Bonn, and Heidelberg was of later date. Of the two hundred and twenty-five American students at German universities, one hundred and thirty-seven became professors in American colleges, each of them aglow with the new inspiration of scholarship.

Both George Ticknor and Edward Everett were influential on their return in attracting attention to the advantages of German universities. Immediately after leaving the Continent, having spent several years at Göt-

[1] The complete list of their names is furnished by Hinsdale in the article already quoted: *Notes on the History of Foreign Influences upon Education in the United States*, pp. 610–613.

tingen, Everett wrote from England in 1819 that America had little to learn from England for the development of her universities, but a great deal from Germany. Everett brought a large number of German books with him from Göttingen, which formed the nucleus of a German library at Harvard. In 1818, the library of Professor Ebeling[1] of Hamburg, was bought by Mr. Thorndike, a resident of Boston. The eminent German geographer had been collecting books for fifty years, and had written a work on American history and geography for which he had received the thanks of Congress. The King of Prussia was a bidder against the Boston purchaser, and was not successful, a surprise which undoubtedly created a ripple of comment. The incident marked the advent of the American in the German book-market, and the Ebeling library was the forerunner of the migration of German book collections to America. The "Bücherwanderung" brought over the libraries of Bluntschli, Zarncke, Scherer, Bechstein, Hildebrand, Weinhold, Bernays, and numerous others, and followed hard upon the migration of American students to German universities.

Everett on his return prevailed upon President Kirkland of Harvard to grant a scholarship to George Bancroft for study in a German university. As a result, Bancroft became a student at Göttingen, and, after his return,

[1] Cf. Louis Viereck, *German Instruction in American Schools*, Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior, 1901, Commissioner of Education, vol. i, p. 552. The article (pp. 531–708) is a comprehensive survey of the teaching of German in the United States in schools and colleges. It goes beyond furnishing statistics, though these are a valuable portion of Mr. Viereck's investigation; it includes a history of the study of German in the United States, and frequently enters the field of German influences upon American education. The work has appeared in German under the title, *Zwei Jahrhunderte deutschen Unterrichts in den Vereinigten Staaten*, von L. Viereck. (Braunschweig, 1903.)

wishing to shed upon others some of the inspiration he had received, he applied for leave to read lectures on history at Harvard University. "At Göttingen, or at Berlin, I had the right," says Bancroft, "after a few preliminary formalities to deliver such a course. It was the only time in my life that I applied for an office for myself, and this time it was not so much an office as a permission that I desired. My request was declined by my own *alma mater*, so that I had not the opportunity of manifesting my affection for her by personal service," etc.[1] After this disappointment, Bancroft "devoted a few years to an attempt to introduce some parts of the German system of education." In conjunction with Dr. Cogswell, he founded the Round Hill School, in 1823, near Northampton, Massachusetts. Bancroft retired after a few years, leaving Dr. Cogswell in sole possession. The school continued until 1839, and during the first eight years of its history enrolled two hundred and ninety-three pupils, drawn from nineteen states and four foreign countries. The conductors of Round Hill put into practice ideas they had gathered in Germany and Switzerland. Since Cogswell remained longest and impressed his stamp upon the school, it is worth while to review his career abroad.

Joseph G. Cogswell, born in Massachusetts in 1786, made a trip to Europe in 1816 as tutor to Mr. A. Thorndike. The American colony at Göttingen, including Ticknor and Everett, then consisted of four. Cogswell worked hard, not as a specialist, but as a seeker of knowledge in many fields. He also made a pilgrimage to Goethe in Weimar, an example that was followed by many Ameri-

[1] This statement is contained in a letter of George Bancroft to President Eliot, 1871, in which he makes known his intention to found a fellowship at Harvard. Cf. Hinsdale, p. 615.

cans of Göttingen. In 1817 he left the university town for Switzerland and southern Europe, stopping at Munich, where he met many men of science. In Switzerland he studied the schools of the two great educators, Pestalozzi at Yverdon, and Fellenberg at Hofwyl. He was impressed by the good order and success of the institution of Fellenberg even more than by that of Pestalozzi, the great innovator of modern methods. The companionship of teacher and pupil, study mingled with play, uniform development, attention to the study of modern languages, these principles impressed him forcibly, and he introduced them later at his own Round Hill School. The German system also included the abolition, as far as possible, of fear and emulation. The lash was forbidden, out-of-door life was emphasized as a feature, while individual attention given to each pupil was employed as a stimulus instead of rivalry. All these ideas were subsequently put into practice at Round Hill. It was the first school in the country thoroughly impressed with the German ideas.[1] After the abandonment of Round Hill,[2] Cogswell taught for a year in Raleigh, North Carolina, and later became an organizer of the Astor Library (until 1863), in which position his German experience again influenced his work.

The Round Hill School secured as teachers the brilliant young German scholars, Carl Beck and Carl Follen, shortly after their arrival on the same ship at Christmas, in 1824. Carl Beck was appointed teacher of Latin, and he

[1] Hinsdale in his report (pp. 616 ff.) correctly includes the schools of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg under the German influence. These school reformers, though natives of Switzerland, were German. They published their books in German, and employed German teachers for the most part; e. g., when Professor Griscom visited Pestalozzi, in 1818–1819, the principal teacher was Joseph Schmidt, a native of one of the German cantons.

[2] Owing to Cogswell's failing health and financial losses.

CARL FOLLEN

soon established at Round Hill, the first indoor gymnasium[1] in the United States. Carl Follen did not remain long at Round Hill, but, through Ticknor's influence, received a call to Harvard as professor of German. No abler man could have been found to become the first teacher of the German language and literature in New England's foremost institution of learning. For the study of German the date 1825 marks an epoch;[2] and all the more because it happened in the same year that a professor of modern languages was appointed at the great Southern seat of learning, the University of Virginia.* The first class at Harvard consisted of eight pupils, of whom A. P. Peabody was one. In his "Reminiscences" the latter speaks of Follen's work as a teacher. There were no German books procurable, and Follen therefore found it necessary to write his own text-books. Book and teacher Peabody describes as follows:[3] "The German Reader for Beginners, compiled by our teacher, was furnished to the class in single sheets as it was needed, and was printed in Roman type, there being no German type within easy reach. There could not have been a happier introduction to German literature than this little volume. It contained choice extracts in prose . . . and poems from Schiller, Goethe, Herder, and several other poets of kindred if inferior fame. But in the entire volume Dr. Follen rejoiced especially in several battle-pieces from Körner, the soldier and martyr of liberty. I never have heard recitations which have impressed me so strongly as the reading of those pieces by Dr. Follen, who would put into them all the heart and soul that had made him too much a lover

[1] See below, Chapter VIII (section on care of the body).

[2] This date has been used by Viereck (p. 614) as the beginning of the second epoch in the history of German language study in the United States.

[3] Hinsdale, p. 614. *Dr. Georg Blättermann, chair of philology, 1825–40.

of his country to be suffered to dwell in it. He appended to the other poems in the first edition of the Reader, anonymously, a death-song in memory of Körner, which we all knew to be his own, and which we read so often and so feelingly, that it sank indelibly into permanent memory; and I find that after an interval of sixty years it is as fresh in my recollection as the hymns that I learned in my childhood."

Follen succeeded admirably in creating an interest in the German language and literature. By 1831 he was able to report that the students studying German averaged fifty in number for each session. The progress continued with rapidity. German books were no longer rare, and many residents of Boston could speak German and read it with complete understanding. Another eminent young German, Francis Lieber,[1] was also at this time (after 1827) residing in the New England "hub," and he and Follen, believing thoroughly in the importance of training the body along with the mind, were the first to introduce gymnastic training in Boston. Lieber's Boston swimming-school was also a new departure in the educational field, and became such a feature that John Quincy Adams, then President of the United States, went to see it.[2] In 1831 Follen received a five years' appointment as professor of German at Harvard, and it seemed likely that the position would be a permanent one. But the man who had become an exile for the sake of liberty in Germany was destined to play a part also in the struggle for the liberty of mankind. Carl Follen, endowed with the capacity and instincts of a leader of minds, became outspoken in his opposition to

[1] For the career of Francis Lieber, subsequently the great authority on international law, see above, Chapter IV of this Volume.

[2] Viereck, p. 554.

slavery, and incurred the hostility and scorn of the public press. Like most of the early radical abolitionists, Follen at the beginning was censured by public opinion even in the locality which later became the centre of the abolition spirit. Follen's[1] appointment was not renewed after 1836, and the good beginning that had been made in the study of the German language in New England was totally discontinued. The cause of German literature had still a friend in Longfellow, who in 1838 began his lectures on Goethe's "Faust." German literature was studied also by Emerson, Margaret Fuller, and the Transcendentalists.

The commissioner of education, Dr. W. T. Harris, himself thoroughly grounded in German philosophy and one of its leading expounders in the United States, when asked concerning the beginnings of German studies in this country, sketched the following notes:[2] "Theodore Parker's article in 'The Dial' for January, 1841 (vol. i, p. 315), republished in Parker's 'Miscellanies,' was a cause of very

[1] Carl Follen was a master of English and a brilliant orator. At Harvard he gave lectures also on moral philosophy and ethics, and among his friends he numbered the leading spirits of the time. Through the influence of William Ellery Channing, Theodore Parker, and Alexander Everett, Follen inclined to Unitarian doctrines, and subsequently became a Unitarian minister. He accepted a charge in New York City, where he remained until 1838. Then he received a call from the congregation in East Lexington, near Boston, which seemed to be a position after his own heart. He was a distinguished lecturer on topics of the time, on politics and literature. In the winter of 1839–1840 he accepted an invitation to New York to give a series of lectures on German literature, and while there was called back to dedicate the new church of his congregation. He asked for a delay, but, finally yielding to the request from New England, he boarded the steamer *Lexington*, and on the thirteenth of February lost his life in the flames that consumed the ship while it was passing through the Sound. Only one or two sailors of the large boatload of passengers and crew were rescued. The death of Carl Follen was mourned throughout New England. The Unitarian Church, the German element of the United States, and the abolitionist cause all suffered an irreparable loss through his early death.

[2] Cf. Hinsdale, pp. 613–614.

much study of German literature, and of my own study of it among the rest. It is a review of Menzel's work. I think that perhaps Professor Stuart of Andover was the stimulant behind Theodore Parker. Then of course there was Carlyle, a great upheaving force towards the study of German literature and philosophy, and behind him Coleridge. There were the Coleridgians at the University of Vermont, who had great influence in New England. Frederick Henry Hedge[1] was the great German scholar, thoroughly equipped and thoroughly possessed with the German spirit. He was the German fountain among the so-called Transcendentalists. Then of course Horace Mann made German philosophy famous by his report on German schools, in 1843. Margaret Fuller was an influence in that direction. Henry Barnard's journal promoted the work, and his translations from Karl von Raumer were and are the best critical pedagogy that we have in English. I thus made my acquaintance with Karl Rosenkranz, became greatly interested in his philosophy, and his pedagogical system was a favorite with me as early as 1863. I procured a translation for my 'Journal of Speculative Philosophy' afterwards."

President Marsh of the University of Vermont was well acquainted with German literature, philosophy, and theology. In 1833 he published his translation of Herder's work "The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry." Professor Moses Stuart found it necessary to learn German in order to

[1] Professor Levi Hedge, his father, pushed him so hard that he was fitted for Harvard at the age of twelve. Too young to enter, he was sent to Europe with George Bancroft, who was about to go to Göttingen. F. H. Hedge studied for five years in various gymnasia, acquired a thorough knowledge of the German language, and became deeply interested in German poetry and metaphysics, in the study of which he was the pioneer in the United States. Cf. *The Nation*, August 28, 1890.

penetrate deeply into theology. To him belongs the credit of opening to American theologians the rich stores of German Biblical literature. He published many translations from the German, and his Hebrew Grammar was based on the works of German scholars. Henry Boynton Smith, after occupying a chair of mental and moral philosophy at Amherst in 1850, became professor of church history, and later, of theology, in Union Seminary, where he found full scope for his wide knowledge of German philosophy and theology.[1]

Another step toward bringing foreign and mainly German influences to bear on education in the United States was made by the publication of the reports of Griscom, Bache, Stowe, and the translations of V. Cousin's work. Professor John Griscom in 1818–1819 published the results of his observations and investigations abroad in a book entitled "A Year in Europe." His travels included a visit to Pestalozzi's school in Switzerland. Thomas Jefferson declared that he found valuable hints in Griscom's book for adoption in the University of Virginia. Alexander D. Bache, grandson of Benjamin Franklin, preparatory to his occupying the presidency of Girard College, was sent abroad in 1833 to study kindred institutions, and gave particular attention to the orphan asylums of Germany, which had, since the days of Francke, reached a high standard of development. Professor C. E. Stowe (the husband of the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin") about the same time received a commission from the state of Ohio to visit Europe for the study of systems of public instruction. His report gave a large amount of space to Prussian schools, German reformatory institutions, and common schools of North and South Germany.

[1] Hinsdale, pp. 627–628.

But more important than any of these was the influence of a French educational report. In 1837 M. Victor Cousin, councilor of state in France, professor of philosophy, etc., visited Prussia to study her school system, after previously visiting Saxony, Weimar, and Frankfort-on-the-Main. His report on the Prussian schools, submitted to the French Minister of Public Instruction, became one of the most influential educational documents of the time. It awarded the highest praise to German methods of education, and recommended their adoption. The work was translated into German, and somewhat later into English. Sir William Hamilton wrote a review of it, "Cousin on German Schools," in the "Edinburgh Review," in 1833, thinking that otherwise it would be lost sight of entirely. Contrary to Hamilton's expectation, the work was very soon translated into English by Mrs. Sarah Austin. This translation was republished in the United States in 1835. The American publication of Cousin's work proved to be of enormous influence on education in the Middle West. The great pioneer in the development of the school system in that section of the country was Michigan. At about the time when the book appeared, Michigan was planning a state university and schools leading up to it, and was looking about for models. The Prussian system as portrayed by Cousin appeared at the psychological moment, and became the standard of imitation. An historian of the event thus described it:[1] "A university in the German sense — an institution crowning the educational system of a state, treating its students as free adults engaged in a *bona fide* pursuit of knowledge, offering its advantages at the lowest possible prices, sending down its

[1] Calvin Thomas, *The University of Michigan and its Recent Jubilee.* Cf. Viereck, p. 556.

roots into the life of the people, to take thence the sap of its own vitality, and paying back the debt by raising the intelligence and adding to the value and the dignity of life throughout the entire commonwealth — a university upon this theory was as yet an experiment to be tried. That the experiment came to be tried in Michigan, under reasonably favorable conditions, is largely due to Mr. Pierce, whose office was modeled after that of the Prussian Minister of Public Instruction, and who is said to have been the first American to hold such a position under a state government."

The university was founded in 1837, but even a larger task had to be accomplished, that of creating good secondary schools as a basis for the superstructure. About the middle of the century Henry T. Tappen became president of the university, and he aimed to make the institution as much like a German university as possible. He banished denominational influences from the institution, and called the best men available to fill its chairs, as Andrew D. White, to the professorship of history, the astronomer Brunnow, one of Encke's best pupils from Berlin, and Henry S. Frieze, to the professorship of Latin.[1] In 1871 President J. B. Angell came to the helm, and continued to hold to the German idea. The whole plan of a university supported by the state is German. The spirit of investigation, the attraction of good men in preference to the erection of costly buildings, the thorough study of modern languages, have been characteristic of the University of Michigan.[2]

[1] Frieze was a fine organist and pianist; Professor Brunnow and Mrs. A. D. White also contributed to musical evenings at Ann Arbor. Cf. A. D. White, *Autobiography*, vol. i, p. 273.

[2] Cf. the emphasis laid on these points in an address by President Angell at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of Johns Hopkins University.

State universities throughout the country owe their origin to the wisdom and foresight of Justin S. Morrill of Vermont, the author of the Morrill Bill of 1862, which became a law after long enduring opposition, and after having been twice vetoed during the preceding administration. The bill provided that a grant of public lands should be given to each and every state and territory in proportion to its representation in Congress, provided that the state or territory should establish a college for scientific, technical, military, and general education. The pro-slavery party were opposed to any system of advanced education promoted by the government, and held up the bill until they lost their strength.[1] This bill made possible the establishment of the large number of state universities throughout the Middle West and West, which in general have forged ahead of most of the older privately endowed institutions of the country. States that had already founded universities previous to the passage of the Morrill Bill could add technical departments endowed under the new law. Michigan was originally the model of the state universities, which is equivalent to saying a strong German influence prevailed. An example of this is furnished by the daughter of Michigan, the University of Wisconsin, in her high ideals of graduate work and scientific investigation.

Before passing on to a more recent period, it is necessary to consider the so-called educational revival,[2] produced by Horace Mann. Previous to 1837 the public schools in the United States were in a wretched condition. There was no pedagogical supervision of the schools, no

[1] Cf. Andrew D. White, *Autobiography*, vol. i, p. 200.

[2] Cf. E. G. Dexter, *History of Education in the United States*, chap. vii, pp. 97–103. (The Macmillan Company, 1904.)

institution existed for the training of teachers, and very little of the public money was devoted to the crying needs of education. Private schools commonly surpassed the schools supported at the public expense. But in 1837 Massachusetts organized its State Board of Education, and the general conditions were ripe for educational progress, if the right man appeared to serve as leader. He was found in Horace Mann,[1] the first secretary of the Massachusetts board. When in 1839 he attempted the introduction of the study of modern languages, he met immediate opposition among his own colleagues, members of "the American Institute of Instruction." In 1843 he published his famous "Seventh Annual Report," in which he gave a detailed account of what he saw of European schools on his travels, undertaken at private expense, in Scotland, Saxony, and Prussia. He censured severely existing conditions in American schools, and stated as his estimate that the Prussian schools were foremost as representing a thorough and consistent system. Although thirty-one Boston teachers replied to the Seventh Report and protested, nevertheless the reformer won the day.

Horace Mann's itinerary abroad had included Great Britain and most of the large cities of Germany; he had also visited Holland, Belgium, and Paris. His progress was rapid, but he was a quick and acute observer, and as a rule what pleased him most was what he saw in Germany. Describing his work there he said: "Perhaps I saw as fair a proportion of the Prussian and Saxon schools as one would see of the schools in Massachusetts, who would visit those of Boston, Newburyport, New Bedford, Worcester, Northampton, and Springfield." In visiting the schools he gave close attention to their studies, discipline, methods of

[1] Horace Mann was born in 1796 in Franklin, Massachusetts.

teaching, teachers, and preparation of teachers. He found a confirmation of some of his favorite ideas. Nowhere was his Report more interesting than in the descriptions of the oral instruction, the influence and kindness of teachers, the absence of corporal punishment, and the discredit cast upon emulation that he had seen in the schools of Germany. When dealing with the normal schools and the preparation and character of teachers in the same country, his admiration became unbounded. Another feature that impressed him was the practice of oral instruction in place of mere text-book memorizing. This method required more live and skillful teachers, and taxed more severely the attention and thinking powers of the pupil, but it put interest in the place of drudgery.

Horace Mann established the first American normal school in Massachusetts in 1839.[1] This was followed in Connecticut by the Teachers' Institute established by Henry Barnard. Dr. Barnard, as secretary of the Connecticut Board of Education, chose the plan of a teachers' convention to propagate reform methods. With this purpose in view he called together such teachers as were disposed to attend for the purpose of learning better methods of school arrangement, instruction, and government, to meet for a month's session at Hartford. Recitations and lectures were given by experienced and well-known educators. President Wayland of Brown University (1826–1855) was another influential school reformer of the period. At Brown he introduced instruction in modern languages and laid the foundation of a German library.

Another strong influence upon American methods

[1] Hinsdale, *Horace Mann*, pp. 171–173. (Great Educators' Series. Edited by Nicholas Murray Butler. Scribner's, 1898.)

proved to be the Herbartian doctrines of education. The German philosopher introduced psychology into teaching. The two points emphasized in the older stages of educational history, at first memory-culture and later perception (Pestalozzi's "Anschauungsunterricht"), are united by Herbart into something higher, which Herbart calls apperception, or mental assimilation.[1] Herbart's idea was that it is not as important for the pupil to memorize or even to observe as it is to understand. Herbartian methods were promoted in America by the foundation of the Herbartian Club in 1892, at a meeting of the National Educational Society. The members of the club assembled to discuss the works of the German psychologist and educator, with a view to increasing the adoption of Herbartian methods.[2]

In higher technical education a great advance was made by the foundation of Cornell University in 1868. Upon the university seal is found the legend, surrounding the portrait of the founder, "I would found an institution where any person can find instruction in any study." This broad basis was proved impracticable by the first president, Andrew D. White,[3] the educational founder of the university, who aimed to combine under one régime the German university and the "Technische Hochschule." The intimate acquaintance of President White with German public life and his marked bias for German ideals and educational methods could not result otherwise than in a strong German influence in the new institution.

[1] Cf. De Garmo, *Herbart and the Herbartians*, p. 10. (The Great Educators' Series.)

[2] Cf. De Garmo, pp. 266–267, for a bibliography of the English literature on the Herbartian system.

[3] Andrew D. White was president of Cornell University from 1867 to 1885; he was absent from 1879 to 1881 to serve as United States Minister to Germany. He was ambassador to Germany, 1897–1902.

This was felt not only in the employment of strong men, the foundation of a great library and modern laboratories, and in the importance attached to the German language and literature,[1] but appeared also in the German spirit of *Lehr- und Lern-freiheit*, which to this day is characteristic of the institution. In order to raise the technical schools to a higher standard than had been seen in this country before, the president visited the best institutions of the kind in Europe, including the German Agricultural College at Hohenheim and the technical school and veterinary college at Berlin. As to equipment, he purchased materials wherever he found them — the great collection of British Patent Office publications; the Rau models of plows from Hohenheim; the Brendel plant models from Breslau; the models of machine movement from London, Darmstadt, and Berlin.[2]

Cornell has the distinction also of having established the first school of forestry in the United States, 1898–1903. The chief of the Division of Forestry in the United States Department of Agriculture, Bernhard Edward Fernow,[3] was called to be the director of this new foundation. A full course of four years was inaugurated, and the college grew rapidly in numbers during the following five years, the total number of students registering in 1903, the last year, being 73. Two assistants were appointed, one of whom, Professor Filibert Roth, of German

[1] Bayard Taylor was called to give lectures on German literature, and resident professors (Willard Fiske) and assistants from the beginning gave regular instruction in Germanic languages.

[2] *Autobiography of A. D. White*, vol. i, p. 338.

[3] Professor Fernow was born in Prussia in 1851, and came to the United States in 1876. He was secretary of the American Forestry Association from 1883 to 1889, chief of the Division of Forestry, United States Department of Agriculture, from 1886 to 1898. See above, Chapter II of this Volume.

birth, is at present head of the department of forestry at the University of Michigan. For laboratory work a demonstration forest, consisting of thirty thousand acres, was located near Tupper Lake Station, in the Adirondack Mountains. The university was to have the right to cut and sell timber, logging-camps were established, railroads and roads were built, and nurseries for the growing of plant material were instituted. All that was necessary to show how practical forestry management for business purposes should proceed was done on a large and efficient scale. During the second year of its operations the college incurred the criticism and active opposition of the neighboring land-owners, who had hunting and fishing preserves in the vicinity, and who objected to the cutting of trees. A legislative committee was induced by the camp-owners to visit the tract and make a report. The legislature did not take cognizance of the adverse report of this committee, but voted to appropriate ten thousand dollars for the maintenance of the college and an additional five thousand dollars to assist in the planting operations on the demonstration area. However, the item in the appropriation bill providing for the support of the college was vetoed by Governor Odell. The result was the closing of the forestry school, and the abandonment by the Empire State of its splendid pioneer undertaking.[1]

After the example of Cornell, forestry departments were organized at state universities, as those in Michigan, Georgia, and elsewhere. Yale and Harvard have also established forestry schools. As regards the basis of their teaching, all of these schools are originally dependent on Germany, directly or through English or

[1] The above account is taken from *Cornell University; A History*, by Waterman T. Hewett, vol. ii, pp. 375–378.

French channels.[1] The Michigan school, as noted above, is an offspring of Cornell's. More recently the Pennsylvania State College organized a department of forestry, originally under the direction of Professor B. E. Fernow. Another forestry school (preparatory) exists at Montalto, under the direction of Mr. Wirt, a German. An independent school is that established at Biltmore, North Carolina, by Dr. C. A. Schenk, a German forester, managing the estate of George Vanderbilt. Schenk's "Meisterschule," located in a great laboratory of beautiful forests, is one of the most inspiring of forestry schools. The pioneer teacher of scientific forestry in the United States, and the organizer of our first forestry schools, Professor Bernhard Edward Fernow, is now extending the German methods of scientific forestry into British America. Since 1907 he has been the organizer and director of the newly founded school of forestry at the University of Toronto, the pioneer in Canada, which will undoubtedly become the parent of forestry culture in British America.

A new epoch for the American university was begun with the foundation of the Johns Hopkins University in 1876. The architect and builder of this university, Daniel C. Gilman, the first president, in his inaugural address mentioned twelve points as fundamental in respect to university education.[2] Those which were the most characteristic of the institution and which, at the same time, were derived from Germany, are the following: Separation of all denominational influences; remote utility is quite as worthy to be thought of as immediate advantage;

[1] See Chapter II, of this Volume.

[2] Cf. D. C. Gilman, *The Launching of a University, and Other Papers.* (New York, 1906.) The first chapter, "Fundamental Principles," pp. 1–56, is interesting in this connection.

the best teachers are investigators, and the best investigators are usually those who have also the responsibility of instruction, gaining thus the incitement of colleagues, the encouragement of pupils, the observation of the public; the best scholars will almost invariably be those who make special attainments on the foundation of a broad and liberal culture; high standards and high ideals. Admission to the university could be gained only by those who had already completed a college course; the undergraduate department, which was added later, was regarded as a preparatory school for the graduate; a reading knowledge of German and French was made a requirement for the higher degree. The spirit of research characteristic of the German university was now securely planted upon American soil, and so quickly bore fruit that Germany very soon recognized Johns Hopkins as a sister institution. Almost all the earlier members of the faculty were doctors of German universities, e. g., B. L. Gildersleeve (Greek), Ph.D. Göttingen, 1853; Ira Remsen (chemistry), Göttingen, 1870 (now president of Johns Hopkins); H. N. Morse (chemistry), Göttingen, 1875; W. E. Story (mathematics), Leipzig, 1875; H. B. Adams (history), Heidelberg, 1876; Paul Haupt (Semitic languages), Leipzig, 1878; Henry Wood (German), Leipzig, 1879; Minton Warren (Latin), Strassburg, 1879; R. T. Ely (economics), Heidelberg, 1879; E. Renouf (chemistry), Freiburg, 1880; G. H. Williams (geology), Heidelberg, 1882.

At the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Johns Hopkins University leading educators defined exactly the position of this university in the forward movement of higher education in this country. Addressing the retiring president of Johns Hopkins, President Eliot of Harvard said: "President Gilman, your first achievement here,

with the help of your colleagues, your students, and your trustees, has been, to my thinking — and I have had good means of observation — the creation of a school of graduate studies, which not only has been in itself a strong and potent school, but which has lifted every other university in the country in its departments of arts and sciences. I want to testify that the graduate school of Harvard University, started feebly in 1870 and 1871, did not thrive until the example of Johns Hopkins forced our faculty to put their strength into the development of our instruction for graduates. And what was true of Harvard was true of every other university in the land which aspired to create an advanced school of arts and sciences."[1] President Angell, the head of the original state university, seconded the acknowledgment made by President Eliot, of the pioneer graduate work of Johns Hopkins University and the stimulating effect upon the graduate work of other American institutions, and he added the record of another service of Johns Hopkins University in proving "that what makes a great university is not bricks and mortar but men."[2] These principles, which have made Johns Hopkins not a big but a great university, were deduced from the example of German universities, and the tributes so eloquently made should be extended as well to the parent institutions of the Fatherland.[3] Another pioneer step taken by Johns Hopkins was the re-

[1] *The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1902 (February 21 and 22)*, p. 105.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 136 and 138.

[3] In the speeches that were made during the two days' celebration there was little recognition of the influence of Germany. Perhaps it was felt to be so evident that there was little need to speak about it. On other occasions Johns Hopkins University has frankly acknowledged the influence of German university methods and ideals. The most beautiful expression of gratitude by an American university was made at the Fiftieth Convocation of the

quirement of a college degree for entrance into her medical school, a feature which was soon after adopted by Harvard, and is inducing other institutions to follow in a modified form. This tendency to raise the standard for admission to a medical course is likewise modeled after the German.[1]

The increase in the number of graduate students resident in this country has been enormous. Every large university is now attempting to extend its facilities for graduate work. In 1850 there were eight graduate students in all the colleges of the country; in 1875 the number had increased to 399; in 1900 there were enrolled a total of 5668. In the mean time the exodus of American students to German universities has not decreased. We have observed its very gradual progress from 1816 to 1850. In 1835 there were four American students who matriculated in the philosophical faculties of German universities; in 1860 there were 77; in 1880, 173; in 1891, 446; in 1892, 383; in 1895, 422; and in 1898, 397.[2] The German influence therefore continues now through two channels, the direct one from German universities and the indirect one through the graduate departments of American universities.

University of Chicago, on the occasion of the "Recognition of the Indebtedness of American Universities to the Ideals of German Scholarship," March 22, 1904. The event was one of international importance, recognized as such by the heads of the two nations and made impressive by the honors conferred upon a chosen number of Germany's greatest professors.

[1] Johns Hopkins University has recently again sustained her old reputation of leading the way in new fields of investigation by the establishment of a laboratory and clinic for the study of nervous diseases and the pathology of the insane. Mr. Henry Phipps of Pittsburg has endowed this department of the Johns Hopkins University munificently. Adolf Meyer, a German born in Zurich, professor of psychiatry in New York City, has been called to the directorship of the new foundation.

[2] The above statistics are taken from the inaugural address of President Remsen, *Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Johns Hopkins University*, p. 79.

A catalogue of all the names of Germans and men of German descent who occupy chairs at American universities would not find room in this volume. A very few examples will suffice to show that the German element is prominently represented in every field of intellectual activity. The noblest type of the German professor, one that gave all, and had all to give, was found in H. E. Von Holst, professor of American history in the University of Chicago. He died in office in 1904, but left an enduring monument in his "Constitutional History of the United States." At the same institution Albert A. Michelson, born in Strelno, Germany, head professor of physics since 1892, brilliant research worker in light, won the rare distinction of being awarded the Nobel Prize ($40,000). At Harvard, Professor Münsterberg, one of the leading psychologists of to-day, is the author of a book, "Die Amerikaner," which is to Germans what Bryce's "American Commonwealth" is to Englishmen, De Tocqueville's "Démocratie en Amérique" to Frenchmen, and, like the English and French works, is of equal interest to American readers.[1] The professors of German literature and language, Kuno Francke and H. C. G. Von Jagemann at Harvard, are both of German birth.[2] Paul Henry Hanus (born in Prussia) has been professor of education at Harvard since 1891, and E. H. Strobel (born

[1] Professor Münsterberg has contributed in this work to a more intimate psychological understanding between the two great nations, the United States and Germany. Cf. also his *American Traits* and his recent collection of addresses: *Aus Deutsch-Amerika.*

[2] For a list and account of the professors of German and American birth engaged in the teaching of the German language and literature in the United States, see L. Viereck's work already cited: *German Instruction in American Schools, Report of Commissioner of Education*, 1901, vol. i, pp. 531–708; or the German translation of the report: *Zwei Jahrhunderte deutschen Unterrichts in den Vereinigten Staaten.* (Braunschweig, 1903.)

in Charleston, S. C., of a pre-Revolutionary German family) was professor of international law from 1898 until his death in 1908. G. W. Kirchwey (born in Detroit in 1855) since 1901 has been dean of the Law School and professor of law at Columbia University, New York. Frank A. Fetter (of German descent) has been professor of political economy and finance in Cornell University since 1901; Professor P. S. Reinsch (born in Milwaukee), professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin since 1899. The president of Girard College, Philadelphia, is A. H. Fetterolf; the state superintendent of public instruction in Pennsylvania, since 1893, is Nathan C. Schaeffer, both men of German descent. Chester D. Hartranft was president of the Hartford Theological Seminary, 1888–1903; Charles W. Super (1883–1901) of Ohio University; William N. Hailmann (born in Switzerland) was superintendent of public schools at La Porte, Indiana, 1883–1894, national superintendent of Indian schools, 1894–1898, superintendent of instruction in Dayton, Ohio, after 1898. John S. Stahr was until recently president of Franklin and Marshall College (Lancaster, Pennsylvania), and was succeeded by President Apple, also of German descent, the son of Dr. Stahr's predecessor in office, the Reverend Thomas G. Apple. A. F. Ernst (born in Hanover, Germany) is president of the Northwestern University, Watertown, Wisconsin. Martin G. Brumbaugh (born in Pennsylvania, in 1862), professor of pedagogy, University of Pennsylvania, was the first commissioner of education in Porto Rico, 1899–1902, and since then has been superintendent of Philadelphia schools.[1]

[1] If we were to include in our list of prominent educators men of Dutch descent, there would appear also the names of Jacob Gould Schurman, president of Cornell University; Charles R. Van Hise, president of the University

Friedrich Hirth (born in Germany, in 1854) is the famous specialist on China and the Chinese, and was consulted by Count Von Bülow on the Chinese indemnity question in 1900. He is professor of Chinese literature at Columbia. Other distinguished Orientalists [1] are Professors Paul Haupt of Johns Hopkins University and H. V. Hilprecht of the University of Pennsylvania, both born in Germany. German physicians have always been prominent in the United States; [2] Dr. A. Jacobi (born in Germany, — a refugee of 1848), probably the highest authority on children's diseases in the country; Dr. Adolf Meyer, called from the professorship of psychiatry, Cornell University, New York, to become the head of the new department of psychiatry at the Johns Hopkins University; Dr. Ernest Wende, professor in the University of Buffalo, a great specialist in diseases of the skin; Hermann Knapp (born in Prussia) of Columbia University is one of our highest authorities on the eye and ear. His namesake, M. A. Knapp (born in Spafford, New York, in 1843), is chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission. One of the most famous astronomers in the country is John M. Schaeberle (born in Germany, in 1853), the dis-

of Wisconsin; and James H. Van Sickle, superintendent of public instruction, Baltimore.

[1] A pioneer in this field was F. L. O. Roehrig (Ph.D. Leipzig), professor of Sanscrit and Oriental languages at Cornell University in 1869; in 1886 at the University of Southern California; subsequently lecturer on Semitic languages and Oriental philology in Leland Stanford. He was a remarkable polylinguist and the author of many books. He was born at Halle, and at one time served as Prussian attaché at Constantinople.

[2] This subject affords material enough for a special monograph. A beginning has been made in the study of German influence in medicine, in Maryland, by Dr. J. C. Hemmeter (professor of medicine in the University of Maryland), *German-American Influence on Medicine and Surgery*. Reprinted from *Medical Library and Historical Journal*, vol. iv, September, 1906. (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

coverer of three comets, the astronomer of the Lick Observatory, who has had charge of several eclipse expeditions. In chemistry, Charles A. Goessmann (born in Germany in 1827), since 1873 chemist to the Massachusetts State Board of Agriculture, was director of the Massachusetts Agricultural Experiment Station, 1882–1894, and a pioneer in that work. He has been a famous analyst and specialist, consulted for the refining of sugar and the preparation of salt. E. W. Hilgard, of the University of California, is the Nestor of agricultural science (specialist on soils) in this country. No man in his generation has wielded a greater influence in his particular profession than Professor Bernhard E. Fernow in scientific forestry. F. E. Engelhardt (born in Germany, in 1835) has been professor of materia medica, New York College of Pharmacy, a chemist to various salt companies, and appointed at various times by the State Board of Health as chemist of liquors, wines, beers, etc., in the State of New York. C. H. Eigenmann, professor in Indiana University, is a specialist on fishes; G. E. Beyer, Tulane University, on snakes and mosquitoes; E. M. Ehrhorn, in entomology. In the department of English there is Felix E. Schelling (of German descent), professor of English literature in the University of Pennsylvania, and George Hempl (German descent), professor of English philology in the University of Michigan, 1889–1907. In the department of Romance languages the German element is represented by John Matzke (born in Germany) of Leland Stanford, Oscar Kuhns (of early Pennsylvania-German stock) of Wesleyan University, Connecticut, and William A. Nitze (both parents German) of the University of Chicago. The remembrance of Gustav E. Karsten (born in Germany, 1859) should be kept green as that of a great

force in the study of the Germanic languages. He founded the "Journal of (English and) Germanic Philology," which in this science set the example of a standard of scholarship not surpassed in Germany.[1]

A very recent development in education should not fail to receive mention, that of the interchange of professors,[2] a plan greatly encouraged by the Emperor William II of Germany. The interchange of professors has already been begun with excellent results; the Theodore Roosevelt Professorship at the University of Berlin, endowed by James Speyer, had for its first lecturer a native American, Professor John W. Burgess, dean of the Faculty of Political Science at Columbia University. The German exchange professors who have come over were Professor Wilhelm Ostwald, professor of physical chemistry in the University of Leipzig, Professor Eugene O. K. Kühnemann, professor of philosophy in the University of Breslau, and Professor Paul Clemen, professor of the history of art in the University of Bonn. The "Germanistische Gesellschaft von Amerika," centralized at New York, has also contributed to the intellectual exchange by inviting annually a prominent German scholar or man-of-letters to give a series of lectures, a notable instance of which was the invitation of the poet Ludwig Fulda,[3] who made a lecture tour through the East and West, and was very well received.

Passing from the highest grade of the educational scale

[1] Some of the prominent Germanists of the country are named in note 2, p. 247. Among curators and librarians in the United States there have been and still are many Germans.

[2] The idea of an interchange of professors was an outgrowth of the project of the Germanic Museum at Harvard. The initiative was taken by Professor Kuno Francke, seconded by Dr. Althoff, Ministerial-Director, in 1902.

[3] His impressions of America were embodied in his bright and fair-minded little volume, *Amerikanische Eindrücke.* (Cotta, 1906.)

to the lowest, by no means the least in importance, we come to the kindergarten, a German institution, founded by a friend of humanity, a lover of the young, Friedrich Fröbel (born in 1782, died in 1852). The first kindergarten attempted in this country was that of the wife of Carl Schurz (née Margaretha Meyer), in Watertown, Wisconsin. This was a Fröbel kindergarten, as early as 1855; another was established at Columbia, Ohio, in 1858. One of the forceful men in the movement in this country was Dr. C. D. A. Douai,[1] journalist and teacher, who founded the first kindergarten in Boston in 1859, which he followed with other foundations in Hoboken, Newark, and New York.[2] In New England the kindergarten received a great impetus through Miss Elizabeth Peabody, who, having studied Fröbel's works and institutions in Germany, returned to Boston and founded the American Fröbel Union in 1867. Frau and Fräulein Kriege ably seconded Miss Peabody in Boston, and in New York the leadership was taken by Frau Marie Kraus-Boelte.[3] After 1881 the development of the kindergarten in the United States was remarkable. There had preceded a more careful study of the system of Fröbel and the establishment of schools for kindergartners. Three kinds of kindergartens arose — the private, supported by the fees of the children, the public,[4]

[1] For an account of the career of Carl Daniel Adolf Douai, born in Germany, in 1819, see the preceding chapter (IV) of this Volume.

[2] Cf. Schem, *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations Lexikon*, vol. vi, p. 183.

[3] She was born in Mecklenburg-Schwerin in 1836, was a pupil of Fröbel's widow and Dr. Lange at Hamburg, and after a wide experience as a kindergarten teacher in England came to the United States in 1872, teaching at first in the Fröbel Union. With her husband, John Kraus, she established a seminary for kindergartners in New York City as early as 1873.

[4] On the solicitation of Dr. W. T. Harris, then (1873) superintendent of the city schools, the kindergarten was made a part of the public school system of St. Louis. The experiment was a great success. There are now (1904)

in connection with the public schools, and the charitable, destined to be the most successful of all. Men like Dr. Felix Adler became interested, and aided the work by connecting it with the united charities. Large sums were given for free kindergartens, and as a result the vast importance of the institution as an humanitarian influence became evident. The kindergartens established in the slums were sources of brightness and good cheer in the lives of the lowly. The children were kept occupied while the parents were at work, and the little hearts were won for refining influences and the better things of life.[1] As early as 1882 there were in the United States five hundred kindergartens, attended by twenty thousand children and one thousand teachers. In 1901 there were 5107 (including 2111 private and 2996 public) kindergartens, with 9926 teachers and 243,447 pupils. The principle that the intelligence of a child can be quickened even at play, that its sensibilities can be aroused never too early for what is beautiful, orderly, and interesting, received practical illustration such as to convince the skeptical. Schools for kindergarten teachers exist now all over the country, and in many places the kindergarten is a part of the public school system.

Within recent years vigorous efforts have been made in some places to raise the standard of the public schools, with the result that in many places they have surpassed the average of the private schools. In New York State one of the largest colleges which admit students by certi-

one hundred and twenty-five kindergartens in St. Louis as a part of the public schools. See Dexter, *History of Education in the United States*, p. 167.

[1] Some of the women most prominent in the charity kindergartens were Mrs. Pauline Shaw of Boston, Elizabeth Harrison of Chicago, Kate Douglas Wiggin, and Emma Marwedel of San Francisco, and Mrs. Alida Wood (born in Germany) of Baltimore. Cf. Dexter, p. 168.

ficate has recently made a move to take away the certificate privilege from private schools, but to continue it for public high schools, since in its experience the students from public schools were better trained. But this condition did not always exist, for during the larger part of the nineteenth century private schools did very much better work than those supported at the public expense. In the large cities there were a great many German private schools, and the fact of their good influence in the community has never been fairly stated. In Cincinnati, for instance, in the early thirties, fewer children received instruction in the public schools than in the German private schools. In 1839 Dr. Friedrich Rölker, an excellent German teacher, resigned his place in the city schools of Cincinnati, and accepted a position as superintendent in the newly founded Catholic Elementary School. The latter "promised to be decidedly better than the city schools, and he was not handicapped in developing it into a perfect elementary school according to the German, that is, Prussian system."

Almost everywhere the Germans, at least those that had been educated abroad, felt a conviction that they could establish much better schools than those about them. Inspired by this idea the Pittsburg Convention of 1837, presided over by the brilliant but "wabbling" politician, Franz Joseph Grund, decided to found a seminary for German teachers. This was, with the exception of the resolution denouncing slavery, the noblest action taken by that remarkable assemblage. Money was to be raised for the seminary by committees representing Germans throughout the country. The school commission decided to locate the institution at Philippsburg, not far from the communistic settlement of Rapp. There a large building, erected

by a renegade [1] of the Rappist flock, could be utilized to receive the school. Great hopes were set upon the plan. A centre and source of light, the institution was to become even more influential in succeeding generations. The German language and culture were to have a permanent home. Students, if they would promise to become teachers for five years, would receive free tuition. Every effort was made to attract young men. The plan was that of a normal school, combined with some lower-grade instruction, — "Eine Real- und Muster-schule." The fourth convention, which met at Philippsburg, August 9, 1841, decided to open the school on December 1 of the same year. This event was contemporary with the attempts of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard to establish normal schools in Massachusetts and Connecticut. But the seminary was destined to be short-lived. The lower school was prosperous for a time, but the normal school was not. The parochial schools were uncertain as to what position to take in regard to the new venture. Catholics and Protestants distrusted one another, and both wished to retain their own students. The founders of the institution were known to be free-thinkers, and that circumstance restrained all denominations from sending pupils. While the Philippsburg plan thus failed, its effect upon local schools was nevertheless stimulating. The wide interest that had been aroused in matters of education was a permanent benefit to the German population.[2]

Typical private schools of good influence on the German population and beyond, and conducted by excellent

[1] Count Leon. He built this edifice from the funds received on leaving the Rappist Community, but subsequently migrated to the Southwest. Cf. J. Hanno Deiler, *Eine vergessene Colonie, Eine Stimme zur Verteidigung des Grafen de Leon, alias Proli, alias Bernhard Müller.* (New Orleans, 1900.)

[2] Cf. Körner, *Das deutsche Element*, 1818–1848, pp. 47–57.

GERMAN-AMERICAN TEACHERS' SEMINARY, MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

heads, were the schools of Feldner, in Detroit; Hailmann, in Louisville; and Engelmann, in Milwaukee. The latter still exists under the name "Deutsch-Englische Akademie." Peter Engelmann was a refugee of the revolutionary period of 1848, and came to Milwaukee in 1851. He founded the academy in July of the same year, and for nearly a quarter of a century stood at the head of the institution. As an organizer and instructor he was thorough, efficient, and stimulating. He was one of the great German-American schoolmen, and there are many men and women in Milwaukee who treasure in their hearts the memory of their teacher, Engelmann. The school grew rapidly; in 1851 it had two classes and two teachers; in 1865 there were eleven classes and sixteen teachers, with four hundred and fifty pupils. There was an elementary school with four classes, a Realschule with the same number, and a higher female seminary with three classes. When Mr. Engelmann died in 1874, his friend William N. Hailmann (of the Louisville school) became his successor.[1] German pedagogical methods and traditions were well preserved in the school and are to this day. The Deutsch-Englische Akademie is well housed, and provided with able instructors. Milwaukee, its appropriate home, has also been the seat of the National German-American Teachers' Seminary and the "Turnlehrerseminar des Nordamerikanischen Turnerbundes."[2]

A typical example of the important standing of German private schools in the educational work of a large city is furnished by Baltimore.[3] Foremost in its influence was

[1] Hailmann did not end his career there. He was for several years superintendent of Indian schools and later city superintendent in La Porte and Dayton.

[2] Cf. *Kurzegefasste Geschichte der Deutsch-Englischen Akademie, des Nationalen Deutsch-Amerikanischen Lehrerseminars und des Turnlehrerseminars des Nordamerikanischen Turnerbundes.* (Milwaukee, 1901.)

[3] The reason for the selection of this city is that the facts were more ac-

the Zions-Schule on North Gay Street, which, though begun several years earlier as a parochial school, was not incorporated until 1836. In 1863 its constitution was changed, and the purpose of the school was made to read "Rationale Erziehung, oder naturgemässe Entwickelung der in dem Kinde wohnenden Anlagen, zur Begründung persönlicher, gesellschaftlicher, und allgemein menschlicher Wohlfahrt." The earlier constitution had given the purpose as "Förderung des edlen Vernunftkeimes im jugendlichen Menschen." From the earliest times both languages, German and English, were used in the class-room, depending much upon the teacher. There were English teachers who would teach, for instance, reading, grammar, geography, and written arithmetic altogether in English. There were German teachers who would teach oral arithmetic, reading, writing, and "natural history" entirely in the German language. The subjects taught were numerous; object-lessons (*Anschauungsunterricht*) and oral instruction were the rule. Particularly did this become so with the advent of the Reverend Henry Scheib, called to the pastorate of the Zionskirche, the real founder of the school, after whom it has frequently been named. One of the great teachers of the institution was Jakob Schmidt, who came in 1840, and for twenty-one years labored in the school zealously with the pastor of the Zionsgemeinde.[1] In 1870 the school had over eight hundred pupils, with sixteen teachers, drawing salaries of over fourteen thousand dollars annually. There were thirteen classes or grades, some of

cessible to the writer. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ii, pp. 204 ff. The data concerning the Reinhardt Schule were furnished the writer by Miss Bertha Reinhardt, former principal of the school.

[1] Among the many subsequent teachers there were prominent, Emil Dapprich (who left to become the director of the German-English Academy in Milwaukee), August Schmidt, and Richard Ortmann.

them having two or more sections running parallel to one another, which separated the more able from the less gifted or less industrious pupils. The school prepared young men for higher institutions or a business career, and it may be said that a large portion of the German-Americans of Baltimore City at the present day were educated at that school. Quite a number subsequently entered American colleges and German universities, and became professional men. The school declined in numbers when the German-American public schools started in Baltimore, and the latter, keenly sensitive of the rivalry, ever increased in efficiency. The free tuition of the public schools attracted a large part of the former patronage of the Zions-Schule, and finally, but not until after a long struggle, the locally famous Zions-Schule, because of large annual deficits, was forced to close its doors.[1]

Other German private schools in Baltimore were the Knapp-Schule, founded in 1853 by F. Knapp. He instituted German methods of teaching, and in the best period he had about seven hundred pupils and a large number of boys that boarded in the school. The curriculum of the latter did not advance as far as that of the Zions-Schule. Both were on the scale of a German Elementar- und Bürger-Schule. In both attention was paid to gymnastics, and in the Zions-Schule also to music, drawing, and laboratory work. A large quantity of charts, instruments, stuffed birds and animals added to the interest and efficiency of the teaching in natural science. In addition to these two schools there were a large number of other independent private schools in Baltimore. The Wacker-Schule in South Baltimore, founded in 1851, had about

[1] This happened about 1890; the ever increasing annual deficits had for a long time been made up by friends of the school.

four hundred pupils in 1870. At the same time there were about two hundred and fifty in attendance at the Diesterweg-Institut in East Baltimore. There was a Hebrew German-English school in existence for fifteen years, with about one hundred and fifty pupils in 1870. Then there were a large number of German Catholic schools, the Alfonsus, St. Johannes, and others, with about six hundred pupils. The total number of pupils in the German schools of Baltimore in 1870 is estimated at over five thousand. The advantages of the best German over the public schools at that time was that the pupils were taught to think, and not held to learn by rote. Commonly when the German boys passed into the city high schools they found the competition for honors easy.

There were also several good German schools for girls in Baltimore, particularly the Reinhardt-Schule and the school of Fräulein Küster. The former was related to all others as was the Zions-Schule to its rivals. The Reinhardt School was founded in 1861 by the two sisters Marianne and Mathilde Reinhardt; after the latter's death Fräulein Bertha Reinhardt took her place and subsequently served for many years as principal, until the closing of the school. The number of pupils at the beginning was nine, and it gradually increased to one hundred and fifty. The school was closed in 1891 because of the failing health of Fräulein Marianne Reinhardt, who for some years previously had been unable to continue. There were always more children of American than of German parentage in the school. Both German and English were used in the class-room as parallel languages, just as in the Zions-Schule; French was taught from the third grade on to graduation; the pedagogical methods of the school were German. The pupils were not of the earliest age, but were given the more advanced and

finished part of their education.[1] The other German school, that of Fräulein Küster, took younger pupils. The example of Baltimore is but one of many that might be brought to bear, showing the activity of the Germans in this country along educational lines when in the same localities the native population was still indifferent.

A magnificent foundation for a private school was provided by Jacob Tome, born in Manheim, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1810, the son of German Lutherans. Since his settlement at Port Deposit, Maryland, in 1833, he had acquired great wealth in the lumber and grain trade. He became a leading financier and promoter of enterprises in his state like Martin Baum of Cincinnati at an earlier day. General Grant offered him the position of Secretary of the Treasury, which he declined.[2] He was a trustee of Dickinson College, and in 1884 made the college the gift of a science building. Five years later he founded the Jacob Tome Institute, with the object of providing an advanced education for the children of poor parents who were unable to pay for it. The original donation was two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, but this was increased by the terms of the benefactor's will to three million dollars, making the school one of the richest of the kind in the world. The character of the institution has since changed to that of a high-class preparatory school of the class of Phillips Academy (Exeter and Andover) or the Lawrenceville Preparatory School.[3]

[1] Some of the names of the American pupils were as follows: Misses Basshor, Briscoe, Buchler, Butler, the Misses Carey, Miss Carter (principal of St. Timothy's School, Catonsville); Misses Cathcart, Clark, Crawford, Cuyler, Darrell, Davison, Dixon, Easter, Gould, Grafflin, Hazlehurst, Hill, Hopkins, Horwitz, Hunter, Jamison, Lansdale, Lynn, Page, Price, Robbins, Rogers, Rugby, Schwartze, Smith, Waters, Webster, West, and Whitman. These names were furnished the writer by Miss Bertha Reinhardt.

[2] Cf. Lamb, *Dictionary of American Biography*.

[3] The present director of the "Tome School for Boys," Dr. Thomas Stock-

A glance at the statistics of German schools in the United States will prove conclusively that the study of German is not disappearing in this country among the Germans themselves. There are hundreds of parochial and private German schools in the country, mostly founded by the Lutheran and Catholic denominations. The Lutheran synods together have over twenty-one hundred schools, about twenty-five hundred teachers, and over one hundred thousand pupils.[1] In all of these the German language is given a prominent place, not, however, to the exclusion of English. The colleges and universities of our country are more and more requiring German for graduation, or even for entrance. Twenty-five years ago French was considered the polite language throughout the country, and to-day, in some parts of the East, French is still preferred to German, but the existence of the "German Belt" gives the study of German the advantage. The sales of the leading publishers of the modern language books to-day seem to show that the study of German is

ham Baker (Ph.D. Johns Hopkins University), has a thorough acquaintance with German schools from personal observation, and has said in a recent address: "Notwithstanding the criticisms which are made of the German schools, there is no doubt that the scientific supremacy which Germany holds is based on her common schools. Before entering the university the German has received the kind of drill which will control his entire career. He has learned the inviolability of scientific accuracy. He has acquired that power of attention to details which has made German scientific work exhaustive and thorough. Above all he has amassed an amount of information which would stagger the ordinary American boy. But the German schools have proceeded from what might be called a more liberal source than our American schools. They have been developed from the Latin school of the Middle Ages. They are saturated with traditions of high scholarship." (*The Education of Boys*, Commencement Address, Johns Hopkins University, June 8, 1909. Printed in Johns Hopkins University Circulars.)

[1] Cf. Henoch, *Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande*, pp. 181–221. (Berlin, 1904.) The names of the schools and long lists of teachers' names are given in this work. Cf. also Viereck, *Zwei Jahrhunderte deutschen Unterrichts.*

now increasing more rapidly in the East than French in the West,[1] that therefore the study of German is gaining, while French is losing ground. The teachers of German have formed a coöperative association known as the "Lehrerbund," a union of the teachers of German in universities and secondary schools throughout the United States. Annual conventions (*Lehrertage*) have been held, and the common concerns and interests of their profession have been discussed and more clearly defined. More and more the German-American becomes conscious of the advantages that are derived from the ability to use two languages. The study of German is aided greatly by the attitude of American scholars,[2] so well represented in the words of President Daniel C. Gilman: "As Latin was the language of the scholar during the Middle Ages, so the knowledge of German is now indispensable for any one who claims the name of a student and scholar."

The reform method of teaching modern languages, which has taken possession of the German Realschule with

[1] The writer bases this statement upon replies received in answer to his queries from the leading publishers of modern language books in the United States.

[2] While men of German blood predominate as professors of the German language and literature, some of the most eminent and influential teachers of the subject are of native American birth, examples of the veteran class being George O. Curme (Northwestern), Starr W. Cutting (Chicago), W. H. Carruth (Kansas), J. T. Hatfield (Northwestern), W. T. Hewett (Cornell), M. D. Learned (Pennsylvania), L. A. McLouth (New York University), R. W. Deering (W. R.), Calvin Thomas (Columbia), H. S. White (Harvard), Henry Wood (Johns Hopkins). The German element in the same class is represented by H. C. G. Brandt (Hamilton), Hermann Collitz (Johns Hopkins), G. F. Karsten (Illinois), Carla Wenckebach (Wellesley), Hanno Deiler (Tulane), Kuno Francke (Harvard), Julius Goebel (Illinois), Otto Heller (Washington Univ., St. Louis), Gustav Gruener (Yale), George Hempl (Leland Stanford), A. R. Hohlfeld (Wisconsin), K. D. Jessen (Bryn Mawr), H. K. Schilling (California), H. Schönfeld (G. Washington), H. C. G. Von Jagemann (Harvard), C. Von Klenze (Brown), Ernst Voss (Wisconsin).

wonderful results, has also come to America. Its main principle, that of teaching German as a living language, i. e., employing the aid of the eye and the ear of the student and engaging his interest and attention to the utmost to enable him to use the language as a native, i. e., to speak and write as well as read it, is being successfully applied in schools and colleges of the United States. The reform method, though modified to suit our needs, has been a wonderful means of reawakening our study of the art of teaching modern languages.

There is a German educational influence still going on, the full extent of which cannot now be measured. It is that of vocational teaching. The world generally recognizes that Germany's present power if not supremacy in the commercial world is due to her schools. All countries, including proud Britannia, are making efforts to import the secret of success from Germany's trade-schools. These include not only the higher technical colleges, such as the one at Charlottenburg, but the lower trade-schools, on private, trade, and government foundations, which day and night instruct the ambitious German youth of every class in the methods of improving both himself and his particular branch of industry. Our consular reports[1] are loudly sounding the praises and defining the methods of these educational factors. Vocational teaching shows a young man what is demanded of him in the world and gives him his place. The immediate effect in our own country seems to be a broadening of manual training instruction, its entry into the public school system more intensively than before, the establishment of trade-schools on the German model, and even the

[1] Cf. e. g., *Special Consular Reports*, vol. xxxiii. (Washington, 1905.) *Industrial Education and Industrial Conditions in Germany*, Deputy Consul Meyer, Chemnitz, Germany.

shaping of courses at our colleges according to varied vocational purposes.

To epitomize the German influences upon education in the United States, we may say that the kindergarten and the university are altogether fashioned after the German models. The secondary schools were developed by native Americans, who took suggestions from European schools, but particularly from the Prussian. The American college was adapted from the English pattern, but more even than the other forms has become Americanized. The American college is a social as much as an educational institution. The German university has for its ideal, not as the American college primarily service for the state, but service for humanity at large through the pursuit of truth, the advancement of human knowledge, — an ideal so well expressed in the motto of Francis Lieber : —

> " Patria cara,
> Carior libertas,
> Veritas carissima."

Characteristic is the fact that the most German of American universities, Johns Hopkins, which slipped the leash of the baying hounds of research in America, has for its motto : " The truth will make you free." There are German educational influences which history is not yet ready to record, viz., in vocational teaching, and the future may have in store also an American influence upon Germany, the foundation there of a college after the American pattern.[1]

[1] The University of Hamburg, for which the American college idea has been suggested. The students are expected to be a class of men destined to be the leaders of German commerce, manufacture, transportation, and politics. Cf. Münsterberg, *Aus Deutsch Amerika*, pp. 176–195. *Eine deutsche Hochschule nach amerikanischem Vorbild.* (Mittler & Sohn, 1909.) Cf. also Dr. F. Sieveking, *Die Hamburger Universität.* (Hamburg, 1905.)

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INFLUENCE OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT

I. MUSIC AND THE FINE ARTS

(A) MUSIC: Unfavorable conditions before 1850 — The New England psalm-singers — Music in Philadelphia in the early period; the first ambitious concert of 1786 — Music in other places; organ music in New York; the choral singing at Ephrata and at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston, 1815; the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia, 1820 — Development of instrumental music: Gottlieb Graupner in Boston; Philharmonic Society of New York; Germania Orchestra; Theodore Thomas; Boston Symphony Orchestra; other orchestras, and musical organizations — Chamber music — Oratorio Societies — "Männerchöre" and other German singing-societies — "Sänger-feste" in the East and West — The "Musikverein" of Milwaukee — The development of opera performances — French opera at New Orleans — English, Italian, and German opera in New York — Parsifal — The Moravian musical festivals — American composers — Germans as teachers of music.

(B) PAINTING: Early art — Two periods of German influence: (1) The Düsseldorf School: Leutze, Bierstadt; (2) The Munich School: Carl Marr — German-American artists — German teachers of art in the United States — The example of Otto Fuchs.

(C) SCULPTURE: Early German sculptors; William H. Rinehart — The new era produced by exposition sculpture; Carl Bitter and F. W. Ruckstuhl — Monuments and statues; C. H. Niehaus, Triebel, Harnisch, Volk, etc. — H. Linder, artist-artisan — Members of the National Sculpture Society.

(D) ARCHITECTURE: The Romanesque revival — The steel-frame building — American cottage architecture — The Chicago school and modern German architecture — Dome of the National Capitol; Thomas U. Walter — The Library of Congress; Smithmeyer and Pelz — St. Louis Union Station; T. C. Link — Other Germans in architecture.

(E) GRAPHIC ARTS: Illustrators; designers; artist-photographers.

A. Music

THE social influence of the German element in the United States consists in the emphasis laid upon the cultivation

of those arts and habits which divert from the narrow path of selfish interest or material gain, and which elevate, ennoble, and increase the joy of living. During the eighteenth and a large part of the nineteenth century European travelers were appalled by the gravity, melancholy, and monotony of American social life. Whether possessed by the ambition for material advancement or inflamed with the zeal of laying up stores for the life hereafter, the old type of American was equally serious, rigid, and narrow. As late as 1831, when Mrs. Trollope[1] wrote down her experiences in the United States, she felt herself justified in saying: "I never saw a population so totally divested of gayety; there is no trace of this feeling from one end of the Union to the other. They have no fêtes, no fairs, no merry-makings, no music in the streets, no Punch, no puppet-shows. If they see a comedy or a farce, they may laugh at it; but they can do very well without it. A distinguished publisher of Philadelphia told me that no comic publication[2] had ever yet been found to answer in America.[3]

And again she quotes a German woman whom she casually met in Philadelphia: "They do not love music, oh no! and they never amuse themselves — no; and their hearts are not warm, at least they seem not so to strangers; and they have no ease, no forgetfulness of business and of care — no, not for a moment. But I will not stay long, I think, for I should not live."[4]

[1] Mrs. Trollope, mother of the novelist, Anthony Trollope, lived in America several years, 1827–1831, principally in Cincinnati. On her return to England in 1832, she published her famous book, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, reprinted by Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1894, two volumes.

[2] It will be shown in Chapter VII that Germans introduced caricature in America. "Puck," the first comic paper, was founded by a German in 1876.

[3] Mrs. Trollope, vol. i, pp. 296–297.

[4] Mrs. Trollope, vol. ii, p. 82. The German woman probably said: "Ich könnte nicht leben."

There can be no question as to the accuracy of the criticism contained in the above quotations. It represents the consensus of opinion of cultivated European travelers at that period.[1] But American types change rapidly, and the native American has ever shown himself capable of rapid development. That change from an inherited bondage of lack-mirth to a freer humanity and a more beautiful, joyous existence on earth, has been wrought through foreign influence. Music and art came from Europe, and were planted on American soil, sometimes by native Americans trained abroad, oftener, especially at the early periods, by foreigners who devoted their lives to the noble cause of art in a barren land of little promise or appreciation. To them belongs the glory of having prepared the soil for succeeding generations.

Nowhere has this foreign cultivation been more evident than in music, and in this department the German influence has been supreme and lasting. The thesis may be maintained without hesitation, that the Germans are responsible for the development of musical taste in the United States. To illustrate this principle, it will be necessary to put the German influence within its setting; that is, to mark its continued presence in a brief historical outline of American music.

Neither of the centres of cultural influence, Boston nor Philadelphia, was a promising field for musical development in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Quakers of Pennsylvania and the Puritans of New England harbored a like distrust of music. The Puritans would have abolished it entirely but for the fact that the ancient Hebrews had

[1] For a sketch of the critical literature on America, see H. T. Tuckerman, *America and her Commentators.* (New York. Charles Scribner, 1864.) The subject is brought up to date by J. G. Brooks, *As Others See Us.* (Macmillan, 1908.) J. F. Muirhead, *The Land of Contrasts.* (1900.)

sung psalms in their religious service.[1] At first but five tunes were used in their psalmody, until the "Bay Psalm Book," published in 1640, increased the number. Hymns were not yet permitted in Boston and Plymouth, but a few found admittance in a succeeding edition of the "Bay Psalm Book" (1647), in which more than fifty melodies were suggested. Regarding church music, such questions as these agitated the congregation, whether one person should sing for all the rest, the congregation joining only in spirit, singing "Amen"; whether women should be permitted to sing, or men alone; whether church members only, or all Christians. The Reverend John Cotton, an ardent advocate of singing in church, published in 1647 a tract by means of which he endeavored to remove some of the existing prejudices against singing.[2]

Still out of this barren soil there sprang the first beginnings of American music. Out of psalm-singing there developed the singing-schools. One of the latter existed in Boston as early as 1717. An organ imported from England in 1713, by Mr. Thomas Brattle of Boston, had had little influence. About the middle of the eighteenth century choir-singing took the place of the crude psalm-singing by the congregation. The next step in improvement was the appearance of some native composers, of whom William Billings was most important. Born in Boston in 1746, and apprenticed to a tanner, he became the "Hans Sachs" of New England singing, self-taught and a teacher of song. He had the virtue of being understood,—"a Beethoven could have obtained no hearing in the eighteenth century."[3] In 1770, encouraged by several of his attempts

[1] Cf. Louis C. Elson, *The History of American Music*, p. 2. (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1904.)

[2] Dr. Frederic Louis Ritter, *Music in America*, new edition, p. 7. (Scribner's Sons, New York, 1895.)

[3] Cf. Elson, p. 19.

at setting songs, he published "The New England Psalm Singer, or American Chorister." A school of imitators followed his example, "Yankee Psalm-Tune Smiters," or "Cornstalk Fiddlers," as the English derisively called them,[1] but their humble efforts are of great historical importance. To this number belonged a German, Hans Gram. "Gram was not a strong harmonist, though better than Billings and others of that time. Billings possessed more originality than Gram, whose tunes were written in the spirit and form of the German choral, and one 'Devotion,' is quite an acceptable piece."[2] He was organist in Brattle Church, Boston, in 1793, one of the few professional instrumental musicians in Boston at that time.

Not Boston but Philadelphia was the art centre of America in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The large German churches had long cultivated vocal and instrumental music. Gottlieb Mittelberger[3] was for three years, 1751–1754, organist of the German St. Augustine's Church in New Providence, County of Philadelphia. Excellent English organists in the city broadened the musical interests of the people. The first really ambitious concert given in this country took place in Philadelphia, May 4, 1786.[4] It was given at the Reformed German Church in Race Street. A grand concert combining vocal and instrumental music with two hundred and thirty vocal and fifty instrumental performers, and a programme of classical music, gave evidence of rising musical taste. The Salem "Gazette" declared it "the most complete both with respect to number and accuracy of execution, ever, on any occasion, combined

[1] Ritter, p. 75. [2] Ritter, p. 120.

[3] Cf. Mittelberger's *Journey to Pennsylvania in the Year 1750 and Return to Germany in the Year 1754* (translated from the German), p. 14. (Philadelphia, 1898.)

[4] Elson, p. 24.

in this city and perhaps throughout America."[1] The first suggestion for this concert was given by the example of a sacred concert in Boston combined with a religious service in King's Chapel, January 10, 1786.[2] The concert was by no means as ambitious as the one in Philadelphia. Philadelphia had a musical association as early as 1740,[3] an organ was located in Christ Church in Philadelphia soon after 1700, and a few music-teachers resided there at an early date. The Quakers were as much opposed to music as the Puritans, and the musical progress of Philadelphia at this early time is to be ascribed in great measure to the large German population of the city.

In New York the best music was found in the Episcopalian congregations, Trinity Church upholding something of the dignity of the English cathedral music. Otherwise New York at this early period was not in the foreground musically, no more than in economical or political matters. Baltimore and New Orleans showed some musical activity in those early days, but their more remote geographical location prevented a progressive influence on American music.

A musical factor which is frequently overlooked in the history of American music is the choral work of the anchorites at Ephrata, and the vocal and instrumental music of the Moravians at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and their other colonies. The Moravians undoubtedly had the first regular music schools in America long before the Boston Musical Academy and the Philadelphia Musical Fund So-

[1] Elson, p. 24.

[2] The programme of this concert, consisting of the music of Handel, Haydn, and Bach, can be found in Ritter, pp. 114–115. In October, 1789, a concert was given in honor of President Washington's visit to Boston, the music chosen being also largely from oratorios.

[3] Elson, p. 25.

ciety were dreamed of.[1] In Bethlehem and at Ephrata even in the eighteenth century music was diligently studied, and Philadelphia was at times glad to borrow musicians from the Moravians for her early festivals. The Moravian music undoubtedly had an effect beyond Pennsylvania, and it is not impossible that it influenced the first New England composers. Conrad Beissel, the founder of the Ephrata Monastery, wrote a treatise on harmony, the first to be published in the Western world, fully a quarter of a century before William Billings published his "New England Psalm Singer." Beissel had little understanding of the laws of harmony and none whatever of meter and rhythm. He was not intimately acquainted with German church music. His work therefore is interesting as one of the first crude attempts made in America to compose sacred music. It is not altogether improbable that one of the tune-books of Beissel was largely instrumental in shaping the musical work of the "Yankee Tanner."[2] Hymn-books for the Ephrata Community were printed by Franklin in 1730, 1732, and 1736, and by Sauer in 1739. There was at first in the monastery a male and a female chorus, the latter being continued longer. The visitors commented on "the peculiar sweetness and weird beauty of the song of the sisterhood," and "the impressive cadence of the chorals and hymns of the combined choirs"; some writers even dwell on the "angelic or celestial quality of the vocal music as it floated through the spaces of the large Saal, as the responses were sung and reverberated from gallery to choir."

[1] See Elson, p. 339. The societies named will be spoken of in succeeding paragraphs.

[2] Cf. Dr. Julius F. Sachse, *Music of the Ephrata Cloister*, p. 3. (Lancaster, 1903.) This work is invaluable for its detailed information concerning the Ephrata music. Some musical scores recently found are there reprinted.

Much of the beauty of the music was no doubt due to the quality of the voices and the way they were used.[1]

A mark of progress in the development of music in America was the formation of musical societies. The earliest in New England was that which was started through the influence of William Billings and his music class in 1774. This was the link between the early psalm-singing and the later oratorio societies. The Stoughton Musical Society was organized after the close of the War of Independence, in November, 1786. Membership was for a long time confined to men. The reaction against the Billings school resulted in the foundation of the most influential of all choral societies in New England, namely, the Handel and Haydn Society, in 1815. The impulse for its foundation was given by the "Peace Concert" in honor of the close of the War of 1812, held on Washington's Birthday, 1815, in King's Chapel. One of the leading figures in the movement was the German, Gottlieb Graupner, in whose music store or hall the first assembly was held. Some of the leading men of Boston contributed to the society's foundation. On the succeeding Christmas evening the first grand oratorio was given to a delighted audience of 945 persons. Haydn's "Creation" was rendered, together with selections from the oratorios of Händel. Almost all the singers in the first dozen concerts given by the society were native Americans, but European soloists were soon sought after in the more elaborate concerts given by the association. An illustration of the fact that the society took itself very seriously was the request to the great composer Beethoven for an oratorio specially composed for the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston.[2] The presidents

[1] Sachse, p. 11.

[2] *The Morgenblatt für Gebildete Leser*, November 5, 1823, alludes to an or-

of the society were for a long time its conductors. A distinct advance came with the appointment of a professional conductor in 1854. Carl Zerrahn (born in Mecklenburg, in 1826) was called to the position, and for more than forty years served as "the most prominent conductor on the society's list." [1] The following characterization has been given of his services: "Mr. Zerrahn was exactly the man for his time and place; he was not of the rank of a Thomas or of a Seidl, but his sure and decisive beat was as firm as a rock, and bred confidence even in the amateur singer. His unfailing good humor, his painstaking explanations made him the idol of all his choruses. He was the best possible leader for the transition period of American choruses and orchestral music, and one of the most important factors in their advance.[2]

Instrumental music was not heard in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as often as vocal music, and not as frequently in New England as in the cities of Baltimore, New Orleans, Philadelphia, or New York. Boston, however, claims the honor of having had the first organ-builder in America, Eduard Bromfield, in 1745. The German, Gottlieb Graupner, had a musical establishment in Boston at No. 6 Franklin Street, in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The first piano was probably constructed by John Behrent (a German name), in Philadel-

atorio with English text for Boston as a projected work of Beethoven. The composition, however, was never carried out. In later years the society made an appeal to Robert Franz to finish the additional accompaniments to Händel's *Messiah*, and the Handel and Haydn Society was thus enabled to give the complete version of the great masterpiece for the first time. Elson, p. 32.

[1] On his retirement in 1895, a thorough musical reorganization began under the direction of Emil Mollenhauer, born in Brooklyn, of German descent, and at present conductor of the society.

[2] Elson, p. 36.

phia, his native town, in 1774.[1] New York claims to have had piano-makers as early as 1785.

Boston has put on record the first orchestral director and the first prominent orchestra in the country. The pioneer was the German musician already mentioned, Gottlieb Graupner, whom Elson calls the father of American orchestral music. He was an oboe-player in a Hanoverian regiment, leaving it in 1788 with an honorable discharge. After that he played his instrument, the oboe, in London in a large orchestra, and subsequently drifted to Charleston and to Boston. In the latter city he gathered about him a nucleus of professionals and amateurs, and after they had played together some time at regular intervals, he formed the Philharmonic Society in 1810, which was already in existence when the Handel and Haydn Society was founded. At first it had only ten or twelve members, who met on Saturday evenings and practiced Haydn's symphonies and other classical music. From that the membership grew to greater numbers and influence.[2]

Philadelphia probably had an orchestra earlier than Boston, thanks to its large German population. There is a record of several musicians from Hamburg forming a band as early as 1783. The organization of greatest influence, however, in Philadelphia and beyond, was the Musical Fund Society. It was constructed on a broader foundation than the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston. Begun in 1820, it arranged both sacred and secular programmes, combined instrumental and vocal music at its concerts, founded a school, built a music-hall, and gave assistance to indigent professional musicians. Beethoven's First Symphony was played by this organization probably for the

[1] Scharf and Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, vol. ii, p. 879. Elson, p. 43.

[2] Cf. Ritter, pp. 120–121, and Elson, p. 50.

first time in this country. It continued to give concerts until 1857.

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century New York began to show its mettle, and soon took the lead in orchestral music. Just as the Handel and Haydn Society had set a high standard for vocal music in Boston, so the Philharmonic Society established a new record of achievement in New York. The founder of the society was Uriah C. Hill, born in New York City about 1802. He had studied in Germany with Louis Spohr, and though a mediocre violinist, he was a good organizer and leader. He was assisted by Henry C. Timm, born in Hamburg, Germany, in 1811, one of the most faithful members of the society, and for a long period a strong musical force in New York City as a performer and teacher of music. We find in his "Reminiscences" that "the work of the society was a very uphill struggle, both musically and financially. I remember one season when after paying expenses each member received $17.50 as his share. It was, however, rather a labor of love than anything else, and we persevered. We had, however, in the course of years, a gradual acquisition of new and very good members coming almost exclusively from Germany, so that after the eighth season I gave up my trombone to a much better player than I was. We also engaged permanent able conductors, such as Mr. Theodore Eisfeld and afterwards Carl Bergmann, so everything was gradually improved."[1] Mr. Timm was president of the Philharmonic Society for some years, and after his resignation continued to be of service to the society — to quote his own words: "I seem to have been for over twenty-five years a kind of 'sine qua non' at all concerts given at

[1] Reminiscences of Mr. Timm's labors in America are printed in Ritter, pp. 372–375.

that time, playing accompaniments to all soloists both vocal and instrumental — and this was my forte rather than anything else." The society gave its first concert in December, 1842, and had an orchestra of fifty or sixty performers. All of its great leaders were German, Theodore Eisfeld and Carl Bergmann, 1849–1866; subsequently Dr. Leopold Damrosch, Theodore Thomas, Adolph Neuendorff, Anton Seidl, Walter Damrosch, Emil Paur. The membership of the New York Philharmonic Society became more and more Germanized. At the beginning there were twenty-two Germans among fifty-two performers; in 1865 the orchestra was increased to eighty-one musicians, of whom seventy were Germans; about twenty-five years later there were eighty-nine Germans out of ninety-four players.[1]

About the middle of the nineteenth century America was visited by a number of traveling orchestras, who met with varying success, never flattering. The most important of all by far was the Germania Orchestra. It consisted originally of twenty-three young musical artists, many of them members of Gungl's Berlin Orchestra, most of them refugees of 1848. They gave their first concert in New York City, October 5, 1848, and were under the leadership of Carl Lenschow until 1850. During the remaining four years of their existence their director was Carl Bergmann. In this orchestra there could be found a soloist for every instrument, and the beginning was made for artistic interpretation of musical works according to European standards. The experiences of these men are of historical interest. In New York a rival orchestral society already existed in the New York Philharmonic Society, but the latter treated the new-comers hospitably and revived their

[1] Cf. Ritter, p. 356.

spirits with a benefit concert. The soloists of the Germania won a great triumph on this occasion before a crowded house. They excited intense interest in New York City, but their financial returns were discouraging. Thence they traveled to Philadelphia, and, after giving four concerts in the Music Fund Hall and two more in another locality, all of which were very poorly attended, they resolved to try their fortunes in Arch Street Hall, beginning their series of concerts on January 1, 1849. The rental of this "spacious and imposing structure" was to be ten dollars per night, and on this eventful New Year's evening, after waiting patiently for the arrival of the latest comer, the receipts amounted to nine dollars and fifty cents. In the middle of the programme the proprietor of the hall appeared in person and announced to the unhappy musicians that unless the rental of ten dollars were paid then and there, the gas would be turned off. With the utmost promptness the despairing members one and all desired him to turn it off, and so ended the first and last of the "promenade concerts."[1]

After this experience the Germania Orchestra was ready to disband, but fortunately a profitable engagement was offered from Washington, which was accepted. After their Washington concert they went to Baltimore, where unexpectedly they found due recognition for their masterful performances. There within two weeks they gave ten concerts, successful in every particular. They next visited Boston, giving concerts in several New England towns on the way. Their first audiences in Boston, though small, were composed of connoisseurs. Six of their ten selections were encored, and the reputation of the Germania was an

[1] Ritter, p. 339. Perhaps the small attendance was due in part to the reluctance of the Philadelphians to go out during the holiday season.

established fact in Boston. Twenty concerts were given in rapid succession to overflowing houses, and the name of the now famous orchestra made its way speedily to all other cities that had any musical pretensions. The proprietor of Castle Garden, New York, offered the orchestra an engagement to play at summer festivals arranged at that establishment. Summer concerts were also given with success at Newport. During the six years of their organization they visited all the principal cities of the East, West, and South, and gave 829 concerts, not counting their performances of cantatas and oratorios arranged by local choral societies, to which the Germania played orchestral accompaniments.[1] Some of the greatest soloists of the world appeared in the Germania concerts, as Jenny Lind and Henrietta Sontag, Tedesco, Ole Bull, and August Kreissmann. Most of their concerts were given in Boston, though they played often in the large cities, and revisited Philadelphia with better success. The hardships of traveling and a desire to create permanent homes for themselves caused the members to disband in 1854, the announcement of which caused universal regret throughout the country. Within six years this orchestra had done more for the advancement of musical taste in America than any similar organization before them. The fire of their youthful genius, and their artistic expression thrilled audiences wherever they went. But if their labors as an organization ceased, as individuals they began a new epoch. Wherever a member of the Germania settled down, he established on the spot a nucleus about which there gathered the choicest musical spirits of that region. Many of the artists began a more glorious career after the disbandment of the Germania, as, for example, Carl Zerrahn,

[1] Ritter, pp. 340 ff.

the original first flute of the Germania, who then became and remained the director for more than forty years of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston. Carl Bergmann was chosen director of the New York Philharmonic Society, and remained in that position until his death. William Schultze became the director of the musical department of Syracuse University, and Carl Sentz a conductor in Philadelphia, while Carl Lenschow led in Baltimore.

The musical critic Elson has called Gottlieb Graupner the father of American orchestral music, chronologically, bestowing the crown of achievement, however, upon Theodore Thomas. In regard to producing high standards of execution in technique and *ensemble*, and introducing an epoch of true interpretation as in Europe, Theodore Thomas has done more than any other man in America. He was born in Esens (within the present province of Hanover, Prussia) in 1835, and came to this country with his parents at the early age of ten. He first became prominent in connection with William Mason in the Mason-Thomas chamber concerts. Believing New York City large enough to support two orchestras, Thomas in 1864 commenced his symphonic soirées. There again arose a rivalry between the well-established Philharmonic Society and the new enterprise. The result was beneficial to the cause of music, forcing both organizations to the limit of their power. The Philharmonic Society raised the number of its orchestra to one hundred players; Thomas on particular occasions also increased his numbers. In order to keep his orchestra continuously under his control he inaugurated garden concerts in the summer of 1866, hoping that New York, like Berlin, would patronize such entertainments. The venture was successful for a few summers, until the novelty wore off, when it had to be

THEODORE THOMAS

abandoned. During the winter Thomas made tours throughout the United States, renewing, though on a somewhat larger scale, the pioneer work and experiences for good and bad of the old Germania Orchestra. The symphony concerts in New York, which had met with fair pecuniary success, were discontinued in 1879, when Thomas was called to the directorship of the newly established Cincinnati College of Music. After an absence of two years he returned to New York as conductor of the New York Philharmonic Society, his former rival. In order to give his programmes an up-to-date interest, Thomas frequently introduced modern orchestral works of what were then the younger composers, Wagner, Liszt, Berlioz, Brahms, Rubinstein, Raff, Saint-Saëns, and others. But, as was the case with the old Germania Orchestra and the New York Philharmonic Society, "the instrumental compositions of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, proved his richest sources." [1]

The influence of Thomas's Orchestra was not only felt in New York City, but throughout the country. New orchestras sprang up in large American cities and the old organizations were stimulated to greater efforts. Boston took a new start. The Harvard Musical Association, composed of students at Harvard College with high aims in music, had been a good training-school of musical taste, but Boston had remained stationary in the classical music of Händel, Haydn, and Beethoven. Young European musicians chafed under the restraint, and were ready to establish a new order of things. As soon as their numbers were large enough, they founded the Philharmonic Society, in 1880, a rival to the Harvard Musical Association.

[1] The estimate of Ritter, p. 379.

The conductors were successively Bernhardt Listemann, Louis Maas, and Carl Zerrahn. There were not enough rehearsals, with consequent inadequate execution, and the result was that a third orchestra was founded, the fame of which has since gone all over the land, the Boston Symphony Orchestra. The public-spirited banker, H. L. Higginson, overcame the financial difficulties and placed the organization at once on a permanent foundation. Saturday evening, before that time the eve of solemn preparation for the Sabbath (or, as the humorist declares, "Tub Night"), in New England, was used now as a concert evening. The first conductor was Georg Henschel (born in Breslau, Germany, 1850). In the opening season the society had sixty-seven members and gave twenty concerts. Each concert was preceded by a public rehearsal after the plan of some of the foreign orchestras and as already initiated by the New York Philharmonic Society. In 1884 Henschel went abroad, and his place was taken by another German, Wilhelm Gericke (born in Graz, Austria, 1845). Gericke was a superb drill-master, and made of the organization an instrument perfect of its kind. In 1889 Arthur Nikisch took charge of this perfected instrument and for four years played with it as a master. In 1893 Emil Paur (born in Austria, 1855) became conductor, until he removed to New York, five years later. What Thomas at this time did for interpretation in the West, Paur stood for in the East. In the following year Gericke was called again to the conductorship, and the real creator of the great orchestra remained at his work until 1906.

Theodore Thomas was destined to play a great rôle in the development of musical taste in the West, after having been so conspicuous in the East. His first visit to

the West was in 1869, when he gave three concerts in Chicago. His next experience was in connection with the Musical College at Cincinnati as its first director, 1879–1881. In 1890 he was called to Chicago to develop and lead her symphonic orchestra. Fifty business men subscribed one thousand dollars each, annually, for three years. Thomas placed at the service of the orchestra his private musical library, the largest of its kind in the world, a collection of orchestral scores such as only a large institution could hope to acquire. There was uphill work to do at Chicago, since the city had not had the same opportunities as some Eastern centres. Large losses faced the subscribers every year, many of whom pleaded for more melodic programmes, while the "old fogies" found fault with the conductor's radicalism. Thomas, however, would not descend to the public, but forced the public to come up to him. His spirit was self-assured and inflexible as Wagner's. The material available for the Chicago orchestra was not as good as in the East, but the individuality of Thomas made his orchestra. While the Boston Symphony Orchestra was phenomenal as a perfect musical instrument, the exceptional quality in Thomas's Orchestra was the genius of leadership and interpretation. The courage and genius of Thomas inspired all others to emulate his example.

The three established orchestras, at Boston, New York, and Chicago, all of them built up by and generally composed of German musicians, aroused musical ambitions in other cities. Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Washington, Buffalo, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Cleveland, Kansas City, and San Francisco all have orchestras now of more or less permanence, and generally conducted by German musical artists or native Americans with German

training (very frequently Americans of German descent).[1] The Philadelphia Orchestra has had for its conductor Fritz Scheel, who made a strong impression in the musical world. Patrons of the society are Dr. and Mrs. Edward I. Keffer, and through their efforts, in addition to the regular high-priced concerts, the orchestra gives concerts to the people at an admission fee of ten cents. A similar attempt to popularize orchestral music was made in New York City by Franz X. Arens (born in Rhenish Prussia, in 1856). In 1900 he founded the People's Symphony Concerts, which are given at Cooper Union Hall. Classical programmes are rendered with great success, and standing-room is often not obtainable.

In New York City a number of other orchestras were called into being, such as the New York Symphony Society, chartered in 1879, chiefly through the efforts of Dr. Leopold Damrosch (born in Posen, Germany; both his sons were born in Breslau, Prussia). At the death of the father in 1885, the baton descended to Walter J. Damrosch, his son. This organization aroused the competition again of the veteran Philharmonic Society, and the cause of music as before derived benefits from the musical rivalry. Anton Seidl, the operatic leader, founded the Seidl Orchestral Society, and it is probable that his enthusiastic friends would have made the organization a permanent one

[1] e. g., F. Zech, conductor of the Symphony Orchestra in San Francisco, was born in Philadelphia, of German descent, and received his training in Berlin; Van der Stucken (born in Texas of a German mother), trained in Germany mainly, is leader of the Symphony Concerts of Cincinnati; Victor Herbert, conductor of the Pittsburg Orchestra, was born in Ireland, but received his musical education in Germany. Other noted conductors are Max Bendix, successor of Thomas, and after the latter's resignation sole conductor of the Exposition Orchestra of one hundred and fourteen artists at the World's Columbian Exposition; and Arthur Mees, one of Thomas's most prominent assistants and followers.

had his sudden death in 1898 not intervened. Another orchestra was founded by Hermann Hans Wetzler (born in Frankfort) in 1902, for the interpretation of classical masterpieces. As a result of such competition orchestral music in America has risen to a high standard, and various foreign orchestras that have come to this country heralded from afar have not equaled the standard of the best of the present American organizations.

The history of chamber music in the United States is likewise largely that of German influences. The first string quartet seems to have been organized in 1843 by the native American, Uriah C. Hill, but its performances were not of a high order. The first artistic work was done by the Mendelssohn Quintet Club of Boston, whose influence in this branch was as important as that of the Germania Orchestra in another department. Of the original five, three of the names were German, viz., August Fries, Edward Lehman, Wulf Fries; Carl Meisel replaced Francis Riha after the first year. In 1855 New York had a famous quintet, founded by Mason and Thomas. The members were William Mason, pianist; Theodore Thomas, first violin; Joseph Mosenthal, second violin; George Matzka, viola; Carl Bergmann, violoncello. Probably every leading city of the present day has its quintet or quartet, furnishing classical music. The most famous organization of this kind has been for some time the Kneisel Quartet. The conductor, Franz Kneisel, was born in Roumania, of German parentage, in 1865. He has been concert-master of the Hofburg Theater Orchestra in Vienna, of Bilse's Orchestra in Berlin, and of the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

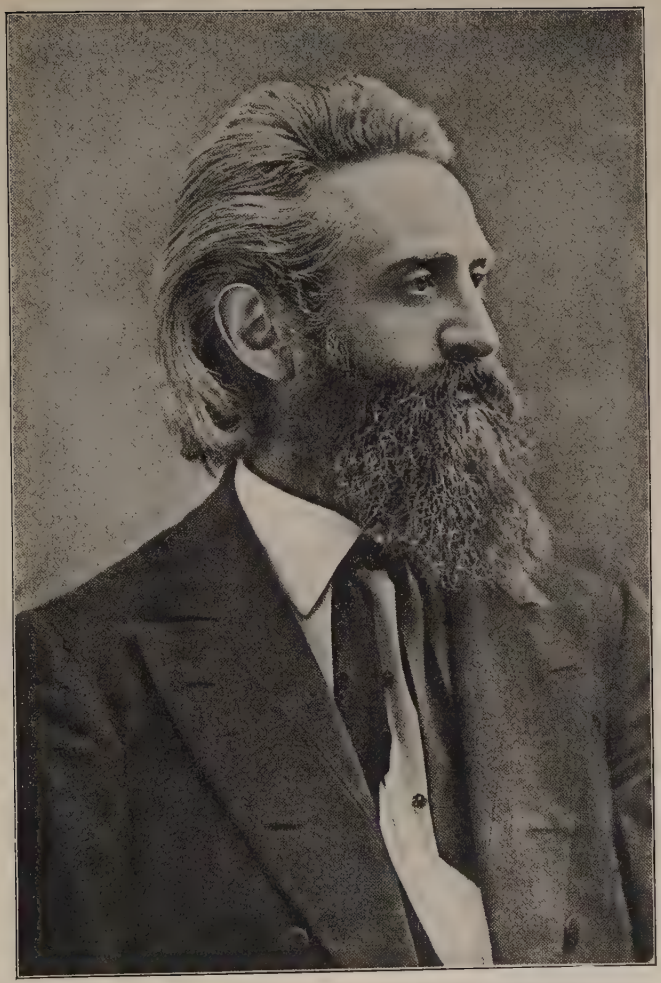
The development of choral went hand in hand with that of orchestral music. We have observed the influence of

the Handel and Haydn Society in Boston and the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia. The two leading spirits in the latter were Charles P. Hupfeld, of German birth, an excellent violinist, and Benjamin Carr, an English musical enthusiast. Hupfeld had drawn a coterie of music-lovers about him in the early days of the nineteenth century, not unlike the gatherings which Gottlieb Graupner brought together contemporaneously in Boston. Gradually a host of artists were held for permanent residence in Philadelphia. The society was interested both in vocal and instrumental music.

In New York City out of a quarrel between the governors and choristers of Zion Church, there arose the New York Sacred Music Society, in 1823. Its first great rival came in 1844, the Musical Institute, directed by H. C. Timm. He was the prominent German musician already mentioned in connection with the Philharmonic Society. "Mr. Timm's influence may be ranked almost as important at this time as Mr. U. C. Hill's, for it was in a large degree by his efforts that the chief elements of New York's choral societies were united in 1849, and its greatest choral society (up to that time) was born."[1] This was the New York Harmonic Society, which gave its first concert May 10, 1850. Its first conductors were Timm, and Eisfeld, followed by Bristow and Bergmann. In 1863 the Mendelssohn Union was founded by some members of the Harmonic Society; its conductors were not German until Theodore Thomas was called.

More far-reaching was the influence of the New York Oratorio Society, founded by Dr. Leopold Damrosch, who wished to found a society such as he had conducted at Breslau. Trinity Church offered its chapel for rehear-

[1] Elson, pp. 74–75.



LEOPOLD DAMROSCH

sals until the Knabe Piano warerooms became available. The first concert of the Oratorio Society took place in Knabe Hall, December, 1873. After the death of the founder, his sons Walter and Frank Damrosch successively became the directors of the Oratorio Society.

The German-American population was not only very prominent in the establishment of oratorio societies, but also in the foundation of singing-clubs, which were of great influence in shaping the taste for vocal music in the entire city. Almost as old as the Philharmonic Society itself was the German singing-society "Der deutsche Liederkranz," organized in January, 1847.[1] Two German singing-societies had already existed in New York before this, but this Männerchor was far in advance of its predecessors. In 1856 it admitted women as members, which resulted in an enlargement of the programmes, including now almost the whole range of German composers, from Händel and Haydn to Richard Strauss. The German singing-societies avoided in their programmes many of the sacred selections which belong to the domain of other organizations and were not so well suited to the more convivial and social character of their clubs.

The admission of women caused dissension in the New York "Liederkranz," and there resulted the foundation of a Männerchor which was destined to become one of the most famous choruses of its kind in America. It began in 1854, and was called "Der Arion." Dr. Leopold Damrosch was its musical director.

The Männerchöre of New York City were not, however, the earliest in the country. Philadelphia and Baltimore had flourishing organizations of that kind a number of

[1] The society has a spacious and well-appointed clubhouse on Fifty-eighth Street, near Madison Avenue.

years before, and had taken the first steps toward arranging musical festivals in conjunction. In the spring of 1837 the two oldest German singing-societies, the Philadelphia Männerchor (founded, 1835) and the Baltimore Liederkranz (founded, 1836), paid one another a visit. The beginning[1] was made on a motion of the Baltimore organization, which invited the other to form a fraternal union. The Baltimore Liederkranz, on the thirteenth of March, 1837, visited Philadelphia, and the Männerchor of the latter city on the twenty-eighth of March made a return visit to Baltimore.[2] These are to be regarded as the first "Sängerfeste" in the musical history of our country. The mixed chorus was not an original idea with the New York Liederkranz, for April 24, 1838, the ladies of the choir of the Zionskirche in Baltimore were received as members into the Liederkranz. At the third joint "Sängerfest" of the Philadelphia and Baltimore organizations, held in Philadelphia, June 5, 1846, the public were admitted to hear the concerts, some of the festivities were conducted in the open air, and a similar festival occurred in Baltimore in autumn of the same year. The honor of having held the first festival in the open, however, belongs to the United Singers of Cincinnati, who held a celebration on May 31, 1846, on "Bald Hill." The Cincinnati "Lieder-

[1] The moving spirit in this enterprise was Philipp Matthias Wolsieffer (born in the Rhenish Palatinate, in 1808; arrived in Philadelphia, in 1835), a born musician, the founder of the Philadelphia Männerchor, and on his removal to Baltimore, where he became a teacher of the Zions-Schule, he became the founder also of the Baltimore Liederkranz. His leadership and acquaintance in both societies led to the joint concerts. Wolsieffer subsequently returned to Philadelphia, and was one of the promoters of Egg Harbor City, New Jersey. Cf. *German American Annals*, vol. iv, no. 6, pp. 171–179.

[2] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, p. 26. H. Rattermann, *Geschichte des ersten deutschen Sängerbundes von Nord-Amerika.*

tafel" and the "Gesang und Bildungsverein" took part in this festival.[1]

In the early period the following singing-societies were organized: The Philadelphia Männerchor, founded December 15, 1835, is the oldest singing-society in the United States, and still in flourishing condition. The Baltimore Liederkranz was founded in the same month of the following year. Then came, in 1838 or 1839, "Der deutsche Gesangverein" of Cincinnati. There developed from this in the same city "Die deutsche Liedertafel," regularly organized in 1844, though existing a year before. The New York Liederkranz, as stated above, was founded in 1847. Boston (Orpheus), Charleston (Teutonenbund, 1843), Buffalo, Pittsburg, and Cleveland had German singing-societies before or in the year 1848. Louisville, Kentucky, saw the foundation of its Liederkranz in 1848, and Cincinnati added its Orpheus in 1849 to the "Gesang und Bildungsverein" (founded in 1846). Madison in Indiana, Columbus in Ohio, and Saginaw in Michigan [2] soon had German singing-societies, and a very prominent rôle was assumed naturally by the organizations of St. Louis and Milwaukee. Every city at present with a German population has its singing-societies, the purposes of which are both musical and social.

The plan of a closer union between singing-societies of various localities and regular Sängerfeste with a competition for prizes was instituted by the Cincinnati Sängerfest of 1849.[3] Fritz Volkmar, the founder of the Liederkranz

[1] Cf. Chapter VIII, below, and *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, pp. 23 ff., etc.

[2] The Germania of Saginaw was founded in 1856. Cf. the pamphlet issued at the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation (1906): *Fünfzig Jahre deutschen Strebens, Gedenkblätter zum fünfzigjährigen Jubiläum der Germania von Saginaw, Michigan.* (1906.)

[3] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, pp. 27 ff.

of Louisville, was very active in starting the movement, as a result of which the three singing-societies of Cincinnati — the Liedertafel, Gesang und Bildungsverein and the Schweizerverein — invited all the German singing-societies in the United States for a Sängerfest. Only the Männerchöre of the surrounding states, however, accepted the invitation. The Eastern organizations did not respond, but they had a union subsequently of their own. It occurred in Philadelphia, in June, 1850, and there were represented, besides Philadelphia, New York, Newark, Baltimore, and Boston. Thus two organizations sprang into being, named respectively, the "Nordamerikanischer Sängerbund," in the West, and the "Allgemeiner Deutscher Sängerbund von Nordamerika," in the East. A controversy arose as to the propriety of the names adopted by the rival organizations, in settlement of which the Western societies, to show their priority, changed their title to "Erster Deutscher Sängerbund von Nordamerika," while the others, defining more narrowly their geographical location, assumed the name "Nordöstlicher Sängerbund von Nordamerika." The music festivals of the united German singing-societies both in the East and in the West have become important events in the musical history of our country. The general public is admitted to the prize concerts, which are remarkable not alone for the numbers of the participants, but likewise for the high grade of vocal music rendered. To vary the programmes of the festivals, which continue for three or four days, some of the best soloists that the world affords are invited and lend brilliancy to the events. The competition for prizes is restricted to the Männerchöre of the various cities embraced by the Sängerbund. There are several classes of contests, and as many prizes, the one esteemed most highly being the "Kaiser-

preis," consisting of an artistic silver statuette of a Minnesinger, presented by the German Emperor to the chorus which gives the best rendition of one or more songs composed and assigned for the occasion. Twice did the "Junger Männerchor" of Philadelphia win the trophy and very close did they come to permanent possession, when the "Concordia Verein" of Wilkesbarre, under the able leadership of Adolf Hansen (German), snatched away the needed third victory by giving a perfect rendition of the Kaiserlied, a feat never before accomplished in the history of the National Sängerfeste.[1] There is no possibility of favoritism on the part of the judges; they are screened from the view of the singers, and never know what club is competing. The contest proceeds with the seriousness and solemnity of the prize-singing of the mastersingers during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The audience, which in our time gathers to the number of fifteen or twenty thousand in the most spacious hall[2] that the entertaining city can furnish, probably enjoys most the contest for the city prize, in which all the Männerchöre of the same locality, united to the number of two to six hundred, compete with the united singers of some of the other cities.

The influence of musical festivals, such as those held

[1] This happened at the festival held in Newark, New Jersey, July, 1906. The Concordia of Wilkesbarre scored 120 points, the highest possible; the Junger Männerchor of Philadelphia came next with 116; the Schubert Männerchor of New York scored 115; the Arion of Newark, 110. The Junger Männerchor of Philadelphia won back their laurels, at least in part, when, at the Twenty-second National Sängerfest, held in New York City, in June, 1909, they shared, with the Kreutzer Quartet Club of Manhattan, the honor of winning the Kaiser Prize.

[2] As, for instance, Madison Square Garden, in New York City, where the Sängerfest was held in June, 1909; or the Fifth Maryland Regiment Armory in Baltimore, where the Nordöstlicher Sängerbund held its triennial festival in 1903.

recently at Milwaukee in 1904, Baltimore in 1903, Philadelphia in 1906, and New York in 1909, extends beyond the German element; triennial musical pilgrimages have assumed such proportions as to impress upon large cities the festival mood (*Feststimmung*). Representative officials of the state and city where the event is to take place lend a hand at welcoming and entertaining the guests, and enjoy the musical rivalry of the performers. As early as 1850, when the first Eastern Sängerfest was held in Philadelphia, the singers were welcomed by the mayor of the city, and the speaker of the occasion called attention to the fact that, seventy-five years before, the independence of the United States had been declared at the very spot where the festival of song was to be begun. The mayor accompanied the delegates to Independence Hall, where a full chorus sang the national hymns, "Hail Columbia" and "The Star Spangled Banner," making a profound impression upon the assembled multitude. No doubt the nativistic spirit lost much of its sharp edge that day.

One of the oldest and probably the most influential of the German musical societies in the Middle West has been the Musikverein of Milwaukee, founded in 1850.[1] Hans Balatka, a German born in Bohemia, was the musical leader of the organization. The arrival of a number of cultivated men from Germany, many of them political refugees, favored the growth of the musical society. No Musikverein in the country was more industrious, vigorous, or ambitious. Most varied forms of music were performed: the male-chorus glee, the cantata, the oratorio, the opera, the overture, the symphony, and chamber music in its diverse forms. In 1851–1852 four oratorios, the

[1] Cf. *Der Musikverein von Milwaukee, 1850–1900, Eine Chronik*, herausgegeben vom Musikverein. (Milwaukee, 1900.)

"Messiah," the "Creation," "Samson," and "Elijah," were rendered. In 1853–1854 Lortzing's operas, "Zar und Zimmermann" and "Der Wildschütz," also Weber's "Freischütz," were performed. In 1855 Bellini's opera "Norma" and Beethoven's "First Symphony" were given by the society. They continued with symphonies of Schumann, Beethoven, Brahms, and Haydn, with operas such as Mozart's "Zauberflöte," Verdi's "La Traviata," and others equally, some less ambitious, and they established a standard of endeavor worthy of imitation in the West or East. Their execution may not have been uniformly of a high class, but the fact that these classical masterpieces were studied and creditably rendered by the local talent gives evidence of a far higher grade of musical cultivation than if magnificent concerts had been provided in Milwaukee with the aid of the best imported stars.

In the city of Cincinnati the German residents were also the pioneers and performers of music. In 1852 a Cincinnati paper speaks of the city's musical place as follows: "As far as we know, there is no society in the city out of the ranks of our German friends."[1] The Männerchöre of Cincinnati were vigorous and progressive, and had held a National Sängerfest in 1846. A new organization, the Cecilia Society, destined to increase the interest and appreciation of music, was largely composed of cultivated Germans, until the effort was made by them to obtain members representative not exclusively of one but of all elements of the population. Subsequently a number of other musical associations were founded, Hans Balatka and C. Barus being at various times connected with them. After these beginnings, Cincinnati soon got the reputation of a musical city, famous for her music festivals.

[1] Cf. Ritter, p. 408.

In the early days New England did not offer a favorable field for the opera, and traveling companies at the beginning of the nineteenth century avoided Boston, where music was restricted to psalm-singing and the production of oratorios. The opera elsewhere was on a low plane, except at New Orleans, where French, and later, Italian operas were artistically performed. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Charleston and Baltimore entered the operatic field, and traveling companies that made circuits of the large cities came into existence. The English ballad opera was popular at that time. "The Beggar's Opera" was produced for the first time upon a New York stage, probably on December 3, 1750, and for nearly a century every English ballad-singer that visited the United States performed it. This English preceded the introduction of Italian opera in America by exactly three quarters of a century. In 1787 George Washington attended the performance of a "puppet opera" in Philadelphia, entitled "The Poor Soldier." Among the musicians in New York City at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was one, Charles Geilfert, leader of the Park Theatre. He was the son of a German music-teacher, and arranged, adapted, and composed music to several plays. For many years no musical entertainment was thought complete without his name appearing on the programme.[1] The English influence lasted throughout the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and a German or Italian opera could make its way into America only by way of England. Thus in 1825 Weber's "Freischütz" was brought to America by an English company. The adaptations were bold; dances were interpolated; the incantation scene was frequently given without singing; fireworks were in-

[1] Ritter, p. 153.

troduced and won popular applause. During the next five years there were many repetitions of the opera in its adapted form. When Mozart's "Magic Flute" was admitted somewhat later, the difficult parts in the music were left out because there were no orchestras capable of playing them.

Then came an epoch of Italian opera, with such leaders as Trajetta, in Philadelphia; Da Ponte and Palmo, in New York City. In 1850 a troupe was brought from Havana by Señor Marty, the best heard in New York up to that time. New Orleans in the mean time had been a centre for French and Italian opera ever since the erection of the Théâtre d'Orléans in 1813, and kept the lead up to the Civil War. The Théâtre d'Orléans was remodeled in 1845, and had a seating capacity of thirteen hundred people. French artists engaged in Paris repeated the successes of the French capital before the aristocracy of the American South.[1]

In New York City the war period, strange as it may seem, brought on a great increase in operatic performances. Ullmann, Maretzek, the brothers Strakosch, and Grau, sometimes as partners and sometimes as bitter rivals, kept up Italian opera in New York City, and frequently had excel-

[1] The following newspaper clipping will afford a glimpse of the social splendor of the opera, and will reflect the customs of the period: "In winter nearly all the rich planters of Louisiana and Mississippi brought their families to New Orleans and lived at the St. Louis and St. Charles hotels. The French Opera House was packed every evening with beautiful women resplendent with dress and diamonds and accompanied by husbands, brothers, fathers, and lovers — a gay throng with an average of two duels to every opera night. Three evenings in the week, after the opera, an immense swinging-door was let down over the parquet, and dancing was kept up until dawn. Such was the state of society at the time that it was the universal custom at the most select balls and parties to require every gentleman to be searched for concealed weapons in the dressing-room before entering the ballroom." Ritter, pp. 323–324.

lent companies. German operas were also given at times, rendered with scenic splendor, e. g., "Lohengrin," but like all the others sung in Italian. An interesting rival venture, though short-lived, was the German opera company of Carl Anschütz.[1] The latter had no stars, but his *ensemble* was good, and he drilled the chorus well, being an experienced conductor. The German operas, "The Magic Flute," "Fidelio," "Don Juan," "Zar und Zimmermann," and many others delighted an appreciative audience of real music-lovers who were not attracted by the international reputations of stars, but attended to enjoy good music. Anschütz, in the old Wallack Theatre in the year 1862, attracted an audience superior in musical intelligence and culture to the society gatherings at the Academy of Music, the stronghold of Italian opera.[2] Fitful starts in German opera had occurred as early as 1855, when there was a short season of the lighter type of German operas, and the following year, when works more ambitious were performed, with Madame Johansen in the chief rôles. The first taste of Wagner in German came in April, 1859, when Carl Bergmann, with the assistance of the Arion Society, gave a creditable performance of "Tannhäuser."

A new epoch for the opera in New York began in the season of 1878–1879, when J. H. Mapleson brought over the famous English company from Her Majesty's Theatre in London. Great singers, such as Etelka Gerster, Minna Hauk, Campanini (tenor), and others, belonged to this troupe. In 1883 a rival opera was created under Henry Abbey at the Metropolitan Opera House. Famous stars ap-

[1] Carl Anschütz was born in Germany, descended from a musical family, and through the influence of the impresario Ullmann came to New York in 1857. He was one of the pioneer orchestra leaders of the higher type, and great praise is due him.

[2] Cf. Ritter, p. 352.

peared there also, such as Nilsson, Scalchi, Sembrich, Del Puente, Kaschmann, and others. The high salaries paid the leading singers, and other enormous expenses, however, threatened to ruin the opera in New York. Abbey gave up the directorship after a single season. Thereupon Dr. Leopold Damrosch,[1] already mentioned as the reorganizer of the Arion Männerchor, conductor of the Philharmonic, organizer of the Symphony, and founder of the Oratorio Society, all of New York, suggested to the stockholders of the Metropolitan Opera House that a German opera company be tried in place of the Italian. The result was that Damrosch was intrusted with the management of German opera at the Metropolitan Opera House for the first season, 1884–1885. He succeeded in securing a good company of singers, among them Mesdames Materna, Krauss, Schroeder, Hanfstengel, Brandt, and Slach, Messieurs Schott, Robinson, Staudigl, Koegel, and Udvardi. Damrosch began the season in November, 1884, with Wagner's "Tannhäuser." Wagner's "Lohengrin," and "Walküre," Beethoven's "Fidelio," Mozart's "Don Giovanni," Meyerbeer's "Huguenots," and "The Prophet," Weber's "Freischütz," and also some Italian and French operas were rendered. With every performance the German opera gained in popularity, the most successful of all performances being the Wagner evenings. They were also the most successful financially.[2] The strain of the successful opera season proved fatal to the inspirer of the new venture. Dr. Leopold Damrosch

[1] Dr. Leopold Damrosch was born in Posen, Germany, in 1832. His parents desired him to study medicine, and in 1854 he received his medical degree from the University of Berlin. Subsequently he studied music in Berlin, and in 1856 became a member of the Court Orchestra in Weimar. There, under Liszt, he became a warm disciple of the new German school of music, the musical drama of Wagner. From 1858 he was resident in Breslau as conductor of orchestral societies. He came to New York in 1871.

[2] Cf. Ritter, p. 468. Statistics are furnished there.

contracted a severe cold after a performance of "Lohengrin" one evening in February, 1885, and died after a few days' illness. The gifted, thorough, and energetic leader was succeeded by Anton Seidl, considered by many critics the ablest conductor of German opera that ever resided in America. His enthusiastic admirers were ready to support an undertaking planned by him for a permanent operatic orchestra in New York. Anton Seidl was born in Pesth (Austria-Hungary) of German stock; was a personal friend of Wagner, and had been twice conductor at Bayreuth before coming to America. His sudden death in 1898 was a great blow to music-lovers.

The German opera was now on a secure foundation. Walter Damrosch and Emil Paur conducted the German, and Mancinelli the Italian and French operas. Under the successful management of Maurice Grau and his successor, Heinrich Conried, New York developed a grand opera such as was hardly equaled in the capitals of Europe. While the operas of Italy and France were also performed, there was under Conried's management a bias in favor of the German opera, and in the face of criticism it was proved over and over again that the greatest successes in the opera season were the Wagner nights. Such conductors as Alfred Hertz and Felix Mottl revived in some degree the enthusiasm that Anton Seidl was accustomed to inspire. The season of 1903–1904 was made famous by the production of Wagner's "Parsifal" for the first time anywhere outside the sacred temple of Bayreuth. Resentment at the boldness of the venture and doubts as to its artistic success were alike put to shame by the memorable performance of "Parsifal" on Christmas Eve of the year 1903, at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City. Musical critics agreed that the high standard set at Bayreuth had

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ANTON SEIDL

not been lowered in the New York rendition. The event was of international importance in respect to the breaking of the fetters which had held the opera bound, and epoch-making in the musical history of America because of the prestige it gave New York as a musical centre.

Since the resignation and death of the great impresario, Heinrich Conried, there has been a reaction against the preponderance of German opera in New York. The desire for change, which produces fashions in art and literature as much as in wearing apparel, has given the old rivals, Italian and French opera, a temporary advantage. Italian opera was aided by the vogue of a number of young Italian composers and by the presence of an array of wonderful singers, as Caruso, Tetrazzini, Farrar,[1] Melba, Sembrich, and others, who did not sing in German opera. Oscar Hammerstein, the builder of theatres, who was born in Germany, but does not represent German traditions, became the reviver of French opera, at the Manhattan Opera House, and with Campanini as director and the popular singer, Mary Garden, achieved great successes for French opera during the past two seasons. Yet with all this opposition German opera has more than held its own. In the last season (1908–1909), Wagner proved the greatest favorite at the Metropolitan Opera House, his operas being sung thirty-four times, while Puccini's, who came next, were sung twenty-six, and Verdi's twenty-four times. However, Italian opera was after all the most popular at the Metropolitan during the season, with seventy-three performances, as against forty-five of German, and nineteen of French

[1] Geraldine Farrar (born in Massachusetts) received her musical education in Paris and Berlin. She made her début at the Royal Opera House of Berlin in the rôle of Marguerite in *Faust*, and has been a member of the Berlin Royal Opera since 1901. She has sung in New York during the winter seasons since 1906.

operas. The excellent record for German opera was made by the director, Andreas Dippel, in spite of the fact that the great stars had been employed only for Italian opera. Dippel relied upon improved orchestral work and superior *ensemble*. A few years ago, when Jean de Reszke represented for German opera what Caruso was for Italian opera the past few seasons, Wagner nights were by far the best of all in attendance. It is an interesting fact, also, that the most popular opera at the Manhattan Opera House was "Salome," the work of the German composer, Richard Strauss, sung ten times in French. Conried had introduced the opera (in German) to an American audience for the first time, in the Metropolitan Opera House during the previous season. One of four operas presented seven times each at the Manhattan was "Les Contes d'Hoffmann," by the German-born composer, Offenbach.

Grand opera in the English language was attempted in the eighties, when a company was formed to produce opera in the English language, to be sung exclusively by Americans. The name given to it was the "National Opera Company," and the musical direction was to be under Theodore Thomas. There were some able singers in the cast, the chorus was acceptable, and the orchestra excellent, but financial success was lacking. In 1887 Thomas resigned the directorship with six months' salary owing to him, and in 1888 the company was disbanded.

A contribution to the musical history of America was made once more by the Moravians of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1903, when for the first time in this country they performed the great "B minor Mass" of Bach, under the leadership of J. Frederick Wolle.[1] On this occasion

[1] J. F. Wolle, conductor and organist, was born in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1863, of German descent, his father being a Moravian clergy-

the Moravian congregation gave at its Bach festival (by no means its first) the entire "Christmas Oratorio," "The Magnificat," "The Passion Music" (St. Matthew), and the "B minor Mass."

While America has not yet furnished any great musical composers, a large number of good musical compositions by the native-born element have appeared during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and in this work men of German blood have been prominent. An early instance of composition by a German occurred in connection with one of the great musical displays organized by Patrick S. Gilmore. His "Peace Jubilee Chorus" of 1869 in commemoration of the victorious ending of the Civil War had been a great achievement, viewed from the popular standpoint. In 1872 he wished to repeat the success on a larger scale, such as to eclipse any musical gathering (in size) that had ever occurred on the face of the earth. Gilmore wished to procure some anthem which should preserve the remembrance of this second festival. During the period of war-songs, a few years before, Matthias Keller,[1] a German composer living in Boston, described as a kind, modest, lovable old man, who struggled along in poverty, giving music-lessons, wrote a war-song called "Save Our Republic, O Father on High." It resembled a choral rather than a battle hymn, but the slow-moving theme pleased Gilmore very well. The war-tune was now used for the celebration of peace, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, on request, wrote an ode to go with it, beginning, —

man. His musical education was received under Rheinberger in Munich. He recently accepted a call to the chair of music in the University of California and has there organized a large Bach choir.

[1] Keller died very poor soon after his fame was established by the Peace Jubilee Chorus.

"Angel of peace, thou hast wandered too long,
Spread thy white wings to the sunshine of love."

The first concert, in 1869, had had a chorus of ten thousand voices and an orchestra of one thousand instruments. The second, in 1872, doubled those figures. In the auditorium there were about forty thousand people. Famous English and German military bands contributed. Carl Zerrahn led the vocal concert numbers. Soloists of international reputation tried hard to make themselves heard in the vast hall. Firemen pounded out the rhythm of the "Anvil Chorus" on fifty anvils. "We cannot catalogue all the monstrosities of this monster festival," says Elson.[1] "It was not art; art cannot be wholesaled." The effect, however, seems to have been stimulating for the local societies from the back country, who for the first time came in touch with some better music. One of our national songs, "Maryland, my Maryland," is a plagiarism[2] of the old German folk-song, "O Tannenbaum, O Tannenbaum," sung by students abroad to the words "Lauriger Horatius," and given a fiery text by J. R. Randall.

Among recent composers of German origin, there is Van der Stucken, of German descent on his mother's side, of Belgian on his father's. He was born in Texas, but his musical development took place in Germany, where he resided from 1866 to 1884. He was Kapellmeister of the Stadttheater of Breslau; Grieg and Liszt were his friends and patrons. In 1883 he gave a concert of his own compositions in Weimar, and in 1884 succeeded

[1] Cf. Elson, p. 88. Patrick S. Gilmore was born in Ireland, in 1829. As is well remembered, he was a noted leader of military bands before and after the Peace Jubilee.

[2] Cf. Elson, p. 156.

Damrosch as conductor of the Arion Männerchor in New York City. In 1892 he took this male chorus on a tour through Europe, showing Europeans something of the vocal execution of German singing-societies in the United States. In 1889 he gave a concert of American compositions at the Paris Exposition and repeated the same in several European cities. Elson says in regard to Van der Stucken's orchestral compositions: "On American soil there is only one composer who can equal the skill with which he draws highly spiced effects from the ultra-modern orchestra, Charles M. Loeffler."[1]

Charles Martin Loeffler was born in Alsatia, in 1861. He is a prominent member of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, studied violin with Leonard of Paris and Joachim of Berlin. He paints the tragical in music, and an intense *Weltschmerz*. Louis Maas (born in Wiesbaden, in 1852) wrote a symphony, "On the Prairie." Otto Singer (born in Saxony, in 1833), who for years trained the choruses of the Cincinnati May festivals, composed the cantata, "The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers." Some of the composers of German descent are Henry Schoenefeld, who first tried to put American melody into classical forms ("The Sunny South," "Rural Symphony"); E. R. Kroeger (father a native of Schleswig-Holstein) also tried American themes; e. g., "Hiawatha," "Thanatopsis," etc. Other German names are J. H. Beck, H. H. Huss, A. M. Foerster, all of whom have also received their musical education in Germany. Most of the American composers not of German descent, as Edward A. MacDowell, Horatio Parker, A. B. Whiting, L. A. Coerne, S. A. Pratt, F. S. Converse, and almost all others, have gone to school at Berlin or Munich, the Royal School of Music in the

[1] Elson, p. 193.

Bavarian capital being "the Mecca of American composers."[1]

An interesting figure among American composers is John Philip Sousa, born in Washington, in 1856. His mother was born in Germany, his father was a political refugee from Spain, a trombone player in the United States Marine Band. The son, a teacher at fifteen, and a conductor at seventeen, became the leader of the Marine Band at the early age of twenty-four. Sousa is most famous for his marches, as the Viennese Johann and Edmund Strauss for their waltzes. Every band in the United States plays Sousa's compelling marches; in England, and in musical Germany they have been taken up with enthusiasm. Though neither waltzes nor marches be the highest form of the musical art, undisputed kingship of either waltz- or march-music is a great achievement. "The Washington Post" was sold for thirty-five dollars. "The Liberty Bell" was born under a luckier star and netted the composer thirty-five thousand dollars,—the largest sum ever obtained for this type of music.

Among operatic composers there is Walter Damrosch, born in Breslau, the son of Dr. Leopold Damrosch. He favors American subjects, though his treatment is German. His operas, "The Scarlet Letter" and "Cyrano de Bergerac," and the "Manila Te Deum," are his chief works. It is significant also that Victor Herbert (born in Dublin, grandson of Samuel Lover, the Irish novelist), the leader of the Pittsburg Orchestra and noted composer, was sent to Germany at the age of seven to receive his musical education. For a long time he was violoncellist of

[1] A metaphor used by Elson (p. 204). Rheinberger of the Royal School of Munich was the inspiring teacher under whose influence the American composers have grown.

the Court Orchestra in Stuttgart before he came to the United States in 1886, at the age of twenty-seven. The opera "Kenilworth," by Bruno Oscar Klein (born in the Province of Hanover, in 1858), who came to the United States in 1878, was performed in Hamburg in 1895, but never in America. His shorter compositions, including about seventy-five songs, are of high rank.

In the creation and direction of musical schools the German element has also been most prominent. The Moravians had the first musical schools long before the Boston Musical Academy or the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia were founded. The great conservatories of Boston, Cincinnati, Chicago, and the National Conservatory of New York at all times had Germans on their faculties and in many cases as directors. Theodore Thomas at Chicago and Van der Stucken in Cincinnati have been unsurpassed teachers of music in the West. Clara Baur, born in Stuttgart, is the directress and founder (1867) of the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music. William M. Semnacher, likewise born in Würtemberg, was a professor in the New York Conservatory of Music, 1866–1867, and in 1892 established the National Institute of Music (New York), of which he is still the head. Ernst Eberhard (born in Hanover, Germany) in 1874 founded the Grand Conservatory of Music (a department of the University of the State of New York), and ever since has been its president.

Carl Faelten (born in Thuringia, Germany) was for twelve years a teacher in the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston. In 1897 he founded the Faelten Pianoforte School, Boston, compiled a large number of books of instruction, and has been one of the greatest piano teachers in the country. As Faelten at the piano,

Julius E. Eichberg is preëminent as a teacher of the violin. Through him the Boston Conservatory of Music came into existence and was until his death in 1898 the chief violin school in America. He was born in Düsseldorf in 1824, and came to Boston in 1859; he composed several operas, and was for a time supervisor of music in the Boston public schools.[1] Adolf Weidig (born in Hamburg, Germany), teacher and composer, is associate director of the American Conservatory of Music, Chicago. J. J. Hattstaedt (born in Michigan, in 1851, of German extraction and educated in Germany) founded the American Conservatory of Music in Chicago in 1886, and is still its president and director. Charles Heydler (born in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1861, of German parentage) is the director of the Cleveland Conservatory of Music. E. R. Kroeger (born in St. Louis, in 1862) is director of the College of Music, Forest Park University for Women, St. Louis.

At many American universities chairs of music have been created, and courses of instruction in music are regularly given. The veteran professor of music of American colleges is Gustav Jacob Stoeckel (born in Germany, in 1819). He came to the United States in 1847, and two years afterward was appointed instructor of music at Yale and organist in the college chapel. From 1890 to 1896 he was the Battell Professor of Music. He became professor *emeritus* after forty-seven years of service. Another faithful laborer as a teacher was Otto Dresel (born in Germany, 1826), who lived in Boston nearly forty years, wrote a "Book of Songs," and was one of the great

[1] J. E. Eichberg has composed the inspiring patriotic anthem, "To thee, O country, great and free" (words by Anna Eichberg King), which is perhaps the best American composition in its class.

forces advancing musical taste, taking part in the movement against the "Eternal Psalmody" (Elson). Many similar laborers in the field of musical teaching have been mentioned in previous paragraphs, and the list might be extended.[1]

Among musical critics who are also educators in musical matters the German element is also well represented. The three most prominent critics in America are: H. T. Finck (born in Missouri, in 1854, of German parentage), author of the biographical and critical work, "Wagner and his Works" (1893); Dr. F. L. Ritter (born in Strassburg, in 1834), author of "Music in America," conductor and manager of the first great musical festival held in New York, in 1867, and for many years professor at Vassar; H. E. Krehbiel (born in Ann Arbor, Michigan), musical critic of the New York "Tribune" and author of "How to Listen to Music," "Studies in the Wagnerian Drama," "Music and Manners in the Classical Period," "The Philharmonic Society of New York," "Chapters of Opera, being historical and critical observations and records concerning the lyric drama in New York, from its earliest days to the present time" (1908).

One of the greatest influences toward developing a love

[1] Adolf Frey, born in Germany, professor of music, Syracuse University; W. H. Berwald (born in Mecklenburg), professor of music, Syracuse University, since 1893; A. Oldberg (born in Ohio), professor of music, Northwestern University, since 1899; Hermann Diestel, member of the Thomas Symphony Orchestra, now member of the Spiering Quartet, and on the teaching-staff of the Chicago Musical College; Leo Schulz, a great 'cellist, professor of music at Yale; Henry Ern (born in Dresden), head of violin and orchestral music, University School of Music, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Louis Falk (born in Germany), professor of organ theory, Chicago Musical College, since 1869; F. Ziegfeld (born in Oldenburg, Germany), president of Chicago Musical College since 1867; Oscar Weil (born in New York State, educated in Germany, Civil War veteran), since 1868 prominent teacher in San Francisco. A distinguished career is that of Gustav Hinrichs, born in Mecklenburg, in 1850, teacher (Nat. Cons. N. Y.), conductor, composer, and manager of his own opera company in Philadelphia for ten years.

of music is that which proceeds through the public schools. Lowell Mason, the New England composer, made the first step in this direction in Boston. Strangely enough a great hindrance encountered was the opposition of parents who were still prejudiced against musical education. In 1883 the first tentative steps were taken which subsequently resulted in success. The great pioneer of this movement in New York City was Frank Damrosch (born in Breslau, son of Dr. Leopold Damrosch), who made singing in the public schools of New York a permanent part of the curriculum. He also established choral classes among the working-people of New York City, and although such concerts may not be of the highest artistic grade, they are truly enjoyable, and bring happiness to many homes.

In closing we should give a thought to the host of German music-teachers of the humbler class from 1848 to the present time, who in every large and innumerable smaller cities have labored for little pay and less glory, yet with unflinching fidelity, at the musical education of the American people. Unless the people perform themselves, they have no true appreciation of music, and sincerely did the poet Lanier utter the sentiment that music is essential to the happiness of home life. The patient German music-master has been a most potent factor in the social evolution of our people during the last fifty years. To many of these individuals, unknown to fame, the struggle must have been a hard one, when from a high plane of musical culture existing even among the middle classes of Europe, they were cast upon a hard and frigid soil that appeared to defy all their efforts at cultivation. "It required a strong and elastic nature, both physical and mental, to resist the deteriorating effects of such outward strain upon the sensitive nerves of a person brought up amid a life of European

civilization; and in many cases only great faith and hope in the future beneficial results of a newer civilization, based upon republican institutions, afforded compensation — often illusory — to the struggling pioneer for all his sacrifices and privations."[1]

In 1838, when a small band of seven or eight musicians[2] attempted to play a portion of a Haydn Symphony in a New York theatre, "the gods" in the gallery cried, "Stop that noise; give us 'Bonyparte Crossing the Rhine,' 'Washington's March,' or 'Yankee Doodle.'" On the following night, when the performers attempted to repeat the concert, they were greeted with cat-calls and rotten eggs. A great transformation has since taken place. From "Yankee Doodle" to "Parsifal" in less than seventy years is the record of German influence on the development of musical taste in America.

B. Fine Arts: Painting

America had no art before 1776. "People ate and drank, and built and reclaimed the land and multiplied. But a large bar of iron was of more value than the finest statue, and an ell of good cloth was prized more highly than the 'Transfiguration' of Raphael."[3] The author of this stern historical estimate, the eminent professor of the history of art in the University of Breslau, nevertheless concedes that now America has an art of her own. It is not national but cosmopolitan, and shows that America in matters of art "is far more exposed to international influences than any other country." America is nearer the art centre of Europe than Russia,

[1] Ritter, pp. 417–418.

[2] This incident is taken from Ritter, p. 135.

[3] Richard M. Muther, *The History of Modern Painting*, vol. iii, p. 455. Translated into English, London, 1896, three volumes.

and many of her best artists live in European capitals. Art has not yet, like music, been firmly planted on American soil, for in the province of art there are not the same opportunities in the United States of obtaining the best in schools, museums, and public places.

The influence of Germans and of Germany has been twice felt in the history of American painting. The first time, in the forties of the nineteenth century, through the Düsseldorf school, and a second time, very recently, through the Munich artists. None of the early representatives of American painting — J. S. Copley, Benjamin West, Gilbert Stuart, John Trumbull — were Germans; the foreign influence that came at that time was mainly from England. There were quite a number of faithful laborers in the early period, such as Joseph Eckstein (1801), described as "a thorough-going drudge in the arts, that could do a picture in still life — history — landscape — portrait — he could model — cut a head in marble — or anything you please."[1] Such lives remind one of the plight of the musician Heinrich, composer of the volume of songs entitled "Dawning of Music in Kentucky," which could not rescue him from a debtor's prison.[2] Jacob Eichholtz, of German extraction (born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1776), was a disciple of Stuart as a portrait-painter, and might have ripened to excellence under more favorable circumstances. "Street Scenes, Central Square, Philadelphia," "Election at the State House," were painted by the

[1] Eckstein was a German. Cf. William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Art of Design in the United States*, vol. ii, p. 288.

[2] This quaint volume, containing musical scores of a number of songs composed by Heinrich, is found in the Library of Congress, Washington. The date is 1820. Friends in Philadelphia wrote the words to his songs, which he seems to have composed there or in Kentucky.

German artist, J. L. Krimmel, who came to this country in 1810, and was accidentally drowned near Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1821.[1]

In the forties the popularity of the Romantic School drew the American painters to Düsseldorf, where a new art of landscape painting had sprung up under the leadership of the artist, Karl Friedrich Lessing. The American painters felt the need of greater accuracy in drawing, and more technique. In 1848 Paul Weber, a representative of the school, established himself in Philadelphia, and became one of the most fashionable painters of the day.[2] But the pioneer of greatest influence in this movement was Emmanuel Leutze. He was born at Gmünd, Würtemberg, in 1816, but he spent his early life in America. Evidences of talent in the boy interested Mr. E. L. Carey, of Philadelphia, with whose assistance and some money that he had earned by painting pictures, as "Indian Gazing at the Setting Sun," Leutze was enabled to go abroad to study. He became the pupil of Lessing, at Düsseldorf, and soon painted the historical picture, "Columbus before the High Council of Salamanca." "Columbus in Chains" brought him a gold medal at Brussels. His best-known picture in America is perhaps "Washington Crossing the Delaware," painted in 1851, and now in possession of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Muther calls it a sincere and loyal historical picture, which in its quiet matter-of-fact composition rather resembles an earnest artist like Copley than Lessing, with his sentimentalism and exaggeration.[3] Equally famous in

[1] Sadakichi Hartmann, *A History of American Art*, in two volumes, vol. i, p. 253. (Page & Co., Boston, 1902.)

[2] Hartmann, vol. i, p. 63.

[3] Muther, vol. iii, p. 458.

America is his "Emigration to the West" (or "Westward the Course of Empire takes its Way"), completed in 1862, the large picture forming one of the panels of the staircase at the Capitol at Washington. His last work was a cartoon, "Emancipation of the Slaves." He died in Washington in 1868, overcome by the heat of summer. Leutze was a hard worker, and aspired to high ideals. He has been severely criticized, particularly in America, where he has never been appreciated as fully as abroad. Most of his pictures are not to be seen in this country, and therefore American critics rarely had a chance to view his work in its entireness; but his was the most prominent effort in historical painting in America up to that time.[1] His shortcomings were those incident to rapid work and the weaknesses of his school, crude coloring and a fixed academical style of drawing. The Düsseldorfers welcomed him with enthusiasm whenever he appeared among them, and he came near to being called at one time to the directorship of the Düsseldorf Academy.[2] In the history of American painting he is also noteworthy for having been one of the few American artists who selected American subjects for their works. The only other prominent example was Trumbull.

As Leutze had represented historical painting, so another German-American, Albert Bierstadt, introduced the Düsseldorfian manner of landscape painting. Born in Solingen, near Düsseldorf, his parents took him to America when he was only two years old. He was to become a merchant, but

[1] Cf. Hartmann, p. 142.

[2] For an appreciative essay on Leutze, cf. H. Becker, *Kölner Zeitung*; article reprinted in no. 34, Dioskuren, 1868. Cf. also Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists*. A very unsympathetic review appeared in the New York *Tribune*, February 2, 1867.

Emanuel Leutze pinx.

WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE

his love for art prevailed, and in 1853 he returned to his native land for an education. He studied under Lessing, Achenbach, and Leutze at Düsseldorf, remaining abroad four years. On his journeys to Switzerland and elsewhere he had acquired the habit of making sketches of mountain landscapes, which stood him in good stead when presently a great opportunity came his way. Immediately after his return he made two long trips to the Far West, taking part in General Lander's expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1858. The wild regions that he saw gave him the materials and the inspiration for his pictures. He was a worshiper of the grand in nature, like the German-American novelist, Charles Sealsfield, in literature.[1] Bierstadt's pictures "united geographical accuracy with the effort to compass dazzling meteorological effects" (Muther). Primeval nature was his subject, temple-like solitudes, only occasionally enlivened by trappers, cowboys, Indians mounted, or buffaloes, by their diminutive presence impressing all the more the sublimity of the wonder-works of nature. Some of his most famous pictures, which he painted on canvases of great dimensions, are "Lander's Peak," "Storm in the Rockies," "Domes of the Yosemite," "The Yosemite Valley," "Laramie Peak," "Mt. Hood." One of his last pictures, "In the Sierras," won a gold medal at the exhibition of the Berlin Academy in 1868. Bierstadt does not produce in his landscapes the expression of a human mood or feeling, not even in his "Emerald Pool in the White Mountains." The grand and heroic in nature are designed to create an overpowering impression upon the human soul. His pictures were very popular for a time, especially in Europe, where their subjects were romantically new, and

[1] Cf. Sealsfield's description of the San Jacinto Prairie, in the *Cabin Book*, or his romantic depictions of Mexican scenery (*Süden und Norden*).

the depiction seemed accurate.[1] Bierstadt had followers among American painters, such as J. B. Bristol and F. E. Church, who painted American and Mexican scenery. Many were the young men who, following the example of Leutze[2] and Bierstadt, went to school at Düsseldorf, and for twenty years or more the influence of Düsseldorf artists was evident in American historical and landscape painting.

A new era came about 1860, when the fame of the Barbizon[3] school began to attract American artists. Soon thereafter the glory of the Rocky Mountain school departed. The influence of the French school is traceable in most of the modern American landscape painters, a number of whom have German names. Among them are the genre painters, Henry Mosler (born in New York; studied at Düsseldorf and Paris), and Carl Gutherz (Swiss by birth), the latter a pupil of Bouguereau.

Within very recent times, however, the influence of

[1] Bierstadt died in 1902. An appreciative review of his work can be found in an article by S. R. Köhler, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst.* (Leipzig, 1870.) Cf. also *Atlantic Monthly*, vols. xiii and xiv, articles by Fitz-Hugh Ludlow. The hardships of Western travel are commented on, such as Bierstadt endured in order to attain his ends.

[2] A prominent pupil of Leutze was Karl Ferdinand Weimer (Wimer), born in Germany in 1828, who came to this country in 1844. He made it his purpose in life to portray the North American Indian, and traveled extensively to carry out his aim, living among the Sioux, taking pictures of them, and closely observing them in peace and war, on the hunt and at their pastimes. Weimer's *Buffalo Hunt* (in the Art Museum of St. Louis), and numerous canvases portraying wild life in the West, are the pioneers in this popular type of American painting. Weimer's studies of Indian costumes, utensils, weapons, details of daily life, also his big-game pictures, were of great service to succeeding painters. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xiii, pp. 130 ff., and *American Art Review*, vol. ii, pp. 176–177.

[3] This French school was also known as the Fontainebleau school of landscape painters. They resided near the forest of Fontainebleau, the most beautiful in France, in Barbizon, Chailly, and other near-by villages. This modern school was founded by Theodore Rousseau; prominent members were Corot, Dupré, Daubigny, François Millet, Fleury, and others.

Paris has been counterbalanced somewhat by a second German influence, that of Munich. Piloty had urged the study of nature and insisted on correct draughtsmanship. In Germany, Düsseldorf as a school for artists was dethroned and Munich set in its place. Talented young people came from all parts of the world to learn what the renaissance of German art had in store. Ludwig Löfftz raised the reputation of Munich and perfected the realism and technique of the school. A number of artists of the first rank, such as Makart, Max, Lenbach, Defregger, Dietz, made the fame of Munich resound over the whole world. In the eighties and early nineties, the Bavarian capital was as much the Mecca of American art students as was Paris, although not so many made Munich their permanent home.[1] Among the latter, of German descent, were Rosenthal, Marr, and Ulrich. T. Rosenthal remained true to the old romantic ideas, and would not represent life in unpleasant realistic coloring.

For two reasons the most interesting of the three is Carl Marr, born in Milwaukee, in 1858, first because of his work, and secondly because of his teaching. He has become a professor at the Munich Academy, and now represents the influence both of Germany and, since he was born in the United States, of the native German element on American painting. "He is a worker, a born professor, whose talent is made up of the elements of will, work, study, and patience" (Muther). His productive work is of perfect draughtsmanship and shows true naturalism, free from extravagances. In 1889 he introduced himself by the "Procession of Flagellants," a serious historical picture of great size, exhibiting great mastery over technical difficulties. His next pictures were "Germany in

[1] Cf. Hartmann, vol. ii, p. 198.

1806," and the genre picture "Summer Day." Marr's pictures have the capacity of satisfying every one. They tell a story pleasing to the uncritical, and owing to the soundness of their technique they never offend the most exacting.[1]

Charles F. Ulrich (born in New York, in 1858), a pupil of Löfftz and Lindenschmidt, takes Italy for his subject. He paints Venice, not that of romance, but the Venice of the present day, with its narrow streets and comely girls, laundresses, and women making bouquets and laughing at their work. "There is a mild lustre of color in his work and a distinctive sobriety in tone, in contradistinction from the pyrotechnics of the Italian Fortuny" (Muther). His "Glass-Blowers" (at the Metropolitan Museum) is a study of the laboring-class, and his "Promised Land" represents European immigrants arriving at Castle Garden. Robert Koehler (born in Hamburg, Germany, in 1850) is a painter of Munich street life; Hermann Hartwich (born in New York, in 1853) chooses subjects chiefly from South Tyrol and the north of Italy; Robert Blum has painted Japanese street scenes, full of sunlight and lustrous color; — "his Venetian and Japanese pictures fairly sparkle with crisp and delicate effects" (Hartmann). Robert W. Vonnoh is a member of the Munich secession. His painted portraits and landscapes, consisting entirely of dots of pure bright color, illustrate the theory that the first visual impression we receive consists of a chaos of color dots. In the exhibition at Munich of 1892, he exhibited a field of poppies in which the red color had been daubed on the canvas not by the brush but out of the tube.

[1] Carl Marr's "Star of Life" is found in the Metropolitan Museum. It represents the body of a young girl thrown ashore, while the figure of an old man, denoting Time, is seen among the rocks, meditating.

Albert Bierstadt pinx

MOUNT CORCORAN, SIERRA NEVADA

"Never yet," says Muther, "was war so boldly declared on all the conventional usages of the studio; never yet were such barbaric means employed to attain an astounding effect of light." Among American artists residing in London, where Whistler and Sargent reign supreme, there is Muhrmann, trained in Munich, who has lately come to the front in the exhibitions.

Other German names among modern American painters are Louis Moeller, who portrays unique types of old men and genre scenes; J. M. Gaugengigl,[1] master in painting details; Louis Kronberg, depicter of ballet-girls; Max Weyl (born in Germany), landscape artist; Joseph Lauber (born in Westphalia, Germany), mural painter, member of the advisory committee of color scheme at the Pan-American Exposition, interested in the artistic improvement of cities; J. J. Behr, miniature painter; R. F. Zogbaum, delineator of military and naval subjects.[2] Other German names of men of talent are A. L. Groll, C. H. Fromuth, Charles Schreyvogel, W. E. Schumacher, A. H. Maurer, etc.[3] It is interesting to note the large number of German names among the medal winners at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904. There are German names in each class; i. e., of gold, silver, and bronze medal awards in the departments of painting, sculpture, etchings, engravings, etc. The German names under silver and bronze medals can be counted by scores, showing

[1] Hartmann, vol. i, pp. 283–284, calls him the Meissonier of America. A good example of his work is found in the Boston Art Museum, a cavalryman shot dead from ambush.

[2] Among battle painters there have been Rothermel, a German artist who painted gigantic canvases like the "Battle of Gettysburg," which was one of the attractions of the Centennial Fair at Philadelphia in 1876. Another German name among battle painters is Gilbert Gaul, born in Jersey City in 1855. Cf. Hartmann, vol. i, p. 251.

[3] Hartmann, vol. ii, p. 252.

that a very large share of the artistic work of our country is being done by men of German blood.

In 1878 the criticism appeared in "Harper's Magazine" that "the great defect of American artists is ignorance of the elements of the science and technique of the profession. They did not learn early enough how to draw; they have not clear ideas of what art is and what art demands." Now, after less than twenty years, the art critic Muther says, "American pictures are eminent for their technique." There has been a strenuous discipline in correct drawing and an effort to probe every subject as artistically as possible. "Technique being the basis of every art, the groundwork for the growth of an especially American school has thus been created." For the attainment of this technique Düsseldorf, Paris, and Munich have been the training-schools. "With their fine instinct for novelty, their presage of the tendency of the future, the Americans are well able to estimate the value of European schools of art. For this reason they seek neither Berlin nor Düsseldorf amongst German centres of art, but only Munich, nor did they come even here until Munich had decisively joined in the great modern movement."[1]

In the art schools that have been established in the United States there is likewise a strong representation of the German element on the various teaching-staffs. Frederick Dielman (born in Hanover, in 1847) has been president of the New York Academy of Design since 1899. He studied art in Munich under Diez; and was topographer and draughtsman in the United States Engineer Department, 1866–1872. He designed the mosaic panels "Law" and "History" in the new Congressional Library, and

[1] Muther, vol. iii, p. 478.

some other mosaics. He was president of the National Academy of Design, 1899–1902, and has been professor of descriptive geometry and drawing in the College of the City of New York since 1903. Robert Koehler (born in Hamburg in 1850) is the director of the Minneapolis School of Fine Arts and the president of the Minnesota State Art Society. John Henry Niemeyer (born in Bremen, Germany, in 1839) has been professor of drawing in the Yale School of Fine Arts since 1871. Charles M. Kurtz (born at New Castle, Pennsylvania, in 1855) is art director in the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy. Edmund H. Osthaus (born in Hildesheim, Germany, in 1858) was the principal of the Toledo Academy of Fine Arts until it was abandoned. Benjamin W. Clinedinst (born in Woodstock, Virginia, in 1860) is the director of the School of Illustration, Drexel Institute of Philadelphia, also of the School of Applied Design for Women, in New York.

A typical example of a German teacher of wide experience and influence is that of Professor Otto Fuchs, at his death in 1906 director of the Maryland Institute in Baltimore. He was a native of Prussia, and came to America in 1840, at the age of twelve. He studied civil engineering, was employed in the Cooper Institute, New York, as a teacher of machine designing, then as draughtsman in the United States Coast Survey, and at the outbreak of the Civil War he drew plans for battleships. According to Ericsson's directions he executed the plans for the first *Monitor*. Leaving a professorship in the Naval Academy, he accepted a responsible position in a Boston machine-building company (Harrison-Loring). When the State Normal Art School was founded in Boston, he was first appointed head of the technical section and subsequently director of the entire institution. His spirit of independ-

ence, particularly in regard to political appointments, created friction, and although Professor Fuchs was victorious in the struggle, he was wearied by it and willing to accept a call in 1883 to the directorship of the Maryland Institute in Baltimore, where unrestricted freedom was admitted from the start in regard to appointments and control of the curriculum. The school was the same in which the sculptor Rinehart had received his first instruction. It had about two hundred and fifty pupils when Professor Fuchs took hold of it; in his charge the number grew to fourteen hundred. Many of his pupils won gold or silver medals in Paris in the annual competitions.[1] When Baltimore was burned in 1904 the Maryland Institute art rooms and all the models that had accumulated for years were totally destroyed. Otto Fuchs was not disheartened but rose equal to the occasion, and started at once to gather subscriptions for a new building with greater facilities and a larger endowment. In carrying out this great purpose he undermined his constitution, but the certainty of success comforted him upon his death-bed. The unusual honor of memorial resolutions by the General Assembly of Maryland[2] was conferred upon the deceased public servant.

The intellectual exchange of professors between Germany and America has undoubtedly suggested the plan of an exchange in the province of art. In January, 1909, there was opened in the new wing of the Metropolitan Museum of New York City an exhibition of the works of modern German painters under the auspices of the Ger-

[1] For example, Hans Schuler (of German parentage), sculptor in Baltimore, whose "Adam and Eve" and "Ariadne" are works showing marked talent and promise.

[2] Cf. *German-American Annals*, New Series, vol. iv, pp. 158–160.

Carl Marr pinx.

THE FLAGELLANTS

man Government. The artistic direction was in charge of Wilhelm Bode, director-general of the Royal Museum of Berlin; Arthur Kampf, president of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Berlin; and Carl Marr, professor of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Munich. On this side the exhibition owed a great deal to the untiring efforts of the art connoisseur, Hugo Reisinger. His Majesty the German Emperor sent his portrait by Kampf and a number of famous modern paintings by Lenbach, Böcklin, Menzel, and others, loaned from the Royal Art Galleries of Berlin, an example which was followed by the museums of Munich, Dresden, Weimar, Karlsruhe, and others. The collection undoubtedly served its purpose of a better acquaintance with modern German art, and made a strong impression, though far removed from commonplace approval. It was discovered that the German artists did not belong to any one school, but were individuals striving to express their individual genius, men of wonderful force, directness, and sincerity, frequently incurring the danger of crudity through their vigor, and of marring the line of beauty through their bold simplicity or their lofty aspiration. The exhibition is to visit other American cities, and some time in the future an exhibition of American art is to take place in Berlin.

An influence of a more permanent kind will undoubtedly result from the establishment of the Germanic Museum at Harvard University in 1903. The beginnings of a great collection were made by the generous gifts of the German Emperor, which included casts of German sculptures of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance to be found in no other museum in the world. Galvanoplastic reproductions of German metal-work from the twelfth to the eighteenth century were added later by German friends, and gifts came

from the King of Saxony and the town council of Nuremberg, illustrating Saxon art of the thirteenth century and the workmanship of the Nuremberg sculptor, Adam Krafft. The collection promises to become one of the most complete and valuable in the world, and a constant source of interest alike to laymen and artists.[1]

C. Sculpture

If the beginnings of music and painting in the United States were difficult, the case for sculpture seemed well-nigh hopeless. The Puritan and Quaker horror of the flesh and a peculiar unfathomable prudishness that held sway all over the country,[2] compelled whatever talent there was in the land to seek refuge in fair Italy. From the very persecutors of the art, however, sprang its first great votaries, Hiram Powers (1805–1873), a Quaker, and Horatio Greenough (1805–1852), whose mother was born in New England.

There were undoubtedly some Germans laboring at the art in the early period, for when Powers went to Cincinnati in 1826 he frequently visited the studio of a German artist,[3] and there discovered in himself those talents which culminated in the production of the "Greek Slave." There is a record of a German by the name of Korwan, "who executed several monuments which show conscientious labor and good taste."[4] The more than gifted Francis Dengler (born in Cincinnati) was of German descent. He died

[1] Thanks to the untiring efforts of the founder and curator of the museum, Professor Kuno Francke, and the generous beginning of a fund by Adolphus Busch ($150,000), the institution may look forward to occupying, in time, a permanent home. Three hundred thousand dollars will be necessary for this purpose. Cf. Chapter v, p. 236, note 2.

[2] Cf. Mrs. Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, vol. ii, pp. 85–87, and vol. i, pp. 220–221.

[3] Cf. Hartmann, *A History of American Art*, vol. ii, p. 19.

[4] Hartmann, vol. ii, p. 18.

in Boston, in 1879, at the age of twenty-six, after a short, productive, and useful career as teacher at the Boston Museum School. His group, entitled "Caught," representing children at play, is a successful study of sculptural grouping.

The sculptor, William H. Rinehart, born in 1825, was the son of a German farmer (Reinhardt) of Carroll County, Maryland.[1] The opening of a quarry in the neighborhood made of the boy a stonecutter instead of a farmer. Removing to Baltimore, he plied his trade ten to twelve hours a day and afterward worked in the night school of the Maryland Institute. In 1855, with the aid of the art connoisseur, W. S. Walters, Rinehart was enabled to go to Italy, and he there executed his two bas-reliefs "Night" and "Day." He soon returned to Baltimore, and opened a studio, but the memories of the Eternal City proved too great an attraction. In 1858 he returned to Rome, and remained there until his death in 1874. Rinehart's work may best be studied in Baltimore. In the art gallery of the Peabody Institute three of his marbles and about forty-two plaster casts of his most important works have been brought together. In Washington Place near the Peabody stands the impressive bronze statue of Chief Justice Taney, seated in a chair. Some of Rinehart's work is to be seen in the Greenmount Cemetery of Baltimore (e. g., "Sleeping Children"). The gem of Rinehart's work is a life-sized nude marble, "Clytie," in the Peabody, a beautiful example of the classical style. "Latona and her Children," a marble group which rivals the other in excellence, is found in the Metropolitan Museum. The Corcoran Art Gallery possesses several of the sculptor's works, among them "Endymion."

[1] Carroll County is within the area of old Frederick County, the stronghold of the German farmers, who mostly trekked from Pennsylvania.

Rinehart was among the last of the American sculptors who remained under the influence of the classicism so beautifully revived in Italy by Canova. William Rinehart at his death left his estate to be used for the foundation of a traveling scholarship. The sculptor knew what Rome had been for him, he remembered also how poverty had stood in his way, and wished therefore to help some young men of tried talent situated as he had been. The Roman Rinehart Scholarship, awarded upon work submitted in competition, has fulfilled the donor's wishes, for it has been of real service to a number of promising American sculptors, the most noted case being that of the brilliant American sculptor, Herman Atkins MacNeal, who won the honor of the award, 1896–1900.

A diligent search would undoubtedly reveal the presence of other Germans at work during the early periods, but the present purpose is not to exhaust the materials, but to search for larger influences. A great impulse to sculpture in recent times has been given by the decorative work of the last three great American expositions. It is true that a large part of the work produced has been merely architectural or decorative, but the popularizing of pleasing forms, though ephemeral as compared with the immortal marbles of masters, has brought about a kind of renaissance in the plastic art. This new era, which has borne many artists to the front by giving them something to do, and which has forced the public to become interested, was produced mainly by two men of German birth, Karl Theodor F. Bitter, born in Vienna in 1867, and Frederick W. Ruckstuhl, born at Breitenbach, in Alsace, within the borders of Germany in 1853.

Karl Bitter was the most conspicuous decorator of the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, and the official

director of sculpture at the two succeeding expositions, the Pan-American in 1901, and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904. He received a good education in his native city, with Latin and Greek at the Gymnasium and sculpture at the Academy of Fine Arts. In 1889 he arrived in New York City, possessed of no other resources save his technical education. With neither friends nor relatives to aid him he began work with a firm of house decorators. The story is told that his fellow workmen jeered at him when he used his spare time to fashion a model in competition for one of the gates of Trinity Church in New York. The foreigner won the award, and soon also the esteem of Richard M. Hunt, the architect. Then came Bitter's great opportunity. Mr. Hunt created the stately Administration Building for the World's Fair in Chicago, and invited the young man to design the elaborate sculptural decorations that were to embellish it. Bitter was fully equal to the task, and added to his great undertaking the decoration of the Liberal Arts Building at the earnest request of its designer, G. B. Post.[1] "To most of us," says the critic Taft, "those great lawless compositions on the Administration Building were curious rather than beautiful, though all recognized the fertility of invention and the audaciousness of the foreigner, who threatened to overwhelm the structure with his lightly conceived giants of plaster. With all our natural resourcefulness, there were but two or at most three native Americans who could have 'swung' such work with the easy mastery, the professional *bravura*, that Mr. Bitter showed in nearly every sketch and to a certain extent in the final groups, those enormous constructions of timber and staff. If it seems too purely a

[1] Cf. Lorado Taft, *The History of American Sculpture*, pp. 456–463. (The Macmillan Company, 1903.)

product of intuition and dexterity to merit serious study, it becomes, in mass, of the highest importance as a quiet, persistent influence toward the elevation of the standard of American workmanship, and of no less importance in the cultivation of American taste through familiarity with admirable examples." Figures and figure reliefs for "Biltmore" and other residences of the Vanderbilts, for the homes of C. P. Huntington, John Jacob Astor, and many others belong to the works of Bitter. The enormous reliefs for the Broad Street Station in Philadelphia, for innumerable public buildings, churches, etc., came from the workshop of Karl Bitter, who is able to design for a whole shopful of assistants and direct the execution of many things at once. "The sculptural result may not be profound — but it is a gift indeed to be able to create spontaneously, unwearyingly, these beautiful things. We should feel grateful to Mr. Bitter for every one of those delightful mantelpieces and friezes, for all the spandrels and cartouches, for the whole army of graceful stone men and women, be they caryatides, evangelists, or bacchantes."[1] Teutonic exuberance touched with the gayety of the Viennese is the characteristic of this artist.

Karl Bitter's administration during the Pan-American Exposition was an artistic and financial success. The total amount expended, nearly a quarter of a million dollars, kept thirty-five American artists and over one hundred assistants busy for over a year. It enriched the "City of Light" with effective statuary admirably suited to its purpose. "His personal contribution, the enormous standard-bearers, were among the finest things ever devised for an exposition. He stood his horses almost on end; they fairly sat on their haunches and threw out their feet for balance.

[1] Taft, p. 459.

Like the fluttering banner above them, their exuberance filled the spectator with elation. They gave the note of joy to which the whole gala scene was attuned."[1] Karl Bitter was one of the leading spirits in the building of the arch for the Dewey reception in New York City. But his work at times is also of a deeper and more lasting nature, as, for instance, in the Villard Memorial, the panels of choir-singers over the entrance of Cornelius Vanderbilt's Fifth Avenue residence, and above all, the bust of Dr. Pepper, provost of the University of Pennsylvania.

Frederick Wellington Ruckstuhl has done notable service as the organizer and in some sense the leading spirit of the National Sculpture Society, of which he was for several years the secretary.[2] He consecrated his great energy and executive ability to this fraternity, which, by 1899, organized five important exhibitions, and brought sculptors together for coöperative efforts. The sculptural decoration of the Appellate Court Building in New York City is a monument to Mr. Ruckstuhl's disinterested efforts. This work of many hands, though at times crude, nevertheless brings before the public the suggestion of art. The development of taste for the art of sculpture is a matter of growth and prolonged heroic effort. As it was with music, so a better day may come for the other forms of art. Mr. Ruckstuhl's sacrifice for the cause is a very great one, for he loses the opportunity of exercising his extraordinary talents in productive work. Of these his marble figure "Evening" in the Metropolitan Museum gives evidence. It was modeled in Paris and won him a medal at the Columbian Exposition. "It is a poetic con-

[1] Taft, pp. 459–460.

[2] Taft, p. 424. Karl Bitter was also a leading member of this society, and for some time a member of its board of directors.

ception, very simply expressed, in a pose of unusual grace, and reveals a close study of nature." [1] Other works of his are "Mercury teasing the Eagles of Jupiter," in St. Louis; "Solon," in the Congressional Library; the two seated marble figures, "Wisdom" and "Force," guarding the entrance of the Appellate Court, New York; the spirited equestrian statue of General Hartranft, at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Among architectural sculptors there is Philip Martiny, born in Alsace, in 1858, within the present boundary of Germany. "He has made whole regiments of long-thighed females, classically draped, apparently all sisters, as they only vary in the turn of their heads, the pose of their legs, and the attribute they carry in their arms." [2] Martiny spent his boyhood in France, and is a pupil of Saint-Gaudens. He is perhaps not properly classified as belonging to the German element. M. M. Schwarzott and Max Bachman also belong to the group of architectural sculptors. Karl Bitter has a number of followers, as Gustave Gerlach, sculptor of the personification, "Minnesota"; Bruno L. Zimm, sculptor of "North Dakota"; others of German name that availed themselves of the opportunities afforded by the director of sculpture at the expositions were Adolph Weinmann (pupil of Saint-Gaudens and Niehaus), sculptor of "Kansas"; and Carl Heber, of "Indian Territory."

Another opportunity for American sculptors has come through the demand for monuments and statues. One of the great representatives of this art is Charles Henry Niehaus, born in Cincinnati, in 1855, of German parents, and educated at the Royal Academy of Munich. His first was one of his greatest monuments, viz., the

[1] Taft, p. 426. [2] Hartmann, p. 77.

statue of James A. Garfield, located in Cincinnati. "His conception of the man was adequate. The figure has dignity, distinction, and personality. It is one of the first oratorical statues which do not antagonize at first sight. An uplifted arm is generally a danger-signal — warning of an impatient and unexpressive work; but this silent speaker is eloquent. We do not resent his gesture, as we do that of Story's 'Edward Everett' in Boston. The treatment is firm, the drawing admirable, and to these fundamental qualities the sculptor has added a delightful play of textures."[1] Another great work of Niehaus is the statue of Hahnemann, the founder of homœopathy. It is one of the most effective monuments in the city of Washington. Another beautiful statue is called "The Driller," a nude masculine figure driving a drill into the ground. It is the leading figure on the monument of Colonel Edwin L. Drake, who sank the first oil-well in Pennsylvania in 1859. "Moses" and "Gibbon" were the two contributions of Niehaus to the Congressional Library. Numerous are his portrait statues scattered over many parts of the United States, such as those of William Allen, Lincoln, Girard, etc. Niehaus was one of the gold-medal winners in sculpture at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

Frederick E. Triebel (born at Peoria, Illinois, in 1865), of German parentage, made his début at the Columbian Exposition with a number of marbles that he had brought with him from Florence. The best-known among them is his ideal composition, "Love knows no caste." Since then his unquestioned talent has been exhibited in the spirited groups on the soldiers' monument in his native city. Albert E. Harnisch, a Philadelphian of German parentage,

[1] Cf. Taft, p. 394.

likewise brought back from Italy a number of his works, — "Love in idleness," "Boy robbing an eagle's nest," "The little protector," — showing much talent. A creator of statues of American soldiers is the German, Rudolph Schwarz, located at Indianapolis. His work is to be seen on the Indiana State Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument.[1] In 1902 he won the award in the competition for a statue of Governor Pingree of Michigan for the city of Detroit. Frank Happersburger occupies a distinguished place among sculptors of the Pacific Coast. Most noteworthy is his work on the Lick Monument, on which he has pictured various scenes of Western activity, as well as a portion of the animal life of California.[2] A pioneer in the West was Leonard Volk[3] (born at Wellstown, New York, in 1828). He settled down in Chicago in 1857, opened a studio, and later assisted in the founding of the Academy of Design. Among his important works are the Douglas Monument in Chicago, a bust of President Lincoln, statuary on the Soldiers' Monument, Erie County, New York, etc. In Hartford, Connecticut, Carl Conrads, a German who came with good training, has identified himself with sculpture in granite, and "has done much creditable work well adapted to the requirements of that ungrateful material." Carl Gerhart produced many bronze figures, of which his "Nathan Hale," in the Connecticut State House, is worthy of mention.[4]

A sculptor whom critics unanimously declare worthy of wider fame is the German, Henry Linder, of New York.

[1] This magnificent monument was designed by the German sculptor, Bruno Schmitz, of Berlin, in 1893. Cf., for an appreciative comment, Fulda, *Amerikanische Eindrücke*, p. 50.

[2] Taft, p. 536.

[3] His parents lived in Massachusetts, but his name is distinctly German.

[4] Cf. Taft, p. 502.

He is not ashamed to be an artist-artisan. Whatever he makes, from andirons to sweet-faced madonnas, receives the stamp of "his intensely personal point of view." His fancy busts reflect the spirit of the German romanticism of Brentano, Tieck, and Fouqué. "I have seen andirons, candlesticks, electric-light fonts, ink-wells, and other useful domestic articles made by him, that were greater works of art than most of the statues looming up so hideously in our parks and public places. Men who render the environment in which we live and the articles which we daily handle more artistic, do more for American art than those who clamor persistently for 'high art.' I am sorry that this sculptor is so little appreciated; his name should be known all over from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coast."[1]

On the roll of the National Sculpture Society there are a large number of names of "foreign flavor." Among these a few of the German names are Theodor Bauer, Caspar Buberl, D. A. Gudebrod, C. F. Hamann, A. Jaegers, F. R. Kaldenberg, P. H. Lachenmeyer, O. Lenz, H. Matzen, Max Mauch, Kasper Mayer, M. Schwarzott, A. Weinert, and E. Wuertz. These and the more prominent names and influences recorded in previous paragraphs show that the German element is contributing very largely toward popularizing and developing a taste for sculpture in this country.

D. Architecture

The history of American architecture has never been written, but the inference should not be drawn that there is nothing to say. Even Europeans are beginning to trace the evidences of independence and novelty in certain of our architectural forms. The most obvious case is that

[1] Hartmann, vol. ii, pp. 81–82.

of the revival of the Romanesque by H. H. Richardson.[1] The beauty in crude strength, the virility in massiveness, delighting in solid towers, thick walls, and rough exteriors, is a genuine expression of the uncurbed masculine vigor of the American nation. Again, the energy of the American people finds a fitting emblem in the tall office-building, rising higher than ever Gothic cathedral, scraping the skies, and sheltering within its confines a busy population of thousands. The European shakes his head in wonder when he sees the walls constructed downward from the top instead of rising from the bottom, but the sky-scraper rests securely upon its inner steel frame,[2] and has defied storms, fires, and earthquakes. It has solved the problem of congestion in the business sections of large cities and proved itself a good financial investment. A third characteristic of the American is expressed in his building of homes. A lover of home life, he gives himself a porch to be out of doors and he builds an interior most convenient for the housekeeper, who is fond of social intercourse and is frequently forced to be without servants. The house is therefore more open than the European, rooms communicate, and the kitchen is close to the dining-room. All these features affect the appearance and construction of the home, and have evolved a new type of American cottage. In all of these three new departures the German element has not appeared in the rôle of original inventor,

[1] Henry Hobson Richardson was born at New Orleans in 1838, and died in Boston in 1886.

[2] The skeleton construction was invented by William Le Baron Jenney, born in Massachusetts in 1832. He first used it in New York in the Home Insurance Building in 1884, then extensively in Chicago, the problem arising there of building heavy structures on soft clay soil, necessitating the construction of deep foundations and resting the entire weight of the building upon a few points. The Bessemer Steamship Company named one of its vessels the W. L. B. Jenney, in honor of the invention of 1883.

but as an able co-worker, contributing also new ideas and inventions.

Richardson had many followers, and among them men of German blood. William H. Miller, descended from Mohawk settlers who emigrated from Germany before the Revolution, designed the most beautiful building on the Cornell University campus, the law building, called Boardman Hall, with all the graceful massiveness of the Romanesque revival. His construction of the library tower and the Cornell University Library were also done under Richardson's influence.[1] Similarly, Charles F. Schweinfurth (born in Auburn, New York, in 1856) designed many collegiate and church structures, a masterpiece being the Trinity Church in Cleveland.

Early architects trained under William L. B. Jenney include the German names of Martin Roche and L. E. Ritter. An application of the steel structure to hotel building was made by Henry J. Hardenbergh (born in New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1847), the architect of New York hotels, including the Waldorf-Astoria, the Manhattan, and the Plaza, which have made an epoch in hotel architecture.

The evolution of the American steel building is a part of an independent movement in American architecture against the traditions of the past. Perhaps the artistic leader of the revolt is Louis Henry Sullivan (born in Boston, in 1856, of Irish descent). A "Chicago School"[2]

[1] The most elaborate and impressive edifice on the Cornell campus until it was destroyed by fire was the palatial Fiske-McGraw mansion, also designed by Mr. W. H. Miller. Stimson Hall, the medical building, a fitting companion-piece to Boardman Hall, though different in style, was designed by the same architect. He has made the plans of a very large number of town and country residences, spread over sixteen states.

[2] Cf. *The Architectural Review*, vol. xv, pp. 69 ff. T. E. Tallmadge, *The Chicago School.*

has arisen, whose motto is "form follows function." The purpose for which the building is to be used and the practical requirements necessary to satisfy the owner are the first consideration of the architect; the form of the building is a second consideration. They declare that without going beyond their country and clients for inspiration it is possible to construct a good and seemly building without violating the canons of architecture and good taste. The firm of Sullivan and Adler[1] designed the Schiller Building of Chicago, the Auditorium Hotel, and numerous others. A prominent architect of this school is the German, Richard E. Schmidt, who has worked out a motif theory of architectural design.[2] Most of the members of the Chicago school are Americans, who would probably deny any influence of the contemporary secession movement in Germany or the *Art Nouveau* in France. Yet the movements are very similar, and in Germany and Austria more earnest and unanimous than anywhere else in the world. The flood of German publications, made very accessible by the New York importing firms,[3] has beyond question been of influence in strengthening the American architects in their independence, and furnishing suggestions. Professor N. C. Ricker, director of the school of architecture in the University of Illinois, translated Professor Otto Wagner's "Modern Architecture" in 1901, and the fact that the article was published[4] under the auspices of the Architectural League of America shows

[1] Dankmar Adler, the German member of the firm, was the engineer and business manager, and after his death the firm declined. Sullivan was the artist, Adler the scientific man.

[2] Other German names are George Maher and Arthur Heuer.

[3] Principally Bruno Hessling, whose New York establishment has founded branches in Chicago and San Francisco.

[4] Cf. *The Brickbuilder*, vol. x (1901), pp. 124 ff., 143 ff., 165 ff.

what interest was taken in the ideas advanced. The new style should be modern and should represent the present age and the individuality of the architect; romanticism should disappear almost entirely and reason prevail. Therefore the horizontal line and simplicity were recommended, the technical side (i. e., material and construction) should receive more attention than the artistic. Frank Lloyd Wright, a prominent member of the Chicago School of Architects, expressed exactly the same principles in a recent article, "In the Cause of Architecture."[1] Whether an influence or a parallel, the contemporaneous working-out of a similar artistic problem on the same principles is an interesting phenomenon.

The architecture of the modern German suburban home, the German villa, is beginning to be studied,[2] and it is very probable that with the more frequent use of concrete as a building material in the United States, the influence of the German villa will be felt. Its architecture is unaffected, rational, modern. None of the grotesque curves and ornamentations of the German Renaissance have remained; simplicity and directness are the principles observed in the exterior and the furnishing within. A characteristic also of the German suburb of recent construction, as, for example, Grunewald bei Berlin, is the harmonious effect of the architectural units. On the other hand, American architectural forms are being studied in Germany,[3] and, judging from a recent address of the court architect of the German Emperor, Ernst von

[1] Cf. *The Architectural Review*, vol. xxiii, pp. 155 ff. (1908.)

[2] Cf. Claude F. Bragdon, *Modern German Domestic Architecture*, *American Architect*, vol. xcii (1907). The architect, Mr. Bragdon, has modeled several cottages after German villas.

[3] Cf. *Das Moderne Landhaus und seine innere Ausstattung*, von Hermann Muthesius, Zweite Auflage. (München, 1905.)

Ihne,[1] American architecture is taken seriously at least in Germany.

An earlier influence of the German element seems to be traceable in Eastern Pennsylvania, due to the Pennsylvania-Germans.[2] The structure of their barns has been imitated over wide areas, and their homes and inns of the colonial period also possessed individuality. The large and broad-spreading roof, holding a top floor in its embrace, and set upon a low wall with high windows, — this model is frequently being used in Eastern Pennsylvania for the homes of the rich.

In adapting the best of the European styles and creating on American soil rivals to the finest specimens known in Europe, architects of German blood have been very prominent. One of the first great architects born in America, Thomas Ustick Walter, who gained the reputation of being the most strenuous advocate of the pure classical style, was of German descent.[3] His design and construction of Girard College, Philadelphia, one of the most dignified classical structures (Corinthian style) in our country, brought Thomas U. Walter into fame. His plans for the extension of the National Capitol having been accepted, he was appointed in 1851 by President Fillmore to superintend the work of construction in

[1] Cf. *American Architect*, vol. xci (1907), pp. 156 ff., *A German Authority on German and American Architecture.*

[2] Cf. *Dutch and German Eighteenth Century Work*, in *The Georgian Period*, part iii. (1902. Boston publication.)

[3] This information was derived from the daughters of T. U. Walter (resident in Washington), through the kindness of Mr. Glenn Brown, secretary of the American Institute of Architects, Washington, D. C. The grandfather of the architect, Jacob Frederick Walter, came to America from Germany with his parents when a boy of seven years. Ustick is not a family name, but is derived from the Reverend Thomas Ustick, a friend of the architect's parents.

Smithmeyer and Pelz, Architects

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON

Washington, a position in which he remained for fourteen years. He designed and executed the great iron dome and planned the extensions which made the United States Capitol one of the most imposing and beautiful of all government buildings in the world. During this period of service at Washington he designed and erected a number of other buildings after classical models, notably the United States Treasury Building and the east and west wings of the Patent Office.

The companion-piece of the Capitol in Washington is the impressively beautiful Library of Congress, in Italian Renaissance style, without and within a triumph of the architect's art. The competition for the architectural plans of the new library was won by a German New York firm, the architects Smithmeyer and Pelz. In 1886 Congress formally adopted the plans of John L. Smithmeyer, who had been assisted by Paul J. Pelz. The latter subsequently supervised the work of construction and fixed the plans and main proportions of the building, remaining for some time in Washington to aid in designing the artistic features of the architecture.[1] The German sculptor, Albert Weinert, was put at the head of the staff of modelers. The architect, Paul J. Pelz, was born in Silesia, Germany, in 1841. He left his home at the age of sixteen to join his father in the United States, who was a refugee of 1848. Previous to his work on the Congressional Library, ne was connected with the United States Lighthouse Board as architect and civil engineer. He was the architect of the Carnegie Library and Music Hall at Allegheny, Pennsylvania; the Chamberlin Hotel, Old Point Comfort, Virginia; the Aula Christi, Chautauqua, New York; Machinery Hall, Louis-

[1] Cf. *Handbook of the New Library of Congress.* (Boston, 1901.)

iana Purchase Exposition, and many other beautiful buildings.

G. L. Heins, of the firm of Heins and La Farge, who won a gold medal at the St. Louis Fair, was born in Philadelphia in 1860. His firm are the architects for the Protestant Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York; New York Zoölogical Park, etc. Heins has been state architect of all New York state buildings since 1898.[1] Theodore Carl Link (born in Germany, in 1850) won the first prize in the competition for the St. Louis Union Station, the largest railway terminal station in the world, which was built from his plans and under his supervision. He was the consulting architect of the St. Louis City Hall, the architect of the Mississippi State House, and of many other public buildings. The German architects William Schickel and I. E. Ditmars have built a large number of churches, hospitals, large business buildings, and private residences in New York City, as, for instance, St. Ignatius of Loyola, St. Francis', St. Vincent's, St. Joseph's, and the German hospitals, the Knickerbocker Building, and that of the New York "Staatszeitung." W. C. Zimmerman of Chicago was for some years state architect of Illinois. Very prominent in architecture in New York is the name of Eidlitz. The father, Leopold Eidlitz, was one of the founders of the American Institute of Architects, and the son, Cyrus W. Eidlitz, ably continues in the traditional occupation of the family. George Hansen (born in Hildesheim, Germany, in 1863), of Berkeley, California, goes into landscape architecture as adviser to park commissions, municipalities, and cemetery associations.

There have been five schools of architecture in the United

[1] In that capacity he constructed the new buildings of the New York State College of Agriculture, Ithaca, New York.

States, in the order of their foundation, that of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cornell University, University of Illinois, Columbia University, and University of Pennsylvania. Most of the teaching done at these was under French influence, largely because the French schools furnished the best models of imitation. The Germans have taught architecture as a branch of engineering, and have therefore laid particular stress upon the subject of construction. In fact the influence of German architects in this country has been exercised most beneficently when shoddy work in our public and private buildings needed to be replaced by genuine and thorough construction. The German element among the teachers of architecture is represented by Professor Nathan Clifford Ricker, dean of the College of Engineering in the University of Illinois since 1878, and director of the department of architecture; and by Professor Clarence Augustine Martin,[1] director of the College of Architecture, Cornell University.

E. Graphic Arts: illustrators, designers, artist-photographers

In artistic illustrating the German element is also well represented. Charles W. Reinhardt (born in Würtemberg, Germany, in 1868) has been a prominent illustrator since 1890; L. W. Zeigler (born in Baltimore, in 1868) has contributed to "Life," "Century," "Cosmopolitan," etc., and has illustrated many books; Charlotte Weber Ditzler (born in Philadelphia, in 1877), student of the Royal Academy of Munich, has furnished illustrations for magazines and books. G. W. Gaul (born in Jersey City,

[1] The writer is indebted to Professor C. A. Martin and Professor Albert C. Phelps, of Cornell University, for valuable suggestions and bibliographical materials. Professor Phelps was a student of Professor Ricker in Illinois, and through him was influenced to study the German as well as the French educational methods in architecture, while abroad.

New Jersey, in 1855) and Arthur I. Keller (born in New York, in 1866) have won many medals at American expositions. Some of the best works of the latter are "At mass," bought by the Munich Academy, "Lead, kindly light," "The finishing touches," etc. He illustrated a large number of books, among them "The Virginian," "The Right of Way," "Bret Harte Stories."

In the art of wood engraving Frederick Juengling was faultless in technique and representative of impressionist treatment. He was skillful in imitating the very sweep of the painter's brush and the defects of the canvas.[1] Gustav Kruell (born in Düsseldorf, Germany, in 1843), winner of a gold medal at the St. Louis Exposition, modeled portraits with rare precision. William Miller (born in New York, in 1850, of German parents) started engraving on wood at Frank Leslie's publishing house, then studied in Germany, and from 1877 to 1889 was associated with Frederick Juengling. Another German engraver is E. Schladitz (born in Leipzig, in 1862), a winner of many exposition medals. Henry Wolf (born in Alsace, in 1852), author of many well-known engravings in books and magazines, was a member of the international jury of awards, Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904. An artist lithographer is Max F. Klepper (born in Germany, in 1861); an etcher of note is Jacques Reich (born in Hungary, in 1852), who made most of the pen-portraits for Scribner's "Encyclopedia of Painters and Paintings," and for Appleton's "Encyclopedia of American Biography," etc.

A most important name is that of Alfred Stieglitz (born in Hoboken, in 1864), the pictorial photographer and editor of the "Camera Notes" — "more artistically gotten

[1] Cf. Hartmann, vol. ii, p. 147.

up than any art magazine America ever had." "He gathered around him all the leading artist photographers of the country, and afforded them the opportunity of becoming known by monthly exhibitions at the club-rooms. Everything praiseworthy in American photography is directly or indirectly due to him."[1] "His best-known prints are 'The net-mender,' 'On the Seine,' 'Scurrying home,' 'The Savoy at night,' and 'Snowstorm on Fifth Avenue.' The latter, of which only half a dozen perfect prints exist (which have brought as much as $150), is a masterpiece and ranks with the best work of any other black-and-white process." Stieglitz and his followers (among them the German names, Gertrude Käsebier, R. Eickemeyer, and E. J. Steichen) work from a conviction that some effects can be accomplished in photography which are beyond the reach of painting. The members of this school work for the advancement of the artistic expression of photography, and devote their lives to this end.

Recapitulating briefly concerning the German influence on music and the fine arts in America, we note in the first place that the Germans have been responsible for the development of musical taste in the United States. This was true of vocal and instrumental music, and finally of the opera. In painting, American artists twice stood under German influence, once during the period of the Düsseldorf school, in historical and landscape painting, about 1840–1860, and again within the recent period of the ascendency of the Munich school, after 1880. Germans have taught American painters the technique of the art, just as in the department of music, and in America they hold a large number of the most prominent positions in American music and art schools. In sculpture, the popu-

[1] Hartmann, vol. ii, pp. 154–158.

larizing of the art through architectural decoration has been accomplished under the leadership of two Germans, Karl Bitter and F. W. Ruckstuhl. As masters in sculpture, William H. Rinehart, C. H. Niehaus, and a large number of others have created lasting works. The development of a taste and demand for sculpture in America is largely due to German influence. In architecture, the Germans have seconded the inventors of new forms, and some of the noblest structures, as Girard College, the United States Treasury, the Dome of the Capitol, the Congressional Library, the Union Station in St. Louis, the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, have been designed by German architects. As illustrators, designers, and artist-photographers the Germans have also figured prominently.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INFLUENCE OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT

II. THE THEATRE, LITERATURE, AND JOURNALISM

(A) THEATRE : Condition of the American theatre — The "Meininger," and German methods of the stage — The Irving Place Theatre — Conried's visits to universities — Schiller's "Maid of Orleans" at Harvard — College dramatics — American playwrights — Charles Klein — Favorable indications for the future.

(B) LITERATURE : German-American literature briefly considered — The eighteenth century — Pennsylvania-Dutch — Whittier's allusions to Pennsylvania-Germans — Travel literature and fiction — Poets and writers of the nineteenth century — Hans Breitmann's ballads — Representative American writers of German descent ; Bayard Taylor, Joaquin Miller, Nordhoff, Timrod, Saxe, Wister, etc. — Influence of German romanticism and transcendental philosophy upon American literature in its best period.

(C) JOURNALISM : Cartoonists : Nast, Keppler, etc. — German newspapers; function; influence ; statistics — German element in the American press — German war correspondents — German owners of American newspapers.

A. The Theatre

OF all the phases of art cultivated in the United States, the drama stands lowest to-day. There have been notable performances by great actors, the equals, perhaps, of any in other countries ; nevertheless in the dramatic art there has not been the same progress as in music, or the same good beginning as in painting or sculpture toward a development of taste for higher standards. When the American theatre-goer speaks of going to a "show," meaning a play, he unconsciously criticises the existing state of things. Spectacular exhibitions, with masses of performers, brilliant costumes, and magnificent scenery are created

to please or fill the eye, and, while there is a place for such performances, a taste that continues to be satisfied with mere display and bigness smacks of vulgarity. One is reminded of the vast jubilee concerts of Gilmore in 1872, with their twenty thousand performers, where music was visualized and wholesaled, but which we now set down as something overcome. There are certain conditions in America which check the development of better dramatic art. The theatre trust, stretching to the west as far as San Francisco and to the south all the way to New Orleans, like a great octopus, holds in its clutch the best playhouses of all the leading cities.[1] The effect is to destroy competition, to produce obedient, manageable artists, and to encourage mediocrity. Again, the starring system, so much in vogue in our country, exalts the individual actor above the purpose of the play or the genius of the dramatist. Our managers do not change their play-bills and the actors are therefore not called upon to exercise their talents in various rôles. They are like factory hands on piece-work, — not masters of an art, but mechanical repeaters of some small section of the article to be manufactured. If some actor has succeeded well in a particular rôle he is generally doomed to play that kind of part all the season or all his life. He becomes neither a student of life nor an artist able to imitate the subtle idiosyncrasies of human personality. These are some of the manifest evils that produce the present low level of the American theatre.

In Germany, the home and refuge of the serious drama, the death-blow was dealt the starring system by the players of the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, who performed be-

[1] In smaller cities, the one- or two-night stands, which lie along the routes of travel, the owners of theatres are also entirely at the mercy of the trust managers. The latter dictate what plays are to come, and opposition means ruin to the small city manager.

tween 1874 and 1890 on the stage of Germany, and exhibited their art also in London, Amsterdam, and St. Petersburg. The Meininger made their first appearance in Berlin in May, 1874, and by their effective *ensemble* revolutionized the methods of performing drama in Germany. The duke's troupe did not possess any luminaries equal to the many stars at that time casting their lustre upon the German metropolis. The critics commented upon this circumstance, and yet consented that the Meininger had produced an effect infinitely superior to anything that had been seen in Berlin that winter. The players were remarkable for harmonious equality of talent, simplicity, naturalness, and finish in execution. They were careful in their selection of plays of the lasting quality, and paid much attention to accurate detail in costumes and scenery. They did not produce a play for the glorification of any particular actor or manager, but they worked together for the most artistic interpretation of a dramatic masterpiece. The author was placed upon the throne and the actor became his servant. The idea of *ensemble* effect had been derived from the Wagner opera, where the equality of singers and orchestra, the equal coöperation of drama and music, had been enforced in the cause of artistic unity. Since the period of the Elizabethan drama, no nation has produced so many classical plays capable of being presented on the stage as Germany. National pride upholds the German theatre and makes of it an educational factor.

The Meininger furnished the example for all that is superior in German dramatic performances. Their methods were consistently followed by but one stage in America, which has been called "our only high-class theatre."[1] It

[1] Norman Hapgood, *The Stage in America, 1897–1900.* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1901.)

was the Irving Place Theatre of New York City, when under the management of Heinrich Conried, 1892–1907.[1] Though the latter stood more in the public eye subsequently as the manager of the Metropolitan Opera House, and will ever be remembered in musical history for his first performances of "Parsifal" and "Salome" in America, and the bringing over of distinguished singers and conductors, as Felix Mottl, still Conried's greatest achievement was his German theatre at Irving Place, New York. A severe critic of dramatic performances said at the time: "This playhouse gives more classics than any of our English-speaking companies. . . . It is of a higher plane than was Daly's during the lifetime of Mr. Daly."[2] Mr. Conried took his theatre very seriously, and considered the director's work more an art than a trade. To make ends meet he was compelled to give up a good many weeks to farces that were new or popular in Germany, but he managed, during the weeks when these plays were on, to set aside certain evenings for some serious drama. The average number of different plays given in the season at his theatre was considerably over sixty, — in the opening year over seventy, — most of them new to the public. "The superiority of Mr. Conried's company consists in objectivity, in harmonious work together, and in versatility. The actors play farce on the whole perhaps neither better nor worse than our own superior farce-comedies,

[1] Mr. Heinrich Conried was born in Bielitz, Silesia, Austria, in 1855. He made his début as an actor at the Hofburgtheater in Vienna, in 1873; played successively at the Nationaltheater in Berlin and the Stadttheater in Bremen; came to New York in 1878, and was connected with the Germania Theatre; in 1893 he became the director and sole lessee of the Irving Place Theatre, successor to Amberg; in 1903 he was appointed manager of the Metropolitan Opera House, continuing for some years also the directorship of the Irving Place Theatre, until his health gave way. He died in 1909.

[2] Hapgood, p. 143.

but these same actors can play the highest poetic dramas. They know how to recite verse and they know the meaning of poetry." "Mr. Conried can put on 'Die versunkene Glocke' for a few nights any time, and follow it with anything else, and if it is not drawing particularly well, nobody is bankrupt." Mr. Conried believed that the public is not benefited by too sumptuous a stage-setting. The attention should be directed to the interpretation and the artistic efforts of the performers. The dramatic critic quoted above describes a contrast between German and English methods as shown in the performance of "Maria Stuart," a play which actresses, including Madame Janauschek, Madame Modjeska, and Fanny Davenport, have acted on the American stage. "Modjeska's Mary is one of her most beautiful creations, the best Mary I have seen, but yet the play never moved me as it did at the Irving Place, because the whole cast there was so much better than Modjeska's ever is." [1] The title rôle was played at the German theatre by a person much less gifted than Madame Modjeska, but the genius of the poet Schiller found expression instead, and the artistic effect was far superior to any ever produced by an actor, however famous. Conried nevertheless secured many artists of the first rank for his troupe, as Hedwig Lange, Marie Reichardt, Hedwig von Ostermann, Hermine Varma, Alexander Rattmann, Adolf Zimmermann, Gustaf von Seyffertitz, and many others. Distinguished actors from Germany have frequently appeared, as Adolf Sonnenthal, Ludwig Barnay, Ferdinand Bonn, Georg Engels, Marie Geistinger, Agnes Sorma, Helene Odilon.

The example of Conried's German theatre has undoubt-

[1] Hapgood, p. 237. An agreement with Mr. Hapgood's point of view can be found in *The Theatre* (New York, 1902), by H. P. Mawson.

edly had a good effect in New York and elsewhere. The principles illustrated by him have found frequent adoption by the numerous stock companies formed in various cities of our country. The stock company, in which the players are shareholders, remains in the same location for the whole season, and changes the playbill every week. The players become versatile students of life and the art of portraying it; their success depends upon their working together to produce an artistic unity. Unfortunately the theatre trust holds so many of the best theatres in its grasp that the stock company is deprived of the chance of a healthy growth.

After the retirement of Heinrich Conried from the management of the Irving Place Theatre, Dr. Maurice Baumfeld became its director for a year, and produced a number of German classics, among them "Götz von Berlichingen," attaining high standards. In the season of 1908–1909 two German theatres existed in New York City, Dr. Baumfeld and the brilliant actor, Eugene Burg, becoming the directors of the beautifully housed Neues Deutsches Theater (Madison Avenue, near 59th Street), and the Irving Place Theatre continuing under a new directorship. The rivalry of the two theatres resulted much as the competition between Mapleson and Abbey in the early days of grand opera; both theatres met with heavy financial losses and closed their doors at the end of a shortened season.[1] The lesson of the failure is that New York City will not support two German theatres of the same class, but there is no cause for a panic, for the German drama

[1] The Neues Deutsches Theater occupied the building of the old Lenox Lyceum, which was altogether reconstructed and most artistically decorated. For description and illustrations, see *Architectural Record*, December, 1908. The theatre passed into the hands of the Shuberts and was given over to vaudeville.

will have a home again in 1909–1910 at the Irving Place Theatre.

Other cities with large German populations have had German theatres or stock companies performing in the German language. A veteran theatrical manager in the Central West has been Director Leon Wachsner, the founder of a permanent German company in Milwaukee,[1] which visits Chicago and St. Louis at regular intervals. The Germans of the two cities last named and of Cincinnati have repeatedly undertaken theatrical ventures of a more or less permanent kind, but the most successful foundation within recent years has been the Deutsches Theater of Philadelphia. This institution owns a home, built for its own use, and has passed through a number of successful seasons with its own stock company. The German social clubs and singing-societies all over the country are very fond of amateur performances, which at least keep alive the interest in the German theatre.

During his directorship of the Irving Place Theatre, Heinrich Conried made a practice of lecturing on German dramatic literature at some of the Eastern universities of the country, in conjunction with bringing the best talent of his German company to the university town for a high-class performance of a German classic, as Goethe's "Iphigenie," Lessing's "Minna von Barnhelm," Freytag's "Journalisten," etc. At several institutions he made his

[1] Since 1890 the performances of the German stock company have been given in the Pabst Theater, built by Captain Fred Pabst. Associated with Director Wachsner as permanent members of the company were Ferdinand Welb, Julius Richard, Hermann Werbke, and Hedwig Beringer. Many players were imported from Germany every year, and an excellent standard was maintained. Celebrated actors from Germany performed at the Milwaukee theatre from time to time, as Possart, Kainz, Barnay, Hase, Ellmenreich, Niemann-Rabe, and Sonnenthal. Cf. Hense-Jensen and Bruncken, *Wisconsins Deutsch-Amerikaner*, vol. ii, pp. 222–223.

visit an annual affair, and on every occasion the university received the entire income from the night's performance[1] as a gift to the library fund. Mr. Conried had a serious purpose in view, wishing not only to acquaint American students with the beauty and humanity of the classical German drama, but hoping that the seed might be sown for some favorable influence upon the American stage. The example of Heinrich Conried was followed, consciously or unconsciously, in the magnificent performance of Schiller's "Jungfrau von Orleans," by Maude Adams and Mr. Charles Frohman's[2] troupe, in the Harvard Stadium, June 22, 1909. Perhaps never before in the history of our country was a classic drama staged so elaborately or attended by so large an audience. About fifteen hundred performers took part in the pageantry and battle scenes, and the audience, gathered in a huge semicircle, filled every one of the fifteen thousand available seats. Though the spectacle of vast numbers in the coronation scene or the battlefield of the last act was imposing, pageantry and pantomime were not more impressive than the skill with which the drama was performed. The players could be heard as well as seen on the great open-air stage, and they produced successfully an artistic illusion. Maude Adams portrayed the Maid of Orleans not realistically, not as a robust peasant girl, but as the romantic ideal, spiritual, and conscious of a heavenly mission. The English version used was that of Anna Swanwick, thoroughly revised and adapted for the occasion by George Sylvester Viereck. The play had never been attempted in America before, and its great success

[1] Mr. Conried even refused in many cases to accept hotel expenses for his performers.

[2] The Frohmans, Charles and Daniel, theatrical managers, born in this country, were descended from German-Jewish ancestry.

on so large a scale was a wonderful tribute to two unequaled phases of Schiller's genius, his great force in dramatic action and his skill in the introduction of the spectacular. The event[1] will undoubtedly make Germany's greatest dramatist more popular in America, and stand out as a record of achievement in our dramatic history.

There are no minds more receptive to cultivating influences than the young, and there are no young people who can be reached better by instruction than college students. Therefore the amateur dramatic performances by college students, if the effort be directed seriously upon the literary drama, may have a very beneficent influence upon the development of the American theatre. Many of our college dramatic clubs play Shakespeare, Sheridan, or Ibsen with better effect than the professionals. If the principles of the "Meininger" be observed, faithful interpretation of the author, careful study and "team-work" by the players, naturalness and finish in execution, amateurs may produce an *ensemble*, the artistic effect of which cannot be surpassed by great artists of the stage. Every time a literary masterpiece has been well performed before a college audience, a stone has been laid in the foundation of better things for the American drama. The participants are rarely inspired to become actors; they have seen the difficulties of the art, but as in music, unless there are performers there is no development. As the beauty and the possibilities of the literary drama are recognized, and they never fail to be when well presented, writers will arise, a demand will be created, and perhaps the American college student will appear prominent in the movement of creating an American literary drama. The university has been

[1] The immediate occasion for the performance was to give a benefit for the Germanic Museum of Harvard University.

the protector of the literary drama before in the history of the world's literature.

Not only in English but also in the foreign languages have American students rendered beautifully the best types of the literary drama. The Greek play given in the Harvard Stadium in 1906, the "Agamemnon" of Æschylus, was a memorable event in the dramatic history of our country. The universities of Chicago, Cornell, and Michigan have rendered French classical plays with artistic finish. The "Deutscher-Verein" of Michigan has successfully performed German classics, such as Lessing's "Minna von Barnhelm," Gutzkow's "Zopf und Schwert," Goethe's "Egmont." At Evanston the students of Northwestern gave a unique dramatization of Heine's "Junge Leiden." The "Deutscher-Verein" of Cornell University for some years has given an annual play of the type of Freytag's "Die Journalisten," and in December, 1908, performed Meyer-Förster's "Alt-Heidelberg," before a large and critical audience in the Neues Deutsches Theater of New York City. The comment heard frequently about the performance was that "the play was not acted, it was lived." The director, Dr. Baumfeld, told the players they had accomplished that beyond which the greatest artists could not go, they had held a crowded house in rapt attention for three hours, and at will provoked their laughter or caused their tears to flow.[1] The colleges for women have not

[1] Meyer-Förster's "Alt-Heidelberg" was given by the students of the University of Nebraska at Lincoln, soon after, in February, 1909. The ease with which American students fall into the spirit of the play shows that students are alike the world over. This play will undoubtedly be popular among students long after it has passed from the professional stage. The German student songs, which may be introduced in great numbers in the play, can be made a feature of the performance. Most colleges and a great many high schools of this country have given good one-act plays in German, and some have tried themselves in the higher class of farce, such as Von Moser's

stood behind the coeducational and men's colleges in the seriousness with which they have taken up the literary drama. Their annual plays, often performed out of doors, with the beauty of grove, hill, and sky to add picturesqueness to the scene, are truly artistic, and are events long remembered by participants and onlookers. These many admirable performances of literary dramas at our colleges together constitute a strong influence toward the development of taste for a theatre of a higher standard.

Ludwig Fulda, in the reminiscences of his American visit, called the drama in our country the Cinderella of all the arts. He was shocked by the apparent greed of our eyes, our fondness for mawkish sentimentality and melodrama,[1] the backwardness of the literary drama, and the mercenary position taken by our theatrical dictators. Still he was interested in the evident beginnings of an American drama. The dramatic critic, Norman Hapgood, classes James A. Herne and William Gillette[2] as the ablest of American dramatists, and worthy of the name. The most auspicious sign for the future is the spontaneous popularity of every good play as soon as it makes its appearance. This eagerness of the American people for plays of the better sort[3] proves that the popular taste is not depraved, but very capable of cultivation. The literary drama is less expensive to put on the stage than the sumptuous shows

"Bibliothekar" (which has been given by Cornell, Michigan, Lafayette, and Horace Mann Preparatory School). The purpose was frequently that of linguistic training, which is well served by small and by large plays.

[1] Fulda cites the instance of "The Girl of the Golden West." Cf. *Amerikanische Eindrücke*, pp. 141–143.

[2] Both of these men are native Americans; some of Herne's best works are "Hearts of Oak," "The Minute Men," "Drifting Apart," "Margaret Fleming," "Shore Acres"; some of Gillette's are "The Professor," "Esmeralda," "Held by the Enemy," "Secret Service," "Sherlock Holmes."

[3] As was seen in the popularity of Kennedy's "Servant in the House," Clyde Fitch's "The Climbers," and the plays of Charles Klein.

of the present, and the receipts are proportionately larger. This commercial view of the case has already begun to make theatrical managers very anxious to secure good plays and encourage talented playwrights. With the very best should be ranked a dramatist who has within recent times written plays of great merit. He is the author of "The Music Master" and "The Lion and the Mouse," Charles Klein, born in London, but the spelling of whose name points unmistakably to German origin.[1] Both in plot and in character-drawing his plays stand far above most contemporaneous works. Their reception in New York City and elsewhere was remarkable, showing that enthusiasm does not fail when genuine dramatic work appears. There is beyond question a better future in store for the American theatre, professional and amateur actors and talented playwrights are steadily improving conditions, but the development has by no means advanced as far as in the departments of music and the fine arts.

B. Literature

The Germans who have come to the United States have produced a literature of their own. It is written in the German language, and consists of memoirs, poems, works of fiction, books of travel and learning. Its chief value consists in its historical interest, as it is descriptive of the weal and woe of the German immigrants in this country and furnishes a record of their outer and inner life. Its literary value, with some exceptions, is not great, yet the day may come when this literature will be studied with much care

[1] The dramatist's father was born in Russian Poland, and became a naturalized citizen in London. "Personally I am of the opinion that we are of German descent through a grandfather," is the statement made by Mr. Charles Klein in a note replying to the writer's inquiry, February 23, 1907.

and advantage.[1] It is voluminous and a consideration of it in detail does not belong to a work on the influence of the German element in the United States. The German-American literature was written mainly for Germans in this country, and there has been little influence beyond that. Here and there, however, an important exception may be noted. Books written in English by Germans in this country have often been of very great influence, some instances of which will be given in a succeeding paragraph. The literature of Germany on America is a study by itself,[2] fascinating because it exhibits the changing attitude of Europe toward America from one of romantic glorification to excessive depreciation and finally to a more rational view and better understanding. German-American literature properly includes only works written in the German language in America by Germans or persons of German descent who have made their homes in the United States.

The German-American literature begins with the writings of the patriarch, Franz Daniel Pastorius, the founder of Germantown. His description of Pennsylvania (1700), his scrap-book so appropriately called the "Beehive," have been described in a previous chapter.[3] Then followed the

[1] A mark of growing recognition of the subject is its inclusion in the new editions of the standard German encyclopædias, Meyer, and Brockhaus (*Nordamerikanische Literatur in deutscher Sprache*).

[2] Cf. Lida von Krockow, *American Characters in German Novels, Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1891, volume lxviii, pp. 824–838. Also, J. T. Hatfield and Elfrieda Hochbaum (Mrs. Pope), *The Influence of the American Revolution upon German Literature, Americana Germanica*, vol. iii, nos. 3 and 4; Camillo von Klenze, *The United States in European Literature*, a paper read before the Modern Language Association of America, December 29, 1908; Hermann Balz, *Geschichte des deutschen Urteils über Amerika, 1700–1860, nach Schriften der Reisenden und Eingewanderten, in 2 Teilen, einem historischen (und bibliographischen) und analytischen.* This work is in preparation and promises a thorough-going treatment of the subject.

[3] Volume I, Chapter II, p. 44.

hymns and theosophical writings of Kelpius and Beissel, and a long train of religious works by sectarians, ministers, and laymen. There should be included the reports of the German ministers to the home church, as the "Hallesche Nachrichten" from Pennsylvania and the "Urlsperger Reports" from the Salzburgers of Georgia, which are documents of very great historical value. Religious literature predominated to the period of the Revolution and even after. The Sauer Press accomplished the unique feat of printing the first Bible in America, increased the number of hymn-books, and in the first German newspaper adopted a religious tone. A most influential publication[1] of the Sauer Press was "Der Hochteutsche-Amerikanische Kalender," begun in 1738 and continued for many years.

The refreshing and historically valuable dialect literature of the Pennsylvania-Germans was a product of the nineteenth century. The two most prominent poets, for such a title may be bestowed upon them, who wrote in Pennsylvania-Dutch,[2] are Henry Harbaugh and Henry L. Fisher. Harbaugh was a clergyman of the German Reformed Church and prominent also as the biographer of Michael Schlatter. He was born in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, in 1817, and died in 1867. He never could be induced to publish his dialect poems, but after his death the Reverend B. Bausmann collected them under the title "Harbaugh's Harfe" (Philadelphia, 1870). The most widely known of these poems is "The Old School-House on the Creek"

[1] The full significance of this influence has not yet been thoroughly investigated. It was undoubtedly a model for others in German and English.

[2] A scientific study of this dialect has been made by Professor M. D. Learned, of the University of Pennsylvania. *The Pennsylvania-German Dialect*, part i. (Baltimore, 1889.) An earlier study was made by S. S. Haldemann, entitled *Pennsylvania-Dutch: A dialect of South German, with an infusion of English.* (London, Trübner, 1872.) Cf. also P. E. Gibbons, *Pennsylvania-Dutch and Other Essays.* (2d edition, Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1874.)

("Das alt Schulhaus an der Krick"), of which the first stanza reads: —

"Heit is 's 'xäctly zwanzig Johr,
Dasz ich bin owwe naus ;
Nau bin ich widder lewig z'rick
Un schteh am Schulhaus an d'r Krick,
Juscht neekscht an's Dady Haus."

The homely simplicity and tender pathos of the poems "Heemweh," "Der alte Feierheerd," "Die Alt Miehl," and others remind one strongly of the German dialect poet of the Black Forest, J. P. Hebel ("Allemannische Gedichte"). Other examples of his folk-poetry are "Das Krischkindel" (Santa Claus), "Busch un Schtedel" (Town and Country), "Der Kerchegang in Alter Zeit" (Church-going in the Olden Time), "Will Widder Buwele Sei" (I want to be a boy again).

Henry L. Fisher published two collections, "'s alt Marik-Haus mittes in d'r Schtadt,"[1] and "Kurzweil und Zeitfertreib odder Pennsylfanisch-deutsche Folkslieder."[2] The poems furnish a vivid picture of the life of the Pennsylvania-German farmers, and reflect their quaint customs, superstitions, and the inner life of their daily existence. Their joyful frolics, huskings, apple-butter boilings, and quilting-parties are made the centre of interest in many of the poems. This poetical literature of the Pennsylvania-Germans is one of the few original notes in American lyrical poetry. Historically they should be given rank with the plantation lyrics of the South.

The Pennsylvania-Germans were made the subject[3] of

[1] A centennial poem in Pennsylvania-German, in two parts, with illustrations. (York, Pennsylvania, 1879.)

[2] York, Pennsylvania, 1882.

[3] Cf. also the novel by Helen Reimensnyder Martin, *Tillie, a Mennonite Maid*, and the review of it in *German-American Annals*, New Series, vol. iii, pp. 27 ff. The short stories of Elsie Singmaster, appearing in the *Atlantic*,

lyrical compositions by one of America's greatest poets, John Greenleaf Whittier. Two of his most famous poems are "Maud Muller," in which the Pennsylvania-German farm-girl attracts the love of the stately judge of high degree, and "Barbara Frietchie," the simple heroine of Frederick County, whose patriotism was not diminished when all about her seemed subdued; she waved the Stars and Stripes in the face of the Confederate enemy as they passed through Frederick Town: —

> "'Shoot, if you must, this old gray head,
> But spare your country's flag,' she said."[1]

Other poems of Whittier in which the Pennsylvania-Germans figure are "Cobbler Keezar's Vision," "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim," and "The Palatine."[2]

The travel literature produced by Germans visiting this country dates back to an early colonial period,[3] the earli-

Lippincott's, Century, Scribner's, Youth's Companion, etc., are mostly concerned with the Pennsylvania-German folk.

[1] Barbara Frietchie was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1766, and died at Frederick, Maryland (the centre of the Maryland-German farmers), in 1862. Whittier undoubtedly used a poet's privilege in constructing the argument of his ballad. The Southern army had orders not to molest any of the inhabitants during their progress through Frederick. The honor of having waved the flag is claimed for another woman. Nevertheless the story of Barbara Frietchie's life, beginning with the birth of the nation and ending during the great crisis, her large acquaintance with national heroes, and her many patriotic utterances, give her a clear title to the fame bestowed upon her by the poet. Cf. *National Encyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. x, p. 113.

[2] Personal poems of Whittier are addressed to Carl Follen and Bayard Taylor. The anti-slavery poems "Ritner" and "Expostulation" are also full of allusions to the heroism and patriotism of the Pennsylvania-Germans.

[3] The earliest German record concerning South America appeared in 1520: *Neuzeit oder Brief eines deutschen Abenteurers, der mit Ferd. Cortez nach Mexiko und Jucatan kam, besser bekannt unter dem Namen "Zeitung aus Jucatan."* This was followed in 1532 by *Fahrten und Abenteuer Nikolaus Federmanns d. Jüngern aus Ulm in Venezuela.* This in turn was succeeded by numerous books on South American countries.

est specimen being "The Diary of Johannes Lederer," describing his journeys into the Alleghany Mountains and the Carolinas, 1669–1670.[1] In the eighteenth century descriptions and advertisements in favor of colonial immigration appeared in great numbers. Sometimes a pessimistic note was sounded, such as in Mittelberger's "Journey to Pennsylvania in 1750" (and return to Germany in 1754); more favorable reports came from Achenwall and the Swedish traveler Kalm. Letters of Hessian officers were printed in Schlözer's "Briefwechsel" (1776–1781), in Eelking's "Life of the Hessian Colonel Riedesel."[2] In the nineteenth century superabundant material appeared, as German travelers came in greater numbers. The most important accounts were those of Fürstenwerther, Gall, Bernhard von Sachsen-Weimar, Löher, Duden, Von Raumer, Julius Fröbel, Moritz Busch, J. G. Büttner, and others.[3]

The novels of Charles Sealsfield (Carl Postl), who published most of his books in Germany, were translated, and found their way to America. They furnished suggestions to writers in America and abroad, and some of the borrowings amount to plagiarisms.[4] Longfellow read the German-American romancer with great interest, calling him "our

[1] Cf. Volume I, Chapter I, pp. 26–28, and Chapter VII, p. 184. An English translation of the original Latin work appeared in London, in 1672. Rattermann translated this work into German in *Der deutsche Pionier.*

[2] Other letters are accessible in Rattermann's *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, in *Americana Germanica*, etc.

[3] For the titles of the works of these men and for other travel literature, cf. Bibliography at the close of this Volume.

[4] A. B. Faust, *Charles Sealsfield (Carl Postl); Materials for a Biography; a Study of his Style; his Influence on American Literature.* (Baltimore, 1892.) Otto Heller, *Charles Sealsfield, The Bulletin of the Washington University Association*, vol. vi. (1908.) New researches and discoveries have recently been made in Sealsfield biography by A. Ravizé of Bordeaux, who will soon publish a monograph on the subject.

favorite Sealsfield." The novels of this writer described types of American character such as had existed between 1820 and 1840. He arrested them at the moment of their highest development, before devouring time had blurred their features. The dauntless squatter and sturdy pioneer, the Southern planter and patriarchal slaveholder, the grasping millionaire and his emissaries, the New York dandy and the society belle, the taciturn sea-captain and the hot-blooded Kentuckian, the Texan alcalde and the desperado fugitive from justice, these types have been endowed with enduring life in Sealsfield's "Trans-Atlantic Sketches," "The Cabin Book," "Morton," and other fascinating story-books. Sealsfield's types of early Americans ought to be as familiar, at least to the German-American, as Bret Harte's early Californians, Cooper's brave mariners, George Cable's Creoles, or Hawthorne's Puritans. Sealsfield's tales are infinitely more readable than the extravaganzas of William Gilmore Simms, and his appreciative view of American conditions is exceptional among European travelers in this country at that time. Sealsfield was proud to call himself a citizen of the United States; though he went back to work and die in Switzerland, he clung to the proud title inscribed on his tombstone: "Bürger von Nordamerika." The very purpose of his books was to hold up to view the vigorous, self-reliant types of American manhood as models of imitation for the cultivated European.[1]

[1] Cf. *Charles Sealsfield* (*Carl Postl*), *Der Dichter beider Hemisphären, sein Leben und seine Werke*, von A. B. Faust. (Weimar, Felber, 1897.) A new critical edition of Sealsfield's works is soon to appear under the auspices of the Bibliothek Deutscher Schriftsteller aus Böhmen, and the general editorship of Professor Sauer, of the University of Prague, and Professor Heller, of Washington University, St. Louis. A number of American scholars have been asked to edit particular sections. Professor Heller is now preparing the opening volume.

Another German novelist of note who chose America for the scene of many of his tales is Friedrich Gerstäcker (1816–1872). He traveled extensively in North and South America. Some of the best of his stories are those concerned with the United States, such as "The Regulators of Arkansas" (1845), "The Mississippi Pictures" (1847–1848), "The River Pirates of the Mississippi" (1848), "California Sketches" (1856), and the one published immediately before his death, "To America," in which a shipload of German immigrants, after landing at New Orleans, make their way up the Mississippi and meet with varying fortunes. The worthy people in Gerstäcker's stories quite uniformly succeed, after many vicissitudes and much toil and trouble, and the author depicts their struggles with a good amount of historical accuracy. There are many other fiction-writers who have taken America for the scene of their romances, Armand (Strubberg), Möllhausen, Kürnberger,[1] Mügge, and others, but a consideration of them cannot be included in the present work.[2]

The experiences of the poet Nikolaus Lenau (Niembsch von Strehlenau), on the other hand, are interesting to us because they are the exact opposite of those of Sealsfield. This supersensitive son of European culture deluded himself with the belief that the goal of his wishes would be reached in a life as a farmer in the primeval forests of the New World. In October, 1832, he bought a farm[3] in a

[1] Cf. G. A. Mulfinger, *Ferdinand Kürnberger's Roman "Der Amerikamüde," dessen Quellen, u. s. w.*, *German-American Annals*, vol. i, pp. 315–346, 385–405.

[2] See A. B. Faust, *Charles Sealsfield's Place in Literature*, *Americana Germanica*, vol. i, no. 1. The writers of the school of exotic romance, which Sealsfield founded, are there considered.

[3] Cf. G. A. Mulfinger, *Lenau in America*, *Americana Germanica*, vol. i, nos. 2 and 3; also T. S. Baker, *America as the Political Utopia of Young Germany*, *ibid.*, vol. i, no. 2.

rather poor country in Crawford County, Ohio. But he could not endure the monotony of frontier life, and rented out his farm to a man whom he trusted, but in whom he was deceived. No more delicately tuned poetic soul, weary unto death of the cultivation of Europe, ever came to America to live. But the American frontier was more eager to hear the optimistic echoes of the woodman's axe than the rarest notes of melancholy from Germany's most gifted singer of *Weltschmerz*. No experience in America pleased the poet except the sight of Niagara. A striking paragraph from his letters illustrates his bitterness of spirit: "The nightingale is right not to appear with this rabble. It seems to me to be of deep significance that America has no nightingale. It seems to me like a poetical curse. The voice of Niagara is necessary to impress upon these rogues that there are higher gods than those that come out of the mint. One need only see these churls in their hotels in order to hate them forever. A long table, fifty chairs on either side (so it is where I am staying); food, mostly meats, covers the whole table. The dinner-bell (Fressglocke) resounds, and a hundred Americans plunge in; no one looks at another, no one says a word, each one plunges upon his plate, devours what he can with great speed, then jumps up, turns the chair over, and hastens away to earn dollars. I am going to remain several days more, then I will go to Niagara, and if I find a good opportunity, go home. Niagara alone, I hope, will recompense me for the journey."

The literature of the nineteenth century includes such names as Carl Follen, Francis Lieber, Carl Schurz, Friedrich Münch, Georg Bunsen,[1] Friedrich Kapp, Gustav

[1] Georg Bunsen founded a school at Belleville, Illinois, was for some time a member of the State Board of Education of Illinois, and in his writ-

Körner, H. Rattermann, Oswald Seidensticker, and many others noteworthy in the historical or journalistic field. The works of Francis Lieber on topics of international law and social ethics, the speeches and historical works of Carl Schurz and Carl Follen, and the biographical histories of Friedrich Kapp (Steuben, Kalb, Hessian soldiers, etc.) have been of influence far beyond German readers, in America and Europe. The German professor is a productive scholar, and the works that he produces or the journals that he brings into being constitute a scientific and a literary influence. Numerous examples have been given in other chapters, that of Von Holst ("Constitutional History of the United States"), Hilgard ("Soils"), Fernow ("Forestry Quarterly"), Francke ("History of German Literature"), Münsterberg ("Die Amerikaner"), and many others. The great German political economist Friedrich List, during his residence in the United States (1825–1830) published his "Outlines of a New System of Political Economy" (1827), a work of very great influence in calling attention to the advantages of a protective tariff. Francis Lieber was the first compiler in this country of an encyclopædia in the English language, when he became the editor of the "Encyclopædia Americana" (1829–1833), in thirteen volumes. This work has been the basis of numerous subsequent editions; its articles on law were authoritative. A German encyclopædia was undertaken by Alexander J. Schem, with numerous excellent collaborators. Its title was "Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations-Lexikon" (1869–1874), in eleven volumes (Verlag von E. Steiger, New York). The demand for and

ings and as a practical teacher represented the methods of Pestalozzi. The works of the other men have been mentioned at other places. See Index at end of this Volume.

success of the undertaking cast much credit upon the Germans in the United States at the time. Dr. A. J. Schem later became one of the leading men in the compiling of "Johnson's Encyclopædia." It is an interesting fact that "Chambers' Encyclopædia," popular in English and American editions, was based upon the "Brockhaus Konversationslexikon," though by no means its equal. A feature of both the great German encyclopædias, the "Brockhaus" and the "Meyer," is their being brought up to date every ten years in new editions, a feature it were well to imitate.

Intellectual Germans have always displayed a taste for writing verse, and we therefore find that most of the great pioneers, and nearly all of the political refugees, put their experiences in the New World into verse. Collections of such poems have been made.[1] Most of the prominent singers were also journalists at one time or another, as Kaspar Butz ("Niagara"), Karl Heinrich Schnauffer ("Turnermarsch," "Deutscher Sang"), Eduard Dorsch ("Californien," 1849), Julius Dresel ("Auswanderers Schicksal"), Julius Gugler ("Vaterlandslos"), H. A. Rattermann, who wrote under the suggestive pseudonym "Reimmund" ("Nordamerikanische Vögel in Liedern," "Aphorismen und Agrionien"). Conrad Krez wrote perhaps the most beautiful of the innumerable songs that have been dedicated by German refugees to their abandoned fatherland. The first and last stanzas are as follows: —

"Kein Baum gehörte mir von deinen Wäldern,
Mein war kein Halm auf deinen Roggenfeldern,
Und schutzlos hast du mich hinaus getrieben,
Weil ich in meiner Jugend nicht verstand
Dich weniger und mehr mich selbst zu lieben,
Und dennoch lieb ich dich, mein Vaterland!"

[1] Cf. Dr. G. A. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Literatur.* (Chicago, 1894.) This is the most com-

"O würden jene, die zu Hause blieben,
Wie deine Fortgewanderten dich lieben,
Bald würdest du zu einem Reiche werden,
Und deine Kinder gingen Hand in Hand
Und machten dich zum grösten Land auf Erden,
Wie du das beste bist, O Vaterland!"

Dr. Gustav Brühl, under the pen-name "Kara Giorg," wrote a large number of historical ballads ("Poesien des Urwalds"). Eduard Leyh [1] translated "The Star Spangled Banner," the Scotch ballad, "Annie Morrison," and Joaquin Miller's "Arizonian," in an almost perfect manner, reproducing the spirit of the original in every case. Theodor Kirchoff, the poet of the Golden Gate, wrote some beautiful verse, "Das stille Meer," "California," and other poems dedicated to his Western home. F. C. Castelhun dedicated a poem to the occasion of the "zweihundertjährige Jubelfeier der deutschen Einwanderung" (October 6, 1883), calling attention to the trials and glories of the German immigrants. Konrad Nies (born in 1862), actor and reciter, is the most gifted of the German-American singers of his generation, and controls a wide range of lyrical notes. Of the younger poets, George Sylvester Viereck (born in Munich, in 1884), who came to America in 1897 with his father, Louis Viereck, bears the crown both of achievement and promise. His volumes of poems ("Gedichte," New York, 1904, and "Niniveh und andere Gedichte," 1906) and his dramatic works ("A Game at Love and other plays," "The Vampire," 1908), though

plete collection. A monthly journal was started by Konrad Nies, called *Deutsch Amerikanische Dichtung*, which ran for two years. (New York, 1888–1890.) During the later period the original editor was assisted by H. Rosenthal. Cf. also Dr. G. A. Neeff, *Vom Lande des Sternenbanners*. (Heidelberg, 1905.) An anthology of poems by German-Americans.

[1] Cf. *Die Sonntagsschule des Herrn Eduard Leyh*, von A. B. Faust, *Die Glocke*, März, 1908. (Chicago.)

exhibiting the eccentricities of "Sturm und Drang," bear the marks of the genuine poet's frenzy, power and passion, and rare charm of form.

It is not possible within this chapter to do justice to the numerous single poems of merit, nor to the scattered short stories produced by Germans in America. Among fiction-writers the name of greatest promise perhaps was that of Reinhold Solger, who met an untimely death by being thrown from his horse. His novel "Anton in America," was far above the ordinary. He also wrote the prize poem in honor of the hundredth anniversary of Schiller's birthday, in 1859. L. A. Wollenweber wrote fiction under the pseudonym "Der Alte vom Berge." G. Stüremburg was the author of "Klein Deutschland: Bilder aus dem New Yorker Alltagsleben,"[1] and Johann Rittig wrote sketches called "Federzeichnungen aus dem amerikanischen Stadtleben."[2] Within the last decade appeared a socialistic novel by Max Arlberg, entitled "Joseph Freifeld."

Dialect literature has also been popular in America, particularly that which is a mixture of a German dialect with the English language. We find Plattdeutsch in the works of F. W. Lafrentz and Bornemann, in imitation of Klaus Groth and Fritz Reuter; the most successful in the latter, however, is Carl Münter in his "Nu sünd wi in Amerika." Emil Dietzsch imitates the dialect of the Palatinate, Heerbrandt and Bürkle that of Swabia. Karl Adler presented a mixture of dialect and broken English in his "Mundartlich Heiteres" (Steiger). The Hessian dialect in the transformation which it received in this country is represented in a most amusing manner by Georg Asmus

[1] E. Steiger & Co., New York, dritte Auflage, 1889.
[2] E. Steiger & Co., New York, dritte Auflage, 1889.

in his "Amerikanisches Skizzebüchelche, Eine Epistel in Versen": —

"Von einem in Amerika
Der, was er ass und trank und sah,
Und was ihn sonst noch da genirt,
Seim Ohm nach Hesse rapportirt." [1]

A caricature, not of the Pennsylvania-Germans, as is sometimes incorrectly stated, but of the Germans of about the middle of the nineteenth century, is furnished by Charles Godfrey Leland in his famous collection called "Hans Breitmann's Ballads." Perhaps the best known in the collection is the first, "Hans Breitmann's Party," written, as all the others are, in imitation of the broken English of a German immigrant. The humor is in most cases somewhat strained, and Leland is perhaps to blame also for the conventional caricature that the German finds difficulty in living down. According to this old tradition the German is inseparable from lager beer, Limburger cheese, sauerkraut, and a string of sausages. These attributes, with a red nose, a tipsy gait, and a fund of good nature, allowing others to make of him the butt of their jokes, convey to the American who has not traveled the impression of the German. Hans Breitmann is represented as shrewd enough in spite of his good nature to get along in the world, and is even up to tricks, for he is a mercenary soldier willing to fight on either side of the Civil War for what he can get out of it, a type certainly the exception and not the rule, in which Leland has again done the German a startling injustice. In the preface [2] of his book

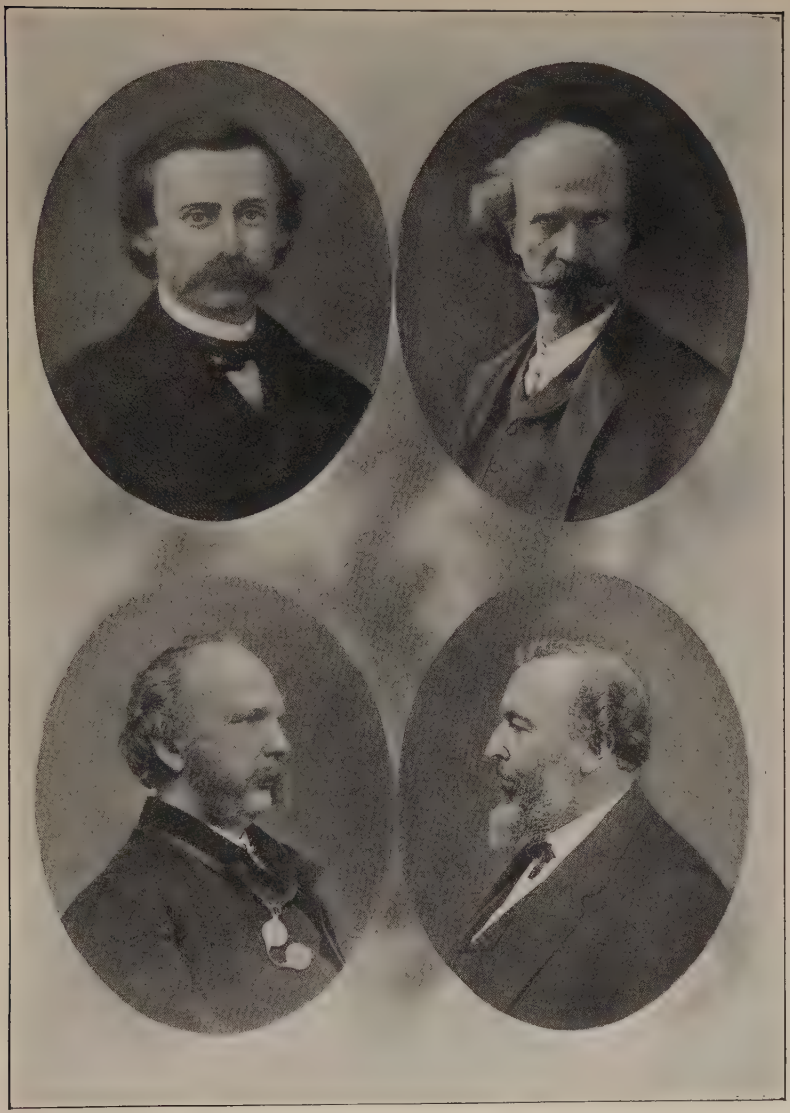
[1] Willmer and Rogers News Co. (American News Co.) 1874.

[2] "America abounds with Germans, who having received in their youth a classical education, have passed through varied adventures and often present the most startling paradoxes of thought and personal appearance. I have seen a man bearing a keg, a porter, who could speak Latin fluently; I have been in a beer-shop kept by a man who was distinguished in the Frank-

Leland speaks very differently of the German whom he has so broadly caricatured.

Charles Leland has, on the other hand, done not a little toward introducing German literature to American readers by means of his translations of lyrical poetry, particularly that of Heine and Scheffel. His service can therefore be compared, though in a less degree, with Longfellow's, who, as professor at Harvard and as translator and teacher of foreign languages, contributed so much toward elevating the literary taste of his native country. Two men of German blood, Bayard Taylor and Charles Nordhoff, should likewise be named prominently in the class of those who stimulated interest in literature and travel, and widened the common intellectual horizon. Bayard Taylor's mother was of German descent and his wife was a German, the daughter of Professor Hansen, the astronomer. Bayard Taylor's travels all over the world were described in his literary works and on his lecture tours throughout the United States, in which he opened new vistas to men's minds. He was a most industrious writer of useful books, inspiring lectures, and well-timed newspaper articles. Much of his work is of considerable literary merit, as his novel "Hannah Thurston" and many of his poems. His studies in German literature and his epoch-making translation of Goethe's "Faust," in the original meters (1871), gave evidence of high literary qualities. The influence of such books reaches down to our own time. But greater than all was the charm

furt Parliament. I have found a graduate of the University of Munich in a negro minstrel troupe; and while mentioning these as a proof that Breitmann, as I have depicted him, is not a contradictory character, I cannot refrain from a word of praise as to the energy and patience with which the German under a cloud in America bears his reverses, and works cheerfully and uncomplainingly, until by sheer perseverance he in most cases conquers fortune."



HENRY TIMROD

JOHN GODFREY SAXE

JOAQUIN MILLER

BAYARD TAYLOR

of Taylor's personality, the inspiration of his example and presence. He was loved by his generation as were few other men, and his early death at his post when Minister Plenipotentiary to Germany was felt as a distinct loss to America and to American literature.[1]

Charles Nordhoff, born in Westphalia, Prussia, in 1830, was likewise a great traveler and lecturer. His books most remembered are, perhaps, "California for Health, Pleasure, and Residence" (1872); "Northern California, Oregon, and the Sandwich Islands" (1874). He wrote on various subjects, political, historical, and philosophical. Another work of his, still authoritative, is "Communistic Societies of the United States" (1875).

Two of our American poets are of German descent, Miller and Timrod. Joaquin Miller had a German mother, and probably his father was also of German blood. He was born in Indiana in 1841, his baptismal name being Cincinnatus Heine (or Hiner) Miller. He adopted the pseudonym after his defense of Joaquin Murietta, a Mexican brigand. Joaquin Miller was a gold-miner, journalist, lawyer, country judge, land speculator, and adventurer, with many ups and downs of fortune. His "Songs of the Sierras" (1871) established his name as the singer *par excellence* of the Far West. They were first published in England and there created enthusiam comparable to that in the days of Byron. His poems breathe the spirit of adventure, the worship of

[1] The effect of Taylor's inspiring personality is reflected throughout the work of his wife, Marie Hansen-Taylor, *Aus zwei Weltteilen*, one of the most charming books ever written by a woman. It is the work of a devoted wife, one of keen intellect and discrimination. The picture afforded of distinguished contemporaries and of American life a generation ago is exceedingly valuable. (Published by the Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1905.) A translation into English has appeared, by Mrs. Marie Hansen-Taylor and her daughter, Lilian Bayard Taylor Kiliani, entitled: *On Two Continents: Memories of Half a Century.* (Doubleday, Page & Co. 1905.)

wild nature, the dash of strong personality, and the bold heroism that often oversteps the bounds of law. Melancholy and pessimism are also heard in the songs of the Sierra minstrel.[1]

A singer of a very different type was Henry Timrod. Like Sidney Lanier, Timrod is enshrined in the hearts of the Southern people, and a single word of harsh criticism would to them seem like a tactless intrusion. Both poets had a hard struggle for very existence in consequence of the Civil War, and when their struggles were about to be crowned with success, they died of consumption, as if flowers too rare to survive in this rude existence. The name of Timrod has been closely identified with the history of South Carolina for more than a century. The founder of the family, Henry Timrod, was born in Germany and became a prominent citizen of Charleston. He was a member of the German Friendly Society, which still exists and is more than a century and a quarter old. He was a member of the German Fusileers of Charleston, who as volunteers in 1775 formed in defense of the country immediately after the battle of Lexington. In the next generation, during the Seminole War, the German Fusileers were commanded by Captain William Henry Timrod, the father of the poet. In this Indian War, Captain Timrod contracted a mortal disease, and dying, left his family in straitened circumstances. The son, our poet, had the literary gift from his father; and from his mother, whose ancestors originally came from Switzerland, he inherited a passionate love of nature. His school-mate and lifelong friend, Paul H. Hayne, later his biographer, helped him overcome many of the obstacles of

[1] Cf. Joaquin Miller's *Arizonian*, which was admirably translated into German by E. F. Leyh, who preserved the spirit and filed away crudities in the original.

life and strengthened the poet's faith in his poetic powers. The high office of the poet is expressed by Timrod in the following words: —

> "All lovely things, and gentle — the sweet laugh
> Of children, Girlhood's kiss, and Friendship's clasp,
> The boy that sporteth with the old man's staff,
> The baby, and the breast its fingers grasp —
> All that exalts the grounds of happiness,
> All griefs that hallow, and all joys that bless,
> To me are sacred; at my holy shrine
> Love breathes its latest dreams, its earliest hints;
> I turn Life's tasteless waters into wine,
> And flush them through and through with purple tints.
> Wherever Earth is fair, and Heaven looks down,
> I rear my altars, and I wear my crown."

One of his most beautiful poems is that called "Katie," addressed to Kate Goodwin, the "fair Saxon" whom he married. A keen and loving insight into the human soul and tender sympathy for nature are evident throughout Timrod's poems. The touch of refinement in form and expression is characteristic of the poet. A total change from his wonted gentleness appears in his war lyrics; e. g., "Carolina," which has copied the martial tread of "Maryland, My Maryland": —

> "The despot treads thy sacred sands,
> Thy pines give shelter to his bands,
> Thy sons stand by with idle hands,
> Carolina!"

Another poem, "A Cry to Arms," begins: —

> "Ho! woodsmen of the mountain side!
> Ho! dwellers in the vales!
> Leave barn and byre; leave kin and cot,
> Lay by the bloodless spade;" etc.

His pen flames with martial frenzy and roused his state to the utmost endeavor. The poet seems changed into a demon of war. But, after all, this is not his characteristic

note, and the tender human spirit prevails with the coming of peace. The poet died in 1867. His poems, with a memoir by Hayne, were first edited in 1873; subsequently they became more widely known.[1]

John Godfrey Saxe, the facile writer of *vers de société*, the American Praed, was the grandson of a Missisquoi German.[2] Saxe was born at Highgate, Vermont, in 1816, graduated at Middlebury College, and became a prominent journalist and lecturer. In 1859–1860 he was the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for governor of Vermont. Saxe's graceful poetic flights, his dashes of humor and satire, that so frequently animated the pages of the "Knickerbocker Magazine," were highly appreciated in his own generation. Some of his best poems are often chosen for recital in our own time, as "The Rhyme of the Rail," "The Proud Miss McBride," "Ye Pedagogue," and "Would n't You Like to Know?"

A number of the living men of letters are of German descent, prominent among whom is Owen Wister, author of "The Virginian." He is of the family of Caspar Wistar, born near Heidelberg, who came to Philadelphia in 1719. The latter was the grandfather of the noted phy-

[1] A memorial edition was published in 1899 from The Riverside Press, Cambridge, entitled *Poems of Henry Timrod*.

[2] Johann Sachse, the grandfather of the poet, was born at Langensalza, Germany, in 1732. Locating first among the German and Dutch settlers along the Hudson, near Rhinebeck, he joined a small group of Loyalists, who at the outbreak of the Revolution migrated to the extreme northwest of Vermont, settling in 1787 at Highgate. For an account of this group of settlers, see J. P. Noyes, *The Missisquoi Germans or Dutch, Second Report of the Missisquoi County Historical Society* (1907), pp. 31–37. The most complete biographical sketch of the poet Saxe is that of Russell W. Taft, *John Godfrey Saxe, a Biographical Sketch of Vermont's Lawyer, Journalist, Lecturer, and Rhymester*. (Burlington, Vermont, 1900, one hundred copies privately printed.) This material was furnished the writer through the kindness of John W. Saxe, of Boston.

sician, Dr. Caspar Wistar, and the great-great-grandfather of General Isaac Wistar. John Wistar followed his brother to America in 1727; he is the ancestor of the author, Owen Wister. The name was originally Wüster, and the American spellings have been Wister and Wistar.[1]

The influence of German literature in America is a subject which is now being studied with great intensity at several of our universities. Before a final word can be said on the subject, the work of investigation must be continued by the thorough-going method of special monographs. Several excellent bibliographical works[2] have appeared, covering the early period and the magazine literature down to the year 1880. They show accurately what translations of German works were published in the United States within the early period, and what poems and literary works were discussed or printed in the American magazines prior to 1880. In the eighteenth century German literature was practically unknown, and in consequence thought to have no existence. The idyllic poet Gessner, much admired in England,[3] was the only German poet for whom some degree of popularity could be claimed. A translation of "The Death of Abel" appeared in Phil-

[1] Information received by letter from Mr. Owen Wister. Though the novelist's family were descended from German ancestry, later marriages in the family were mostly with other national elements.

[2] F. H. Wilkens, *Early Influence of German Literature in America, 1762–1825, Americana Germanica*, vol. iii, no. 2, p. 155. E. Ziegler Davis, *Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines, 1741–1810*. (Americana Germanica Press, 1905. Doctor's thesis, University of Pennsylvania.) S. H. Goodnight, *German Literature in American Magazines prior to 1846, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, no. 188, December, 1907. (Doctor's thesis, University of Wisconsin.) M. H. Haertel, *German Literature in American Magazines, 1846–1880, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, no. 263. (Madison, Wisconsin, 1908. Doctor's thesis, University of Wisconsin.)

[3] *The Influence of Salomon Gessner upon English Literature*, by Bertha Reed, *German-American Annals*, vols. iii and iv.

adelphia as early as 1762, and many others succeeded. The appearance also of translations of Goethe's "Werther," J. G. Zimmermann's (physician to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover) "Solitude," "Strictures on National Pride," and Lavater's "Aphorisms on Man" shows the taste of the time for moralizing and sentimental reading. English and French literature continued to hold sway in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, but the study of German literature was destined to make a good start. Beginnings were made when translations by W. Dunlap and C. Smith, in New York City, appeared from the works of Kotzebue and Schiller ("The Robbers"). Quite remarkable was the popularity of Kotzebue's plays. The English translation of Madame de Staël's "De l'Allemagne" in 1814 had a wonderful effect, but an article in 1816[1] still declares all German writers, with the single exception of Gessner, as totally devoid of taste. Yet immediately thereafter, practically with Edward Everett's brilliant review of Goethe's "Dichtung und Wahrheit," in 1817,[2] began the influence of the Göttingen Americans. Their appreciation of German learning, literature, and philosophy gradually kindled enthusiasm among the intellectual leaders of America; bitter controversies arose, but they only served to make Germany's kingship of the mind better known.

The English writers who became dominant in New England, Coleridge and Carlyle, were themselves steeped in German philosophy, Carlyle being an historian of contemporary German literature. When therefore American literature was advancing toward its first period of fruition,

[1] *On the State of Polite Literature in Germany.* Signed S., in the magazine called *Portico.* (Baltimore.) See Goodnight, no. 284.

[2] *North American Review,* vol. iv, p. 217. (45 pp.)

the most important foreign influence was German thought, and it happened at a time "when German philosophy was most metaphysical and German literature most romantic."[1] George Ticknor was the forerunner of Longfellow,[2] Hedge[3] was the pioneer in German metaphysics and poetry, and Everett, Bancroft, and Margaret Fuller each contributed to the wave of German influence. Emerson is the American representative of German idealistic philosophy, and the popularity of the American philosopher in Germany to this day illustrates the kinship.[4] Nathaniel Hawthorne's novels introduce the weirdness and the fervor of German romanticism. Edgar Allan Poe, more clearly than Hawthorne, seems to reveal the influence of a particular author, viz., the versatile E. T. A. Hoffmann,[5] who combines so effectively crass realism with the supernatural. The popularity of Schiller[6] began at an

[1] Cf. Professor Barrett Wendell, *A Literary History of America*, p. 295. (1900.)

[2] The German influence in Longfellow and Margaret Fuller has been treated by Professor Marion D. Learned in lectures unpublished.

[3] The great import of the contributions of F. H. Hedge to the movement has not yet been thoroughly examined.

[4] Cf. Hermann Grimm, *Essays*.

[5] Cf. Gustav Gruener, *Notes on the Influence of E. T. A. Hoffmann upon Edgar Allan Poe. Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. xix, no. 1. (New Series, vol. xii, no. 1, 1904.) Also, Palmer Cobb, *The Influence of E. T. A. Hoffmann upon the Tales of Edgar Allan Poe. Studies in Philology*, vol. iii, Chapel Hill. (The University Press, 1908.) The evidence brought forward in these investigations is conclusive that Poe borrowed motifs, perhaps also mannerisms from some of Hoffmann's tales. Poe probably could read German, but he could just as well have derived the influence through English or French translations. As a magazine editor and writer he must have been familiar with the German movement.

[6] Cf. *German-American Annals*, vols. iii and iv. The poet Wieland was also popular, and had an admirer in John Quincy Adams (sixth President of the United States), who made a complete translation of Wieland's *Oberon*. Adams's German translation was submitted to Wieland, who "gave the palm of poetry to Sotheby [who had just published an English translation], and

early period of the nineteenth century, and had much to do with bringing German literature into favor; the study of Goethe was long contested, but since then has kept pace with its great development in Germany. The genius of Goethe impressed and inspired the most original of modern American poets, Walt Whitman, who beyond all doubt was deeply interested in German literature.[1]

C. Cartoonists

Artistic illustration in books and magazines, developed at the present day to a high degree of perfection, is only half a century old in this country. It was preceded by comic illustration, which was already established in the sixties. The War of Secession brought to light the classic cartoonist and political caricaturist, the real founder of the art in the United States, Thomas Nast.[2] He was born in 1840, at Landau, in the Bavarian Palatinate, which has furnished such a large proportion of desirable immigrants. His father was a musician, took service on an American man-of-war, and, in 1846, had his family follow him to America. In New York the father eked out a scant existence as a skilled musician and member of the Philharmonic Society. The boy visited evening classes of the Academy of Design, and also saw a good deal of life in the metropolitan city. One day he boldly approached Frank Leslie in his office, with a request to employ him to draw pictures. Leslie, incredulous of the boy's ability,

of fidelity to me." See *Letters of J. Q. Adams to Charles Follen*, quoted by Wilkens, *supra*, p. 44.

[1] Cf. Richard Riethmueller, *Walt Whitman and the Germans. German-American Annals*, New Series, vol. iv, nos. 1–3.

[2] Cf. S. Hartmann, *The History of American Art*, vol. ii, pp. 95–97. The standard biography of Nast is that by Albert Bigelow Paine, *Thomas Nast, His Period and His Pictures.* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1904.)

gave him an assignment the next Sunday morning to draw the ferry at Christopher Street, crowded for the Elysian Fields (beyond Hoboken). Much to Leslie's surprise the boy came back with an excellent drawing, and a great lump rose in the young artist's throat when the owner of the paper told him he could have four dollars a week to draw for "Leslie's Weekly." After a three years' apprenticeship a satirical picture on a police scandal in New York City introduced Nast to "Harper's Weekly," which from that time on became the vehicle of his art.

"The New York Illustrated News," in 1860, sent him to England to witness and illustrate the prize-fight between Heenan and Sayers. From England he went to Italy and took part in the Sicilian War of Liberation under Garibaldi. He sketched the most important scenes of the Italian war for European and American newspapers, and after that returned to New York (1861). Then began Nast's great period. With enthusiasm he defended the cause of the Union in his political cartoons. They became the talk of the day and exerted an enormous influence far beyond the eloquence of any single orator. Very early in the war he led his public to a realization of the necessity of abolition, and with his ardent and fearless pencil he stiffened the Northern mind. "Thomas Nast has been our best recruiting sergeant," said Abraham Lincoln near the close of the Civil War; "his emblematic cartoons have never failed to arouse enthusiasm and patriotism, and have always seemed to come just when these articles were getting scarce." The genius of Thomas Nast was versatile, for he was able, not only to excite the martial spirit and to punish with the force of ridicule, but he could touch also the tenderest emotions of the human heart, as for example in the double page Christmas pic-

ture of 1862–1863, exhibiting on one side the soldier by a wood fire on duty as a sentry, and on the other a woman, his wife, kneeling by the side of a cradle. Similarly effective were the drawings mourning the loss of Lincoln.

His caricatures of Andrew Johnson, "Amphitheatrum Johnsonianum," and "Swinging Round the Circle," created a great stir. Soon after, his pen was used in the interests of reform in New York City. He was perhaps the most relentless foe of the Tammany Ring, and no one man was more instrumental than he in its overthrow. His cartoon, "The Tammany Tiger Loose," in which in an arena a fierce tiger tears to pieces a prostrate female form, the Republic, was the first use of the famous tiger symbol for Tammany. Similarly the first appearance of the Republican elephant came from Thomas Nast in his cartoon "The Third Term Panic." Nast was unapproachable by bribes. He received a salary of five thousand dollars in 1871 from Harper Brothers, for his cartoons against the Ring. He might have had a hundred times as much for discontinuing his crusade against Tammany. History was repeating itself, for one hundred and forty years before, the German printer Zenger had staked his fortunes on reform and liberty of the press in the same city. In the presidential election of 1872 Nast entered fiercely into the contest with some of his most effective cartoons. Louis Napoleon at this time was also made the object of truth-telling ridicule; as, for instance, in the cartoon "Thrown into the Shade," where the shadow of William I of Germany, standing upright, falls against a picture of Napoleon, completely covering it. Nast continued his career as a political force until near the close of his life. His last service was that of a consul,

"An ass, having put on the Lion's skin, roamed about in the forest, and amused himself by frightening all the foolish animals he met with in his wanderings."
—SHAKESPEARE or BACON.

THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT

Thomas Nast, in Harper's Weekly. Nov. 7, 1874

an appointment by President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay. In the words of J. Henry Harper, "Nast was one of the great statesmen of his time. I have never known a man with a surer political insight. He seemed to see approaching events before most men dreamed of them as possible. His work was entirely his own and generally in his own way. He never could bear interference or even suggestion. I never knew him to use an idea that was not his own."[1]

Another caricaturist, subsequently almost as influential as Nast, was Joseph Keppler, the founder of "Puck." He was born in Vienna in 1838, early showed a taste for drawing, and received good training at the Academy of Fine Arts in his native city. Through some caricatures criticizing the foibles of the time his work at an early age gained access to the leading periodicals of Vienna. Quite as remarkable as his precociousness was his versatility. He joined a theatrical troupe as a comedian and traveled with them in the Tyrol and Italy. His ability to restore old paintings gained for him the good will and some extra money in many monasteries on the way. He was a charming companion, an excellent story-teller, and immediately popular wherever he went. Meanwhile his father had settled in the United States, and hearing glowing accounts from America, young Keppler wished to become as prosperous as others. He arrived in St. Louis in 1869, where his father had established himself in the drug business. The son's first venture was to join a theatrical troupe, but finally returning to his early art, he associated himself with a friend and fellow countryman, and founded an illustrated humorous newspaper. On the death of his partner, Joseph Keppler was obliged to sell the paper, and he ac-

[1] Cf. Paine, *Thomas Nast*, p. 578.

cepted an offer from Frank Leslie, whose keen business instinct detected great promise in the young artist. While on the staff of "Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper," he formed the acquaintance of "Adolph" (Schwarzmann), the foreman of the printing establishment. With the latter he soon formed a partnership, Keppler & Schwarzmann, which in 1876 commenced the publication of a German illustrated newspaper called "Puck," named after Keppler's first venture in St. Louis. The paper prospered from the first; its colored political cartoons soon became popular, and in 1877 an edition of "Puck" in English was launched.[1] In one of the early numbers appeared a cartoon by Keppler, in which Stewart's Woman's Hotel (admitting no men) was ridiculed. The number was so successful that the printers could hardly supply the demand for it. Upwards of a hundred thousand copies were sold, and the future of the English edition was assured. Through his brilliant conceptions and business capacity Joseph Keppler made the name of his paper familiar from ocean to ocean, and "Puck" has been for a long time the leading humorous paper of America. Mr. Keppler died after a brief illness in 1894. For many years the German, Leopold Schenk, ably assisted Keppler.

There have been other famous cartoonists of German birth or descent, e. g., Eugene Zimmermann, born in Basel, Switzerland, caricaturist of "Judge." He was connected with "Puck" from 1892 to 1895, and since then he has been cartoonist of "Judge," and known as "Zim." He has also illustrated books and articles by Bill Nye and James Whitcomb Riley.[2] There is also Henry Mayer

[1] Cf. *National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. ii, p. 225.

[2] He is also the author of *This and That about Caricature*, a book for students of comic art. (1892–1893.)

("Hy Mayer"), who was born at Worms on the Rhine, in 1868. He began his career as an artist in Cincinnati in 1887, has lived in New York since 1893, is an illustrator for "Fliegende Blätter" (Munich) and for English and French papers, for "Life," "Judge," "Truth," "Harper's," "Century," "Colliers," "Leslie's," etc. Among his books are "A Trip to Toyland," "The Real New York," "Fantasies in Ha-Ha," etc. There is Carl Emil Schultze ("Bunny"), who was born in Kentucky in 1866, of German descent and education. He introduced the "Foxy Grandpa Series," which was begun in the New York "Herald," January 7, 1900, and continued in the New York "American" from February 17, 1902. The series has been continued under various similar titles up to 1905. Two other cartoonists and newspaper illustrators are Charles Lederer (born in Massachusetts, in 1856), since 1875 cartoonist and illustrator for "Frank Leslie's," "Harper's," New York "World," New York "Herald," and some Chicago papers; and W. H. Schmedtgen (born in Chicago), pioneer in newspaper illustrating in Chicago, head of the art department, Chicago "Record," 1866–1901, field artist in the Spanish-American War, and now on the staff of the Chicago "Record-Herald."

D. Journalism

A province bordering on German-American literature is German-American journalism. It can be classed as an indirect influence on the people of the United States, because of its important effect upon the German population. The great function of German journalism in America, viewed historically, has been to prepare the German population for good citizenship. German newspapers have accelerated the process of assimilation by interesting their

foreign-born readers in American politics, history, and present conditions. Secondly, they have exerted a conservative influence on their patronage by upholding the German language, and increasing their pride in German culture and civilization. The German newspapers are and have been strongly patriotic in all matters concerning national or local politics; they are German or conservative only on questions of language and culture. Herman Ridder, manager of the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung," in an interview[1] spoke as follows concerning the German press in the United States: "The daily papers published in the German language are not German papers, but American papers printed in the German language. They represent American interests as completely as the papers printed in the English language. They educate the Germans which come to this country to become good and loyal American citizens. The fact that the 'Staats-Zeitung' has been shut out of Germany several times tells its own story. It goes without saying that the Germans love their Fatherland, but they love the land of their adoption, and their first and last allegiance is to the country in which they have settled and raised families, and where forever every interest they and their children have is centred."

The history of German-American journalism goes back to the period before the Revolution, to the foundation in 1739 by Christoph Sauer[2] of a German paper entitled "Der Hochdeutsch-Pennsylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber,

[1] Cf. Herbert Casson, *The Germans in America*, *Munsey's Magazine*, March, 1906, p. 701. Herman Ridder was born in New York in 1851, of German parentage.

[2] The spelling "Sauer" has been used in this book to indicate the pronunciation in two syllables. "Saur" is the form which appears on the title-page of the German Bible and elsewhere. The spelling "Sower" is also seen, though not as frequently as "Sauer" and "Saur."

oder Sammlung Wichtiger Nachrichten aus dem Natur- und Kirchen-Reich." This Germantown newspaper, "Germantown Zeitung," as it was later called, soon changed from a semi-annual publication to a quarterly, then to a monthly. In 1741 it was enlarged, but no additional charge was made beyond the original three shillings annually. The subscribers originally had the privilege of inserting advertisements gratis. In 1755, in which year the paper was a bi-weekly, advertisers were charged five shillings, but if their wants were satisfied at once, two shillings would be returned to them, or one shilling if their wants were answered on the second insertion. After 1775 the paper appeared weekly, and although it had grown from thirteen by nine inches to three times those dimensions, and the reader now received fifty-two numbers annually, Sauer still kept the old rates; "an honest man should not allow himself to be paid doubly," said he. Occasionally an evidence of slow payments appears, such as that of April, 1759: "Whoever owes for three years or more and otherwise has no reputation must not be offended if he receive a gentle notice." When Gotthard Armbruster, Sauer's former apprentice, established a paper in Philadelphia, the "Germantown Zeitung," May 16, 1748, congratulated him on his new venture, and Sauer besought those who had never paid him not to do likewise unto his new contemporary.[1] To Christoph Sauer belongs the honor of laying the foundation of German-American journalism and of maintaining an exemplary standard of business integrity.

[1] See Seidensticker, *Bilder aus der Deutsch-Pennsylvanischen Geschichte (Die beiden Christoph Saur in Germantown)*, zweite Auflage (New York, 1886), pp. 115–116. Cf. also Emil Baensch, *The German-American Press*, *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 1898, and reprint, 1899.

Other German newspapers soon followed in Philadelphia; that of Crellius in 1743, whose successor, Armbruster, founded his semi-weekly in 1744, the first of its kind in America. In 1762 there were five German newspapers in Pennsylvania: two in Philadelphia, one in Germantown, and two (one of them half-German and half-English) in Lancaster, the centre of the Pennsylvania-German farming country. Henry Miller (Mueller) was the founder of the sixth German journal, in 1762, and became the most influential German publisher of the capital city. He was the printer of Congress and the publisher of influential books. The German newspapers were an important instrument in producing the result which George Bancroft points out, that, while the Germans in the colonies constituted but one twelfth of the population, yet they formed one eighth of the Continental Army. A weekly paper, "Der Reading Adler," founded in 1796, and because of its large circulation called, at one time, "The Bible of Berks County," survives to the present day. It is the sixteenth oldest newspaper in America.

It is not the present purpose to furnish a list of the numerous pioneers in German journalism. In the early nineteenth century two German papers in Philadelphia were of a high grade for the time, "Der Amerikanische Korrespondent" (1825–1832), and "Das Philadelphische Magazin, oder Unterhaltender Gesellschafter für die Deutschen in Amerika." Some of the survivors of early foundations, that have since then become giants in circulation and influence, are "Die New Yorker Staats-Zeitung," founded in 1834; "Der Anzeiger des Westens," in St. Louis, 1835; the "Cincinnati Volksblatt," in 1836. There were strong men among the political refugees between 1818 and 1848 prominent in journalistic work, as

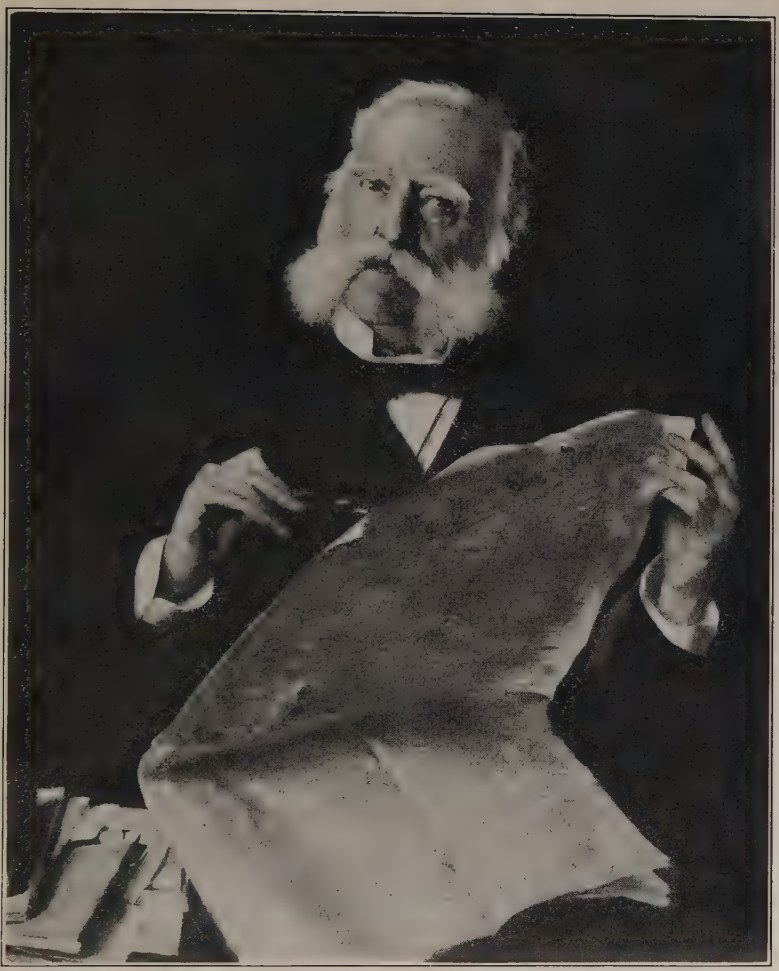
Friedrich Münch (Missouri), J. A. Wagener (Charleston, South Carolina), H. A. Rattermann (Cincinnati). It must be conceded, however, that the great progress in German journalism in the United States came with the advent of the political refugees of 1848, and immediately thereafter. A large number of new journals were founded by these "forty-eighters," and as a rule they commanded a better German style and furnished a greater amount of desirable information in politics and literature. The presumption of the "forty-eighters" in many cases offended the older class (of 1818–1848), and a journalistic warfare arose between the two parties ("die Grauen" and "die Grünen"). The result, however, was favorable to the cause of journalism, and the Grays and the Greens, as explained before, soon united in the great struggle against secession and slavery. The following names of "forty-eighters" who became influential in the new epoch of journalism will serve to bring into memory many more: Carl Schurz, F. R. Hassaurek, Carl Heinzen, Friedrich Hecker, Christopher Esselen (editor of "Atlantis"), Lorenz Brentano, Theodor Olshausen, Hermann Raster, Friedrich Kapp, Franz Sigel, Oswald Ottendorfer, Wilhelm Rapp, Kaspar Beetz, Friedrich Lexow (founder of "Belletristisches Journal," New York), Carl Dilthey, Emil Preetorius, F. Raine, H. Börnstein, C. L. Bernays, Karl D. A. Douai, Emil Rothe, Eduard Leyh, and many others. The training and ability of the "forty-eighters" brought German journalism abreast with that in the English language; in fact, many of the German-American group also did able work for the English-American papers, as, for instance, Carl Schurz, and before him, Carl Follen and Francis Lieber. The "forty-eighters" were succeeded by later generations of well-trained recruits from Germany and German-speak-

ing countries, and the higher standards of journalism once established were by them maintained.

Every American city or town with a large German population possesses one or more German newspapers. In New York City there are twelve or more German journals, the oldest and best, known over all the land, being the daily paper, "Die New Yorker Staats-Zeitung." The Illinois "Staats-Zeitung" has nearly as large a circulation, and the Milwaukee "Germania" claims the largest circulation of all. The Milwaukee "Herold" comes not far behind. Philadelphia has its "Demokrat"; Baltimore its "Correspondent"; Cincinnati its "Volksblatt"; St. Louis has two papers of long standing and excellent historical record, "Die Westliche Post" and "Der Anzeiger des Westens."[1] A recent foundation, with a definite purpose expressed in its title, is "Der Deutsche Vorkämpfer, Monatsschrift für deutsche Kultur in Amerika." This monthly, founded by Louis Viereck, is in its third year, and circulates widely in Germany and America, with the definite aim of better acquaintance between the two countries, and the awakening of German-Americans to the consciousness of the value of German "Kulturarbeit."

It is interesting to note the reports of the Twelfth Census (1900) on the newspapers in foreign languages. We find there were 613 German newspapers as compared with 17,194 English journals in the United States. The language with the next largest representation after the Ger-

[1] For a good account of German journalism up to 1885, see Udo Brachvogel, *Die deutsche Presse in den Vereinigten Staaten*, published in A. Tenner's monograph, *Amerika*. (Berlin and New York, 1886.) Cf. also statistics of German newspapers furnished in Henoch, *Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande*. (Berlin, 1904.) The latter's lists, however, are not complete. The condition of things, for instance, in Wisconsin is misrepresented. German newspapers there are more numerous, on a rough count numbering at least seventy. Cf. *Germania-Abend Post*, Milwaukee, May 17, 1904, editorial.



Adolfe Muller-Ury pinx.

OSWALD OTTENDORFER

man is the Scandinavian, with 115. The German papers declined in numbers after 1890, owing to the decreasing immigration from Germany. The following table will give the figures of the last three censuses for newspapers in languages which have the largest representation: —

LANGUAGE	*Number of Publications*		
	1900	1890	1880
English	17,194	13,848	10,515
German	613	727	641
Scandinavian	115	112	49
Spanish	39	28	26
Italian	35	13	4
Polish	33	18	2
Bohemian	28	22	13
French	27	40	41
Totals[1]	18,226	14,901	11,314

Expressed in percentages of the total number of newspapers published in the country, those published in the English language number 94.3 per cent of the whole, the German 3.4 per cent, the Scandinavian 0.6 per cent, the Spanish, Italian, Polish, Bohemian, and French, each 0.2 per cent of the whole. The table shows a decrease in the number of newspapers for each people whose immigration to the United States has decreased in the corresponding decade, except in the case of the Scandinavians, who, although their immigration decreased in numbers within the last enumerated decade, published an increased number of journals and newspapers in their own language. The Germans hold a better average than the Scandinavians, however, if the number of publications be compared to the number of residents. On this basis there is one

[1] In the table the totals represent a large number of additional languages not put down here. Cf. *Twelfth Census of the United States* (1900), vol. ix, p. 1048, table XXI.

German journal to every 4213 Germans in the country; there is one Scandinavian journal to every 9255 Scandinavians; the general average throughout the United States is one journal to every 4169 inhabitants. Only the French of the foreign groups show a better average than the Germans, with one journal to every 3366 Frenchmen in the United States.[1]

We learn from these statistics the interesting fact that it takes a continuous immigration from a foreign country to support the newspapers in the foreign language, the tendency being for succeeding generations to prefer the newspapers printed in the native language. In the enumerations above no accurate test is made of the reading propensities of the various races, because the circulation of the newspapers is not considered. A test of the amount of newspaper reading would have to include a consideration of the size and influence of each newspaper. The German papers are next to the American, not only in numbers, but also in circulation.

In a consideration of the influence of the German element on American journalism, we should not omit the mention of a large number of men of German birth who have been prominent in the American journalistic work done in the English language. The name of Carl Schurz has already been noticed. When he retired from public life and made his residence in New York City, he became one of the editors of the New York "Evening Post," and in conjunction with Mr. E. L. Godkin and Mr. Horace White, started that paper on a new and brilliant career. He began in July, 1881, and retained the position until December 9, 1883. What astounded Mr. Schurz's colleagues and friends was his mastery of English.

[1] Cf. *Census* (1900), vol. ix, p. 1049.

Thomas R. Price, of Columbia University, professor of English literature and a most competent judge, said that Mr. Schurz's mastery of English was the most astonishing intellectual feat that he had ever known. "In his spoken and written discourses, idioms of the English language seemed native to him — his crisp pronunciation, his flexible handling of phrase, and instinctive building-up of sentence and climax made listening to him a blending of delight and wonder." "Mr. Schurz could in either tongue be playful, or powerfully argue, soar, or thunder, and do it with the facility and grace of one to the vernacular born."[1] The earliest great representative of the German blood in American journalism was Peter Zenger, founder of the first independent newspaper in the United States, the New York "Weekly Journal," in 1733, an opposition paper to the New York "Gazette," the organ of the aristocracy.[2] He made the first bold move toward establishing that independence of the press in America which has been the pride of the nation. In fact the trial which followed upon his imprisonment, and in which Andrew Hamilton made his historical defense of Zenger, established the liberty of the press for England and America.

One of the famous newspaper correspondents of the Civil War was Henry Villard (the name was changed from Hilgard). He was born in Bavaria and came to this country at the age of eighteen with no resources, not even that of knowing the English language. Such were his energy and ability, however, that he quickly mastered all the difficulties of the foreign idiom, became acquainted with most of the leading spirits of his time in this country and abroad, and was one of the famous correspondents during the Civil

[1] *The Evening Post*, New York, May 14, 1906 (editorial).

[2] Cf. Volume I, Chapter IV, pp. 105–110.

War.[1] As war correspondent for the New York "Herald" and the New York "Tribune," he was present at the battles of Bull Run, Shiloh, Perryville, Fredericksburg, and Chattanooga, and at the attack on the forts at Charleston by the fleet of monitors. Before the war period he had been in Illinois in close contact with Lincoln and Douglas. He represented the New York "Staats-Zeitung" at four of the meetings in the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates. His memoirs, because they picture events in a more judicial manner than is commonly the case with newspaper correspondents, assume an important place among historical records.

Other war correspondents and journalist travelers are C. S. Diehl, assistant general manager of the Associated Press, and reporter of Indian wars; Fred W. Unger, reporter of the Boer War, and W. E. Geil, a traveler of over one hundred and twenty thousand miles in 1901 in Africa and elsewhere.

The greatest newspaper owner of German blood is Adolph S. Ochs, born in Cincinnati, in 1858, whose parents were both born in Germany. He was a printer in 1873, and five years later published the Chattanooga "Times," of which he is still proprietor. In 1896 he became the publisher and principal owner of the New York "Times"; in 1901, publisher and proprietor of the Philadelphia "Times," and in 1902, the publisher and principal owner of the Philadelphia "Public Ledger." William Henry Seif has been the president and manager of the Pittsburg "Times" since 1896; William Frisch, managing editor of the Baltimore "American" since 1881.

[1] Cf. *Memoirs of Henry Villard, journalist and financier, 1835–1900.* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1904, two volumes.) He also became one of the foremost promoters of railway enterprises in the Far West. Cf. Volume I, Chapter XV, p. 504.

MONUMENT TO HENRY VILLARD, COMPLETER OF NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD

Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, Tarrytown, N. Y.

He was born in Austria in 1854. Thomas C. Zimmerman is president of the Reading Times Publishing Company. The Drexels of Philadelphia, capitalists, founders of the Drexel Institute, have long been owners of Philadelphia newspapers. Paul Carus, born in Ilsenburg, Germany, author of many philosophical works, is the editor of "The Open Court" and "The Monist" of Chicago. Louis Klopsch, born in Germany, has been the editor and proprietor of "The Christian Herald" from 1892, and since then through his paper has raised and distributed over $2,500,000 in international charities. Victor L. Berger, editor of the Milwaukee Daily "Vorwärts," has been a leader in the organization of the Social Democratic Party in America. Through his leadership eighteen socialists, mostly Germans, are now holding public office in Wisconsin. He is perhaps the ablest socialist leader in the United States. Another large owner of newspapers is Hermann Henry Kohlsaat[1] (born in Illinois, in 1853). He was part owner of the Chicago "Inter-Ocean," 1891–1893; editor and publisher of the Chicago "Times-Herald" in 1894, which was amalgamated with the Chicago "Record" in 1902, becoming the Chicago "Record-Herald," the leading daily of Chicago.

Summarizing very briefly the results of the present chapter, we have found that the German theatre in New York has stood for better principles in dramatic art than obtained in most contemporary American theatres, and

[1] Replying to the writer's inquiry, Mr. H. H. Kohlsaat stated that his father came to this country from Germany, after serving in the army, between 1825 and 1830. His mother, of Scotch parentage, came to America in 1819. "If I were running for office," wrote Mr. Kohlsaat, "I would claim to be a German on the North Side of Chicago and a Scotchman on the far South Side. The fact of the matter is, I am an American from the top of my head to the soles of my feet."

that favorable influences can be traced therefrom. The German element has created a literature of historical interest in the German language and in German dialects. It is also well represented among American men of letters, such as Bayard Taylor, Carl Nordhoff, Joaquin Miller, Henry Timrod, John Godfrey Saxe, and Owen Wister. The literature of Germany has been of great influence upon American literature during its classic period. Not only scholars, as Ticknor, Everett, Bancroft, Motley, etc., but poets and men of letters, as Longfellow, Emerson, Hawthorne, Margaret Fuller, Edgar Allan Poe, and Walt Whitman, were influenced by German poetry and philosophy. Germans introduced caricature into America, Thomas Nast being the great pioneer, and Joseph Keppler the founder of the leading comic paper of the United States. German journalism stands next in amount and influence to that in the English language, and many men of German blood are engaged prominently in American journalism as editors or owners of American newspapers.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL AND MORAL INFLUENCE OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT

(1) The joy of living : German festivals, agricultural fairs, frolics, open-air celebrations ; singing-societies ; Christmas and Easter celebrations ; gifts, birthdays, etc. — (2) Care of the body : Gymnastics (Turnerei) ; Vater Jahn's influence in America through Follen, Lieber, etc.; " Turnvereine " ; clashes between Turners and Know-nothings ; the German element in American sports; the Germans as medical practitioners and druggists raise the standard of health. — (3) The social life of the Germans : musical, gymnastic, military, and social organizations.— (4) Religious influences. — (5) German philanthropists. — (6) German-American women. — (7) German traits : honesty, persistence, industry, economy ; love of labor; sense of duty; simple life; love of home ; individualism, idealism. — Summary.

In the preceding two chapters a great and lasting social influence of the German element was considered, that which resulted from their cultivation of music in America, and their participation in the development of the fine arts and literature in this country. They have diverted men's minds from materialistic aims, and emphasized the more beautiful aspects of life.

Inasmuch as German music, art, and literature derive their power from the pure spring of idealism, they elevate the human mind, broaden and deepen character, assign new and higher values to life, and therefore constitute not only a social but a moral influence. German culture has shaken the young American giant out of his stupor of self-absorption, and has awakened in him a soul capable of thinking the thoughts and thrilling to the emotions of all humanity.

Though the Germans in the United States have striven earnestly to maintain their language against severe handicaps, they have been far more tenacious of their social customs and principles of living. The Germans being so large a formative element of the American nation, their ways have frequently impressed themselves upon the people and have resulted in permanent good. A striking illustration of this is an influence potent and useful, which might be described in the words: —

(1) The joy of living

In taking pleasure after toil, in relaxing after tension, the German has furnished an example to the busy American, who takes even his pleasures strenuously. The German in his own country gives himself a good amount of leisure and healthful pleasure, and this trait enables him to keep his mind and body fresh, to safeguard against over-exertion, and to do better work for a longer time. But also as a corrective of too stern and austere a view of life, the German "joy of living" has exerted a beneficent influence. The German student song which contains a maxim so frequently attributed to Luther —

"Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weib und Gesang,
Der bleibt ein Narr sein Lebelang" —

is typical of a theory of life, which Germans have put into practice wherever they have settled in large numbers. It is true that the early German sectarians of Pennsylvania were just as rigorous in their discipline as other religious orders of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Yet the anchorites of Ephrata chanted in mixed choruses and the Moravians of Bethlehem cultivated vocal and instrumental music with great success from the beginning of their history. The agricultural conditions in Pennsylvania

were better than in New England. The garden-like beauty of the Pennsylvania fields, the sweet odor of rich harvests, made the "vale of tears" a tolerable abiding-place, and in succeeding generations changed the old austerity of manner. The German pietist[1] is not pessimistic; he is content with the rulings of Providence, and his tranquil optimism (*Zufriedenheit*) beams from his face and has impressed itself on the smiling landscape that his labors have produced.

The Pennsylvania-Germans naturally grew more fond of merrymaking as their material prosperity increased, and as the country became more thickly settled. Rural festivities abounded, in which American neighborliness and the frontier's coöperative spirit were spiced with the mirth of the German harvest festival. The idea of our annual fair, the adaptation of the German "Jahrmarkt" or "Messe," was started by the settlers of Germantown only a short time after their arrival in the New World. This soon developed into the agricultural county fairs, with exhibitions of sleek stock and all manner of farm products, competitions for prizes, outdoor sports, and pastimes. They are still the popular event of the year in the farming counties of Pennsylvania and of most other

[1] Germany's greatest hymn-writer, Paul Gerhardt (1607–1676), gives the most adequate expression in verse of the spirit of pietism. His optimism rings out in the poem: —

"Die Welt ist mir ein Lachen,
Mit ihrem grossen Zorn."

He likewise gives full expression to the joy of living, e. g., in the poem, "Die Lerche schwingt sich in die Luft," which closes: —

"Ich selbsten kann und mag nicht ruhn
Des grossen Gottes grosses Thun
Erweckt mir alle Sinnen:
Ich singe mit wenn alles singt,
Und lasse, was dem Höchsten klingt
Aus meinem Herzen rinnen."

agricultural states. The county fair went with the Pennsylvania-German wherever he wandered, and was adopted at one time or another all over the country, with local variations.

Typical of the sports connected with such events in the early day was the foot-race between Conrad Weiser and the Indian of the Mohawk tribe in Schoharie County, New York.[1] Amusing are the accounts of occasional clashes between the German and the Irish element on festival days. Kercheval, the historian of the Valley of Virginia, tells us of such an event at Winchester, Virginia, where the Germans caricatured the Irishmen's parade on St. Patrick's Day, and the Irish retaliated on St. Michael's Day with a similar jest on the Germans.[2] Brawls and broken heads frequently resulted, but the number of the wounded is of very little importance to the historian, in comparison with the fundamental fact that there existed a kinship between the Teuton and Celt in America in so far as they both possessed an unsubdued disposition to merrymaking, offsetting Puritanic and Calvinistic abstinence.

Less elaborate than the county fairs were the coöperative gatherings in and out of doors, husking-frolics, quilting-bees, apple-butter cookings, and fruit-preserving parties, when the whole neighborhood worked and played together. The young met, made music and danced, wooed and were merry. Another coöperative function was the killing of hogs, providing meat for the winter, — a good old German custom immortalized in Uhland's poem: —

> "Wir haben heut nach altem Brauch
> Ein Schweinchen abgeschlachtet."

[1] Cf. Volume I, Chapter III, p. 95.
[2] Cf. Volume I, Chapter VII, p. 199.

Family events, births, deaths, and marriages, were the occasions of social gatherings or festivity. No doubt the feasting was sometimes carried to excess, for the Lutheran patriarch, Mühlenberg, complains now and then of the extravagance at weddings and funerals.[1] To the German at home, hospitality was inseparable from an offering of refreshing food and drink,[2] and the hardships of travel made the custom all the more desirable in America.

In the nineteenth century, as the German immigration increased and became more representative of all classes, festivals on the outskirts of cities became frequent. The occasion would be the celebration of some national event, the anniversary of the birth or death of a great poet (as of Schiller in 1859), a Turner- or Sängerfest, with guests invited from other cities, near by or distant. A typical celebration of this kind was the Cincinnati Sängerfest of

[1] Mittelberger, in his *Journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750*, etc., pp. 57 ff., gives a graphic account of the funeral customs: "When some one has died, where people live far from one another, the time appointed for the funeral is always indicated only to the four nearest neighbors; each of these in his turn notifies his own nearest neighbor. In this manner such an invitation to a funeral is made known more than fifty English miles around in twenty-four hours. If it is possible, one or more persons from each house appear on horseback at the appointed time to attend the funeral. While the people are coming in, good cake, cut into pieces, is handed around on a large tin platter to those present; each person receives then in a goblet a hot West India rum punch, into which lemon, sugar, and juniper berries are put, which give it a delicious taste. After this, hot and sweetened cider is served. This custom at the funeral assemblies in America is just the same as that at the wedding gatherings in Europe. The assembled people number from one hundred to five hundred persons on horseback. They ride behind in silence accompanying the dead body to the general burial-place, or, where that is too far away, the deceased is buried in his own field."

[2] We are told on the authority of Dr. Rush that the Pennsylvania-Germans were not addicted to drunkenness. At all events they did not surpass their Irish, Scotch or English contemporaries in New England and Virginia. The colonial habit was to drink deeply. Cf. Alice Morse Earle, *The Customs and Fashions of Old New England.*

1849, the first meeting of the united singing-societies of the West. The effect of this event on the native population can be measured by the account in the "Cincinnati Gazette," on the following day.[1] "The German population of our city had a celebration on Sabbath last on Longworth's farm, on Bald Hill, above Columbia, about six miles from the city; the attendance was very large. At noon there were at least two thousand people on the ground. The exercises were music, speaking, and feasting. A sumptuous dinner was served, and native wine flowed freely. The music on the high hill in the midst of a pleasant grove, by nearly two hundred singers, was grand beyond our power of description. Enjoyment seemed to be the object of all, and about the whole assembly there was an air which spoke plainly as words: —

> Let us be young again
> And o'er the grassy plain
> Gambol like children,
> And give care the slip.

We do not think the Sabbath under all circumstances a proper day for festivals of this character, but we think they should at proper times be much more frequent than they now are. Americans do not allow themselves enjoyment enough of this kind.

> In our too plodding homes, we ponder over tomes,
> Ledger and day-book, till we quite forget
> That there are fields and bowers and river-banks and flowers.
> And that we owe our languid limbs a debt:
> A debt most sweet to pay — a needful holiday —
> A brain-refreshing truce, 'mid intellectual strife,
> That, fought too keenly out, impairs the mortal life.

Bald Hill is an advantageous spot for the holding of such holidays. It is easy of access, and on its summit are handsome groves and pleasant walks, from which is afforded

[1] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, pp. 58–59.

a wide prospect, taking in several villages, a long stretch of the Ohio, and many enchanting views of the Miami River scenery." Though city editors do not as easily drop into verse at the present day, the accounts they write of the great Sängerfeste of our later period are equally glowing and appreciative, an indication of favorable public opinion.

Noteworthy also is the support provided by the German element when a city undertakes a celebration, carnival, or mardi-gras on a large scale. Indeed it seems as if a large celebration cannot be made a complete success without the enthusiastic coöperation of the Germans. All nativistic objections are cast aside, a large German representation appears on the committee[1] of arrangements, and the singing of the German Männerchöre usually provides one of the most enjoyable events on the programme. The Germans have thus not alone created festivals in which their own people are concerned, but, wherever possible, they have lent a helping hand in ringing the bells of mirth.

The one celebration, now our grandest and sweetest of the year, into which the Germans have infused soul and beauty, is Christmas. They changed its character from that of solemnity to joy, and impressed upon it the mood of peace and good will to men. They introduced the Christmas-tree into this country, and made it a universal emblem. They developed the custom of giving Christmas gifts, beginning with gifts to children. The fir-tree decorated with candles, toys, and sweetmeats, as an emblem of Christmas joys, was seen in Germany as

[1] For example, the recent celebration in Baltimore, in commemoration of the rebuilding of the city after the great fire of 1904, was managed by Frank Hoen (of German parentage), chairman of the committee in charge. The Germans contributed prominently, not as an element, but as citizens.

early as the end of the sixteenth century, when it began to displace the blossoming shrub, still used in many countries, as the holly and mistletoe in England. However, the Christmas-tree was not in common use in Germany until the end of the eighteenth century, when German poets cast a halo about it.[1] Its common acceptance began in Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century, after which it took possession of the whole Christian world with unprecedented rapidity. There is a beautiful tradition that the first Christmas-trees seen in America decorated with candles and sweets were used by the Hessian soldiers celebrating their Christmas at Trenton, December 26, 1776. The American conquerors in their night attack felt the warmth and sniffed the odor of the illuminated fir-tree for the first time, and themselves were taken by surprise and conquered by the homelike sweetness of a German Christmas.[2]

The celebration of Christmas in the thoroughgoing manner to which we are now accustomed was a later development. On questioning an older generation, we learn that until about the middle of the nineteenth century, probably through French influence, the great festival in America was New Year's Day, as it is still in France. Not until the period of German educational and literary influences, and then the large German immigrations after 1848, came the lasting social influence which made Christmas instead of New Year's our principal holiday. Thomas Nast was the first to introduce pictures of Santa Claus, in "Harper's Weekly," with the adjuncts of Christmas-tree, reindeer and sleigh, sackfuls of toys, the

[1] Cf. A. Tille, *Die Geschichte der deutschen Weihnacht.* (Leipzig, 1893.)

[2] It is probable that the tradition is not well founded, since 1776 is very early for the Christmas-tree, even in Germany. In the nineteenth century war-vessels frequently carried the Christmas-tree custom to distant points.

house-chimney, and the stockings hung at the fireplace. Then came gift-giving, at first to children, and the beautiful effect in the home of expectation and fulfillment, equally enjoyable to parent and child. German genius, which regards nothing too humble or lowly,[1] studied the child, gave it a Christmas and a kindergarten, invented toys of such clever construction as to stimulate the intellect, the imagination, and the emotions of the young, and increase their capacity of growth. Most of the toys of the more fascinating and educational variety are German inventions, the Noah's arks, the dolls that open and close their eyes, those with movable limbs and a squeal if held too much under the thumb, the horses of every conceivable size and breed, attached or unattached to their burdens, the brightly costumed cavalry and infantrymen, and the artillery with pea cannon-balls, the linen picture-books that will not tear (*unzerreissbare Bilderbücher*), the men-of-war with vigorous spring propellers, the steam-cars that circle again and again on their own railway tracks, and last but not least the "Teddy Bears."[2] These toys that have given us delight come from busy little German towns highly specialized in the toy industry, as Sonneberg, Waltershausen, Nauendorf, Limbach, and others in the Thuringian Mountains, some others in the Black Forest and the Bavarian Alps, and the larger cities of Naumburg a/S, Nuremberg, Stuttgart, and Berlin. Many a commercial house in our seaboard cities has made a fortune by the importation of German toys.

If traced to their origins, Christmas and Easter cards will be found to be German immigrants. No one in the

[1] *Die Ehrfurcht vor dem Unbedeutenden* is a maxim used by Grimm.

[2] The inventor and manufacturer of the "Teddy Bear" is Mrs. Margarete Steiff of Giengen, in Würtemberg (German Empire). Cf. *Toys and Novelties* (Sporting Goods Publishing Co., St. Louis), August, 1909.

land, except he be illiterate, has escaped the pleasing effect of the modern illustrated postal card. In all probability that card was designed and printed in Germany. Attempts have been made to develop the art in this country, but skilled labor in art work is too rare and expensive to insure successful competition with the German rivals. The pioneer in the introduction of the view cards was the Rotograph Company of New York, at first a branch of the Neue Photographische Gesellschaft in Berlin. The sales of the Rotograph Company in 1907 amounted to 46,500,000 assorted postal cards, most of which were view cards.[1] The year named did not make the highest record, and the figure given represents the distribution of only one company. The success of the industry is not surprising in an age when friends wish to keep mindful of one another, yet are too busy to write or read long letters.

German humor has contributed to the joy of living, yet as a social influence it has been directed not alone against the people who take life too seriously, but against those that take themselves too seriously. A nation grows great by self-criticism, a habit which is not that of the frontier or of colonies, but belongs to older civilizations. Satire is the latest stage of literary development. The German caricaturists[2] have taught the native American how to laugh at himself, "to see ourselves as others see us." Nast and Keppler and their numerous following have pointed the finger of derision at our abuses; they have protected the American people against the danger of chauvinism or spread-eagleism.

[1] Statement made in a letter to the author from the Rotograph Company, July 23, 1908.

[2] Cf. *ante*, Chapter VII. It was there shown that Nast was the pioneer among caricaturists, and that Keppler was the founder of *Puck*, the leading comic paper. Zimmermann has been one of the leading cartoonists of *Judge*.

(2) *Care of the body*

With all his idealism the German takes good care of his physical welfare, is fond of food and drink, and, wherever he has gone, has supplied himself abundantly with both. The Pennsylvania-German farmer may be taken as an illustration. The woman of his choice, says Rush, was domestic, and skillful in preparing for the table what the farm provided. Later immigrations brought German physicians and druggists in great numbers, who looked to the health not only of their own people, but raised the standard of medical practice throughout the country. Outdoor sports came with periods when the leisure class had grown in numbers, and they were mostly brought from England. Indoor gymnastics, however, were introduced by Germans.

In Germany gymnastic exercises (Turnerei) were introduced in the first quarter of the nineteenth century by the patriot Friedrich Ludwig Jahn. His ideal was to recreate in Prussia the gigantic statures of the ancient Germans, as Tacitus had described them. In body and in mind he wished to see men vigorous and independent.

> "Frisch, fröhlich und frei,
> Die mutigen Söhne der Turnerei,"[1]

expressed the spirit which the young men upheld whom Turnvater Jahn gathered about him. The movement which the founder had started in 1811 in the Hasenheide, near Berlin, and which spread rapidly over all of Germany, came to a sudden end in 1819, when the reactionary governments in Germany greatly feared the political bearing of the Turner foundation. In consequence, the popular Jahn, the great advocate of freedom and healthful growth, was accused of demagoguery and thrown into

[1] A quotation from Follen's *Das grosse Lied.*

prison. On being released he was checkmated for the future by being kept under espionage.[1]

But there were disciples of Jahn to spread his principles abroad, three of whom, exiles from their Fatherland, Carl Beck, Carl Follen, and Francis Lieber, were destined to play important rôles in the land of liberty beyond the seas. Beck and Follen arrived together on Christmas Day in 1824. Beck was appointed teacher of Latin at the Round Hill School,[2] in Northampton, Massachusetts, and under his direction there was erected at once the Round Hill Gymnasium, after the model of the school established by Turnvater Jahn.[3] Beck's translation into English of Jahn's "Deutsche Turnkunst" for American students aided the cause. Carl Follen, after teaching in the Round Hill School a short time, was called to Harvard College, and there, supported by an appeal of the medical professors of Harvard, he also, in May of 1826, organized a gymnasium after the model of Jahn. Francis Lieber, who arrived in 1827, likewise began his career in America as a disciple of Jahn. His famous swimming-school in Boston has been mentioned in another chapter.[4] Dr. J. C. Warren, professor in the Harvard Medical School and founder, in 1825, of the Tremont Gymnasium in Boston, had made a strong effort to secure Jahn as director of the new institution. Sufficient funds were not available,

[1] Jahn did not regain unrestricted freedom until the accession of Frederick William IV (1840). In 1842 the Turnerei was revived by a cabinet order of the King of Prussia, and Massmann was called from Munich as the director of Prussian gymnastics at Berlin.

[2] Founded in 1823 by George Bancroft and J. G. Cogswell. See *ante*, Chapter v.

[3] Cf. M. D. Learned, *The German American Turner Lyric*, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Annual Reports of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, 1894–1896, pp. 88 ff.

[4] *Ante*, Chapter v.

however, and the call as director of the Tremont Gymnasium went to Dr. Lieber, "a gentleman of education and in other respects well suited to take the superintendence of a public gymnasium." Thus the beginnings of gymnastic work in America were made by Germans.

Though the Jahn system of physical exercises had accomplished the pioneer work of establishing gymnastics as a part of a liberal education, it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that German Turnerei began to exert an important social influence among the middle classes. As in music and journalism, so in the matter of physical training, the refugees of 1848 succeeded in impressing their stamp. Some of their born leaders, who had played prominent rôles in the revolution in Baden, became central figures in the formation of Turner organizations. Such was Hecker,[1] who became actively engaged in the formation of a Turnverein in Cincinnati. Though many Turners had lived in that part of the country before, they had never organized. On New Year's Day, 1850, the first Turner hall of America was dedicated, in the city of Cincinnati. In the mean time organization had been going on in other places, principally in Eastern cities. On October 5, 1850, delegates of the Turnvereine of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston met in Philadelphia to found a union of gymnastic societies. After the plan was carried into effect (Die Vereinigten Turnvereine Nordamerikas), Cincinnati joined the association. There were also certain political ideas of a social-democratic nature, which the union pledged itself to represent, and a newspaper ("Turnerzeitung") was established as the represent-

[1] Friedrich Carl Franz Hecker (1811–1881) and Gustav von Struve were the leaders of the insurrection in Baden, in 1848. Hecker came to America in 1849; Struve followed two years later, and also became an active Turner. Both were subsequently officers in the Civil War.

ative organ. The principal functions of the association, however, were the social and gymnastic; the main fact about their politics was that they joined the Free-Soil party and united in opposition against nativism and Know-nothingism.

The growth of the Turnerbund was very rapid. In 1853 it embraced sixty societies; the territory in which they were located was divided into five districts, New York, Baltimore, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and New Orleans. An annual gymnastic festival was one of the features of the organization, the place of meeting changing from year to year. In 1859, there were seventy-one societies in the West, with forty-five hundred members; twenty societies in the East, with eighteen hundred members; and sixty-one other independent Turnvereine, not belonging to the Turnerbund, including three thousand members.[1] After the Civil War there was a reunion of all Turnvereine of

[1] In 1860 the Eastern and Western Turnvereine, which before had separated, united again, and excluded the Southern societies. Political differences in previous years had been brought into the annual meetings of the society, and while in the first years they had come to agreement on resolutions against Know-nothingism and prohibition agitation, the question of slavery caused a breach between North and South, the Northern associations remaining radical in their position against slavery, the Southern, though not unanimous in favor of slavery, adhering to the position taken by their states. The Turners of the North far outnumbered those of the South. They enlisted in the war at once. The Twentieth New York Regiment (Turner Rifles), for instance, consisted only of Germans and numbered twelve hundred men, who left New York, June 13, 1861, under Colonel Max Weber. The work of the Turner Society in St. Louis in their rescue of the St. Louis Arsenal has been mentioned, in Volume I, Chapter XVI. The Cincinnati Turners constituted a large part of the Ninth Ohio Regiment. Thirty-one hundred and forty-eight members of the Turnerbund, or fifty per cent of the total membership, are unmistakably recorded as having taken part in the war against secession. Many others were not put on record. Cf. Schem, *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations-Lexicon*, vol. xi, p. 47. Another interesting example of the influence of the Turnerbund was its aid in the foundation of New Ulm, Minnesota. Cf. Volume I, Chapter XV.

the East and West, including most of the independent organizations. New York was again chosen as the centre and a Turnzeitung was established. A new feature, which was designed to advance the cultivation of gymnastics, was the foundation of a seminary for the training of teachers of the art. The Turnlehrerseminar was also located in New York City, though at the present time the centre of the whole movement is located in the West, Indianapolis being the seat of the Normal College. In 1872 the Turnerbund had over twelve thousand members, with over fifty-six hundred active gymnasts. One hundred and thirty-two societies had schools of gymnastics for boys, and eighteen societies had schools for girls. The property in their halls and libraries amounted to nearly one million dollars, and their purposes were social, educational, and charitable. One of the early successes of the Turners was the introduction of gymnastics at the Naval Academy and in the public schools at Cleveland (in the seventies). Trained teachers of the Lehrerseminare were much in demand in the public and private schools of the country, as soon as the public began to recognize the hygienic value of gymnastic exercises.

Intimately associated with the Turnvereine were the various military societies and fire-engine companies that were organized by the Germans in part to fulfill a patriotic or civic duty, in part to effect political and social coöperation. In Cincinnati, for instance, there were a number of military companies, the Jackson Guards, commanded by General August Moor; the Lafayette Guards, under Captain H. Roedter; several militia companies of sharpshooters and one of Jägers. The latter, under Captain Heckel, was a small company of young men with fine physiques and flashing uniforms. The native population at that time resented the coming-in of foreigners, and their animosity

frequently broke forth in violence at the polls or on the streets. In fact the organization of so many militia companies by the foreign element was largely a defensive measure against the Know-nothings. Local history reports[1] that one day in the year 1843 the Jäger company had gone out for drill and shooting-practice. On their return to town they were molested by a crowd of boys and loafers, who followed them to their quarters in Front Street. There the company, when commanded to face about, according to their military custom before dismissal, were pelted by the crowd with dirt and stones. With a few strokes of their flat swords the soldiers drove away the disturbers, but the latter soon returned in increased numbers. The headquarters of the Jägers were stoned, so that not a single pane of glass remained whole, while the mob surged against the door of the building. The soldiers fired a few shots into the air to scare the crowd away, but this was considered a violation of the law. The constable was brought forward, armed with a club, and the door was forced open for him. As he entered, his club was struck from his hand by one of the Jägers. The sight of the bleeding hand might have caused a great deal of bloodshed, had it not been for the presence of mind displayed by the mayor of Cincinnati, an Englishman, named Davis, who proclaimed aloud that he would place the whole company of Jägers under arrest, and hold all responsible who had infringed against the law. At the head of the captive Jägers he then marched on to the county prison. The next day the German militiamen were taken before the court amid extraordinary excitement throughout the city. The Germans were not without

[1] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. i, pp. 250–253, "Eine Herrmannsschlacht in Cincinnati." Nach den Erzählungen eines Augenzeugens.

friends, for a good part of the remaining population, the English and Irish, were on their side, and several excellent lawyers, knowing the value of the German vote, pleaded for them with much eloquence. The Jägers were declared "not guilty," but the mob outside shouted for vengeance, and pushed into the court-house ready to do violence to the prisoners. Then it was that Captain Heinrich Roedter (of the Lafayette Guards) appeared on the stairs of the court-house, accompanied by cheering Germans and other foreigners, and came to the rescue of the prisoners in the court. The Germans, better drilled, gathered quickly around the Jägers, and, with a shout, went at the mob with fists and clubs, clearing a passage. Bricks and missiles disturbed them not until they had safely conducted their people home. Wounds and injured feelings occurred on either side, but there is no record of bloodshed except that of the hand of the constable, which was duly atoned for by a fine at the police court. This so-called "Hermannsschlacht" undoubtedly had a good effect for the foreigners; in the quaint German of a contemporary we are told, "Von der Zeit an, behävten sich die Loafers so ziemlich."

Another collision took place at Covington, Kentucky, opposite Cincinnati, between the mob and the Turners, who were about to return to Cincinnati after a Turnerfest. It was during the Know-nothing movement of 1855. The Turners in self-defense kept their weapons with them, contrary to the demands of the mayor. The matter when taken to the courts was decided by Judge Stallo,[1] who

[1] Johann Bernhard Stallo was born in the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg (Germany) in 1823. He came to America in 1839, and after a career as college professor in natural science and mathematics, he settled in Cincinnati, and in 1853 was elected to the bench in the Court of Common Pleas. His decision in regard to the Turners in 1856 made him popular among Ger-

declared that since the mayor was not able to defend the Turners against the mob, they would have to be permitted to defend themselves with or without weapons. These occurrences were typical of numerous others in various parts of the country. In Baltimore, before the Civil War, the lives of foreigners were constantly endangered by the rowdies living in the place. "Mobtown," as the city was called, was infested with a number of fire-engine companies composed mainly of the idle and unruly elements. They would set fire to a house in order to produce an occasion for a free fight.[1] The advantages possessed by the Turners were their military drill and their individual strength in a hand-to-hand encounter.

The German-American gymnasts made an excellent record at the Frankfort-on-the-Main Turnfest in 1880. There were five hundred and twenty competitors for prizes; twenty-two prizes were awarded, the Americans receiving seven prizes with their nine competitors. In this record is included the winner of the first prize, Christian Meller, who was a member of the Frankfort Turnverein, but received most of his training in America, having been a member of the New York Turnverein from 1869 to 1877.[2]

American athletic games are mostly adaptations of English originals; German influence appears only in gymnastic and military exercises. Yet it is a fact worthy of note

mans throughout the country. He was actively engaged in politics and law, being noted for his leadership in reform movements. During the later years of his life he was United States Consul in Italy, closing a distinguished career by raising the standard of the United States consular service.

[1] The writer was told in conversation with a survivor of the famous "Liberties," who were the most numerous and the strongest fire-company in the city, that the only fire-company they stood in awe of were the German Turners.

[2] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xii, pp. 281–283.

that the native American of German descent has shown the same love of outdoor sports as any of the other national stocks; he has been prominent in football, baseball, rowing, track-work, and all other forms of athletic sports favored in the United States. On the football teams of Michigan and the colleges of the Middle West there are very many German names every year.[1] The team which in the West has for the longest period been most successful, viz., that of the University of Michigan, has had for its trainer F. H. Yost, a man of German descent.[2] No family has been more formidable on the college football field than the Poes.[3] Yale friends felt relieved when the last Poe disappeared from the Princeton gridiron and they learned that it would be many years before the next generation of the family would play for Old Nassau. The Poes made their reputation not by their superior weight or strength, but by their dash and skill.[4]

A similar family record is held by the Lueder brothers, who were prominent in Cornell athletics. One of them, a physician, is now graduate coach of the Cornell team, the

[1] They are almost as frequent as the German names on the glee and musical clubs.

[2] "I am of German origin; my people settled in New Jersey one hundred years ago. Great numbers of our family live in Pennsylvania and West Virginia." Quoted from Mr. Yost's answer to the writer's inquiry, March 7, 1907.

[3] They are descended from the German frontiersman Poh, in Western Maryland. The latter was a good Indian fighter. Cf. Volume I, Chapter VI, p. 176.

[4] This was shown in the game with Yale in 1900, when one of the brothers snatched victory from defeat in the last minute of play by a field goal, his own team being battered to pieces by the persistent onslaughts of Yale; and on another occasion, when, the teams being evenly matched, another Poe made the only score of the day. The ball suddenly issued from out of a mass play, when Poe grabbed it and ran as if inspired almost the whole length of the field to the goal-posts, altogether oblivious of his sprained ankle.

other brother, A. B. Lueder, was one of Cornell's record crew men and a "star" on the football field. The latter, a graduate of the engineering department, subsequently built all the bridges for the Uganda Railway in Central Africa, which was considered a remarkable performance for the speed with which the work was accomplished, the contract limiting the builder to a very brief period.[1] Henry Schoelkopf is another of Cornell's football men. He played two years on the Cornell and two on the Harvard 'varsity. The Cornell 'varsity crew that made the world's record in 1901 contained two men of German blood, Lueder and Kuschke, and two of Dutch descent, Vanderhoef and Van Alstyne. In the football season of 1908, Hollenback of Pennsylvania and Schildmiller of Dartmouth by unanimous consent were put on the All-American team, while Siegling of Princeton, Miller of Pennsylvania, Goebel of Yale, and Meyer of Annapolis were named for the second team.

In track athletics some of the record-breakers of German name are Hahn of Michigan; Hillman (New York Athletic Club); Schutt of Cornell,[2] and, greater than all, Kraenzlein[3] of the University of Pennsylvania. The latter is probably the greatest all-around athlete that has so far been developed in the American col-

[1] Cf. *The World's Work* (1903), vol. vi, pp. 3657–70. "Building American Bridges in Mid-Africa," by A. B. Lueder, engineer and agent in charge of the work. This is a fascinating account of expert engineering and adventures in the jungles.

[2] On inquiry the writer found that the family tradition is, that the original settler in America came from Austria. Schutt or Schütt is also a frequent name in Hamburg and Northern Germany.

[3] From the Athletic Association of the University of Pennsylvania the writer received the following reply to his inquiry: "Kraenzlein is of German descent. The football player Hollenback's father is German, his mother Irish."

leges. It is said that, if given time between events, he could have won an intercollegiate championship by himself. The following record is quoted from a newspaper account, showing his wonderful all-around feats: Hundred yards in $9\frac{4}{5}$ seconds; one-hundred-and-twenty-yard high hurdles in $15\frac{1}{5}$ seconds (world's record); two-hundred-and-twenty-yard low hurdles in $23\frac{3}{5}$ (world's record); quarter mile in $49\frac{4}{5}$; high jump, six feet; broad jump, 24 feet, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches (intercollegiate record); sixteen-pound shot-put, forty-two feet; hammer-throw, one hundred and twenty-five feet; two-hundred-and-twenty-yard dash in twenty-two seconds; pole-vault, nearly eleven feet. This record has never been equaled by men of other national stock or race. Great athletes, as Kelly, Cook, or Mount Pleasant (American Indian), have not approached Kraenzlein's versatility.

In basketball there has been a remarkable team composed entirely of Germans in Western New York, viz., the Buffalo German basketball team, who claimed the world's championship for several seasons. If we were to consider the professional baseball players, the list could be headed by Hans Wagner, the popular shortstop and spirited captain of the victorious Pittsburg team.

The purpose of these records was to show that the German element has contributed good bodies to the so-called crucible of nations, which is evolving the new type of American. The German infuses normal health, stamina, endurance, and vigor into the physical development of the nation. The German as he arrives from his native land is, in stature, more thick-set, short, and stocky, perhaps with larger chest (better lungs), but not as long limbs as the American. He has more strength than grace. The American type, for instance, in the South, where

there has been little infusion of foreign blood during the last generations, appears very tall and gaunt in comparison. In those districts where the German immigration has been large, the slender type perhaps will be less frequent in the future, but the more evenly developed will appear as a result of the blending of the two types.

Medical care

Under the head of the care of the body should be included the work of the German element in the medical field, which, the writer is convinced, has been very considerable. This interesting field of investigation should attract some one to the manor born; at present it is not possible to support the argument in as convincing a manner as the subject deserves.

In the colonial period there are frequent records of German physicians. There was Dr. Christoph Witt, located in Germantown, Pennsylvania, from 1704 to 1765, a physician and astronomer, who, no doubt, was assisted by stellar influences in diagnoses and cures. Each of the large cities of Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore had a leading German physician in the eighteenth century. Dr. Adam Kuhn, son of a German physician (the first medical practitioner of Lancaster, Pennsylvania), was a colleague of Dr. Benjamin Rush on the medical faculty of the college which is now the University of Pennsylvania. He occupied the chair of botany and materia medica for twenty-one years, until 1789, when he was chosen professor of the theory and practice of medicine. Three years after, he was elected professor of the practice of physic, a position which he held until his resignation in 1797, when he succeeded Dr. William Shippen as president of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia,

of which he had been one of the founders in 1787, and where he remained as head until his death in 1817. He was undoubtedly one of the three or four leading men of his profession in the United States during his time.[1]

In New York City the German physician, Dr. Hans Kierstedt, who came over with Director-General Kieft, of the Dutch West India Company, practiced medicine from 1638 to 1661. He married Sarah, the daughter of the skillful midwife, Annetje Jansen, also distinguished as the owner of most of the land included in the site of New York City. Another German physician, to whom a monument has been erected at Schenectady, Ernestus von Spitzer (called de Spitzer),[2] was surgeon-general of the colonial forces of New York State.

In Baltimore Dr. Charles Frederick Wiesenthal was the founder of the first medical school in Maryland, a private institution which existed until the medical department of the University of Maryland was chartered in 1807.[3] His ambition in the founding of the school was to improve medical service, and to protect the people against quackery, which explains his attempts to have medical practice regulated by law,[4] a step far in advance of his time. Dr.

[1] Cf. F. R. Packard, *The History of Medicine in the United States, to the Year 1800.* (Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1900.) In the treatment of yellow fever Dr. Kuhn had a controversy with Dr. Rush. Leading characteristics of the man were his neatness of appearance, regularity of habits, his punctuality, and strict observance of all his engagements.

[2] Ernestus de Spitzer was born in Heilbronn (Würtemberg), in 1709. His grandfather, Dr. Johann von Spitzer, was burgomaster of Heilbronn for a generation. Ernestus de Spitzer was surgeon also in the French and Indian War and one of the leading personages in Northern New York. He was the ancestor of a distinguished New York family of physicians and bankers.

[3] Cf. Dr. Eugene F. Cordell, *History of the University of Maryland;* by the same author, an account of Wiesenthal in the *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin*, July-August, 1900. (This contains a portrait of Wiesenthal.)

[4] Packard, p. 167. In 1788, while the students were dissecting the body

Wiesenthal was born in Prussia in 1726, settled in Baltimore in 1755, was appointed surgeon-general of the Maryland troops in 1777, and served continuously during the Revolutionary War, frequently honored by being consulted by French surgeons in difficult cases. He was a man of research, making the first discovery of a parasite of an infectious disease in America.[1] He was also president and physician of the German (benevolent) Society of Baltimore, and a prominent member of the first Lutheran church of the city. His son had an excellent career in medicine until his early death in 1798. A number of other men of German blood early advanced medical practice in Maryland,[2] very prominent among them being Dr. Samuel Baker (son of a German), the founder of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland.

Twice during the Revolutionary War the Moravian colony at Bethlehem gave up their largest buildings for the nursing of the sick and wounded soldiers of the Continental Army. The Reverend Mr. Ettwein visited the sick every week, and brought as much comfort as he could. Dr. Adolf Meyer and a German doctor from Saxony at one time attended the sick there in an epidemic of putrid fever.[3]

Philadelphia undoubtedly held the leadership in medical science for a long time. A conspicuous member of the

of a murderer, a mob attacked the house and put an end to their anatomical studies. (Packard, p. 166.) This shows what hardships scientific men had to contend with in the early days.

[1] The parasite producing verminous tracheo-bronchitis in fowls. Cf. *German-American Influence in Medicine and Surgery* (in Maryland), p. 4, by John C. Hemmeter, M.D., LL.D. (Professor of Medicine, University of Maryland, author of *Diseases of the Stomach*, and many other scientific works). Reprinted from the *Medical Library and Historical Journal*, vol. iv, no. 3, September, 1906.

[2] See Hemmeter, pp. 4–5.

[3] Cf. Packard, p. 284.

profession was Dr. Caspar Wistar, of a distinguished family. His grandfather[1] came to America in 1717 from the neighborhood of Heidelberg, and married Katharine Jansen of Germantown. Caspar Wistar derived his inspiration for the healing art when, a boy of sixteen years of age, he took care of the wounded soldiers at the battle of Germantown (1777). He took his M.D. at the University of Edinburgh in 1786, and on his return rose quickly. In 1789 he was professor of chemistry in the College of Philadelphia; in 1792, when his college was merged in the University of Pennsylvania, he became adjunct professor of anatomy and surgery, and in 1801, on the death of Dr. Shippen, succeeded to the full chair. The departments being separated in 1808, he was professor of anatomy from that year until his death in 1818. Not alone did Dr. Wistar stand high in his profession, but socially he was one of the most influential men of his time. His house was lavish in its hospitality, and his weekly gatherings of distinguished men in science, letters, and public life became known as "Wistar Parties," a name[2] which has survived locally and is of deep meaning in the social history of our country. Caspar Wistar succeeded Dr. Benjamin Rush in 1813 as president of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, and Thomas Jefferson as president of the American Philosophical Society, in 1815.

[1] Caspar Wistar, the founder of the family, acquired large tracts of land in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and built the first glass-factory in America near Alloway Town, a few miles east of Salem, New Jersey. He imported four expert glass-blowers from Rotterdam in 1738, and had them instruct him and his son Richard in the art. Father and son continued manufacturing glass of all kinds for many years. Cf. *The National Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. i, p. 273, and vol. xii, p. 359.

[2] The climbing shrub "Wistaria" was also named in honor of Dr. Caspar Wistar, the anatomist.

Another distinguished Philadelphia anatomist was Joseph Leidy (born in 1823), both of whose ancestors came from the Rhine Valley. His scientific interests swayed between anatomy and natural history, and he took both equally into his service in the execution of his lifework, the investigation of the extinct fauna of the United States. He published the "Special Anatomy of the Terrestrial Mollusks of the United States," and numerous scientific monographs on the extinct fauna of South Carolina, Dakota, Nebraska, and other Western territory.[1]

An American surgeon of international reputation was Samuel David Gross, who was born in 1805 near Easton, Pennsylvania, and whose ancestors came from the Lower Palatinate in the seventeenth century. His father was a successful farmer, connected with the quartermaster's department during the Revolution. Samuel Gross was a graduate of Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, and began his career as a lecturer on morbid anatomy at Cincinnati College. His book, "Elements of Pathological Anatomy" (1839), brought favorable comments from Virchow. Gross accepted a professorship at the medical college in Louisville in 1840, and for sixteen years advanced medical knowledge and practice in Kentucky. In 1856 he accepted the professorship of surgery in his *alma mater* in Philadelphia, and soon published his lifework "A System of Surgery" (1859). He was of great service in the Civil War, a special feature of his work being the provision of artificial limbs. His career marks a great advance in the science and art of surgery, and his unsurpassed services were recognized in such honors as

[1] Joseph Leidy was very skillful as a draughtsman, and illustrated his own works. As a teacher he served as professor of anatomy at the University of Pennsylvania from 1853, and accepted the chair of natural history at Swarthmore College in 1871.

the presidency of the American Medical Association in 1862, of the International Medical Congress convened at Philadelphia in 1876, the award of the D.C.L. by the University of Oxford at its one thousandth anniversary, and of the LL.D. by the universities of Cambridge, Edinburgh, Pennsylvania, and Jefferson College. In 1897 an heroic bronze statue of Dr. Gross was erected by the physicians and surgeons of the United States at Washington, D. C., the granite pedestal of which was contributed by Congress, the first instance of a surgeon being so honored.

Dr. William Pepper,[1] as lecturer on anatomy and clinical medicine, 1868–1876, and professor of the theory and practice of medicine, 1876–1887, in the University of Pennsylvania, rendered distinguished service in medical teaching and science. As the eleventh provost of the University of Pennsylvania, 1881–1894, he reorganized the medical school and increased its efficiency. In order to insure the success of the lengthening of the medical course from three to four years he contributed fifty thousand dollars to the funds of the Medical School. He had been one of the leaders in the movement of founding a hospital in connection with the university, and raised the oldest medical school in the country to the highest standard of service.

The great-grandson of the Reverend J. H. C. Helmuth, first professor of the German language and literature at the University of Pennsylvania (successor of Professor Kunze), was William Tod Helmuth, a noted surgeon and homœopathist. He was born and educated in Philadelphia,

[1] He was of Pennsylvania-German stock. Cf. *The Pennsylvania Dutchman and wherein he has excelled*, by Honorable Samuel W. Pennypacker, *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. xxii, pp. 455–457. (1898.)

removed to St. Louis in 1858, where he became one of the founders of the Homœopathic Medical College, and was surgeon to the Good Samaritan Hospital. In 1870 he accepted the call to the New York Homœopathic Medical College, and shortly after became the surgeon to the Hahnemann New York Surgical Hospitals. He also established a private hospital in 1886, Helmuth House.[1]

New York has had a large number of men of German blood distinguished in the battle for health; the names, Beck,[2] H. J. Boldt, Herter, Jacobi, H. Knapp, Lauer, Meltzer, are in the foremost rank among the living. Researches, as those of Jacques Loeb (born in Germany), professor of physiology in the University of California; Nicholas Senn (born in German Switzerland), professor of surgery in the University of Chicago; and Adolf Meyer (born near Zurich, Switzerland), head of the new department of psychiatry in the Johns Hopkins University (endowed by Mr. Phipps), inspire hope throughout the land. The annals of the cities of Baltimore,[3] San Francisco,[4] Milwaukee,[5] and in all probability most other cities of prominence, if the records be but searched, show that

[1] William Tod Helmuth was also an able writer in the literary field, as shown by his books: *The Doctor Woman*, by Aiken Hart; *Steamer Book*, etc. The hospital work of his wife, Frances Pritchard Helmuth, will be mentioned below. Dr. Helmuth died in New York in 1902, and was succeeded by his son in the surgical post he had created.

[2] Carl Beck was born in Neckargemünd, Germany; he took his M.D. at the University of Jena; is professor of surgery in the New York Post-Graduate Medical School and Hospital; president of St. Mark's Hospital, etc. He is the author of numerous scientific papers. He is also the genial president of the Union of Old German Students of America.

[3] Cf. Hemmeter, pp. 3 ff.

[4] Mr. Charles Bundschu, of San Francisco, sent the writer the following list of the physicians who had figured in the development of that city: Von Poellnitz, Schumann, Zache, Scharlach, Lehmkuhl, Von Loehr, Precht, Eckel, Von Behr, Regensburger, Hillerscheidt, Erdekind, Alers.

[5] Cf. Hense-Jensen and Bruncken, *Wisconsins Deutsch-Amerikaner*.

Charles Henry Nichaus, Sc.

HAHNEMANN STATUE, SCOTT CIRCLE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

physicians of German birth or extraction have taken a leading part in the sanitary and social improvement of their communities.

An attractive theme is the German influence in the development of American pharmacy. Many of the chairs in pharmacology have been occupied by Germans.[1] One of the largest pharmaceutical establishments in the world is the Meyer Brothers Drug Company of St. Louis, in German hands from its foundation. The firm has published a trade journal of wide circulation. Of telling influence has undoubtedly been the ubiquitous "Deutsche Apotheke," with its German script signboard on the outside, and its trained druggist within. The latter was equipped with an education as a prescription chemist abroad when such an opportunity was not yet to be had in our own country. A drug-store of that stamp had a wholesome influence on the health of the locality, and also had the effect of putting the quack out of business. Very interesting is the fact that the first scientific pharmaceutical journal ("Journal of Pharmacology and Experimental Therapeutics") which has appeared in the United States, was founded recently by a man of German descent, John J. Abel,[2] professor of pharmacology and in charge of the department of physiological chemistry in the Johns Hop-

[1] For example: C. Herter, professor of pharmacology and therapeutics, Columbia University; F. E. Engelhardt (born in Germany), professor of materia medica, New York College of Pharmacy; John J. Abel, professor of pharmacology, Johns Hopkins University.

[2] Professor Abel informed the writer that his father came to the United States from Würtemberg, and his mother (Becker) from Bavaria, about 1834. Professor Abel was the first president of the Society for Pharmacology, and Dr. William Gies (also of German descent) its first secretary. In conjunction with Dr. C. A. Hester, of Columbia University, Dr. Abel founded the first journal of biological chemistry in 1906. Dr. Hester is also of German blood.

kins University. Through Professor Abel's efforts, the Society of Biological Chemists (1907), and the Society for Pharmacology and Experimental Therapeutics (1908), both of which contain the leading men of the country in these branches, were called into existence.

(3) *Social organizations of the Germans*

It is interesting to observe the evolution of German social life in various localities in the United States where the Germans have gradually become more numerous. Most of the larger cities of the country would serve as examples. For convenience one will be selected where the personality of a single man, instead of a group of men, was of greatest importance in uniting the newcomers and developing their social life. The southern seaport of Charleston, South Carolina, had in the eighteenth century received a large German immigration, which was most important in developing the agricultural resources of the interior, but an influential residue of which remained in Charleston. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century that early German element was totally assimilated.[1] The sermons in the churches founded by Germans of the early period were then given in the English language. But a new immigration came, beginning about 1830, which assumed importance under the able leadership of General John A. Wagener. The latter, born in Hanover in 1816, arrived in Charleston in the year 1833. He was of the type of Friedrich Münch, the patriarch of the Duden Settlement in Missouri, well educated, energetic, and fair-minded. The initiative in every movement for economic and social betterment among the Germans came through him. The

[1] It will be remembered that the German Fusileers were of this number. The poet Timrod was descended from them. See *ante*, Chapter VII.

chronology of this social evolution was as follows: In 1838 a German fire-extinguishing company was founded. In 1840, the immigration increasing, means were procured for founding a church in which only German sermons were preached. A few years later a literary and musical society was established, "Zur Hebung des deutschen Sinnes und Gemütes." Though hardly twelve hundred Germans then resided in Charleston, a German newspaper, "Der Teutone," was started. After several attempts at Masonic organization, a social club of a different kind was founded, a Turnverein, in 1846. Then came a period of larger accessions from Germany, and an ambitious land scheme was promoted for the benefit of the new arrivals. In 1849 land was bought in a high western area of South Carolina, a hygienic location for German immigrants. The town of Walhalla, in Oconee County, was laid out and made the centre of a prosperous German settlement, which has since then proved the foresight of its founders. Economic and social prosperity went hand in hand in Charleston, and J. A. Wagener was active in 1851 in founding the Carolina Mutual Insurance Company, and in 1855 the German Schützen-Gesellschaft. The war shattered all material progress in Charleston. The Germans followed their leader, who was appointed brigadier-general, in the defense of their state.[1] After the war was over, the German immigration to Charleston was very slight, and the social life in consequence ceased to have any unity.

The evolution of the social life of the Germans in

[1] After the war came the uphill struggle in which again General Wagener was prominent. He was made a member of the state legislature, and in 1867, commissioner of immigration. In 1871 he was elected mayor of Charleston by a majority of 777. He was twice more elected mayor, in 1873 and 1875, but counted out by illegal methods.

Cincinnati may be followed in the pages of "Der deutsche Pionier." [1] A sympathetic observer of conditions in Central New York made the following observations on German beginnings in the city of Syracuse: "In 1840 there were very few Germans in the region about Syracuse. Then German peasants appeared, picturesque in their native costumes, settling about Syracuse and Salina. The next step was when the Germans became more numerous. They then formed a militia company, and their brilliant uniforms and military drill outshone anything that the native militia had accomplished. A Turnverein soon appeared. There was a church, which was Catholic, as could be told by the surmounting cross and the word "Deo" written above the entrance. This rude board structure soon gave way to the brick building in Romanesque style, with its two typical towers. This place later became the seat of the Franciscan Order. I always looked up to Germany as my ideal, — the country I wanted to become more closely acquainted with, — the land of scientists and philosophers, historians and poets. I have found when I attended the gatherings of Germans and Irish this difference. The latter on occasion drank whiskey, and when they took too much, became bad-tempered. The Germans drank beer, and the more they took the more good-humored and fraternal they became. They knew me as their friend in two directions — I was no prohibitionist (for I believed that prohibition did not prohibit and contradicted the idea of personal freedom), and I was not a Know-nothing. They always backed me faithfully in politics. When to my utter surprise at one time I received an invitation to be a candidate, I found that my

[1] H. A. Rattermann (editor); eighteen volumes. (Cincinnati, Ohio. 1869–1887.)

German friends were the cause of it."[1] The Germans of Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, Buffalo, Baltimore, and a large number of other cities went through the same process of social organization; it is characteristic of the German, wherever he goes, to found Vereine for social, philanthropic, and cultural purposes.

(4) *Religious influences*

The strong trait of individualism which, in the political history of Germany, produced particularism, also asserted itself in matters of religion, and appeared as sectarianism in the United States. In the earlier part of this work the settlements of the numerous sects, as German Quakers, Dunkards, Schwenkfelders, Mennonites, Amish, and others, were described. They came largely on the promise and fulfillment of religious liberty in the land of Penn, often leaving none of their number behind; and they won the admiration of their contemporaries by their industry and thrift, their simple lives, and religious devotion. In the reports of the Census of 1900 the Dunkards (or German Baptists) as a denominational family numbered 73,795, the Mennonites (including Amish, etc.), 41,541, the Schwenkfeldians (or Schwenkfelders), 306 communicants.[2] The three churches described earlier as those of broadest influence among the Germans during the last two quarters of the eighteenth century, the Lutheran, German Reformed, and United Brethren (Moravian), continued to be of great service in the nineteenth century.

[1] These observations were noted by the writer in an interview with a man whose authority is valued throughout the country.

[2] H. K. Carroll, *The Religious Forces of the United States* (American Church History Series), p. 397. (New York, 1893.) Based upon the Census Reports of 1900, and inquiries directed to the various church organizations.

Lutherans: The first Lutherans had come from Holland to Manhattan Island before its purchase from the Indians, in 1626; others appeared in New Sweden with Minnewit, in 1638, and their church at Wicaco (near Philadelphia) was dedicated in 1669. Justus Falckner labored in New York, beginning in 1703, succeeded by Christoph Berkenmeyer, and Christian Knoll who resigned in 1750. Lutheran minister and builder of a colony was Joshua von Kocherthal at Newburgh-on-the-Hudson, and members of the Lutheran Church were the Salzburgers of Georgia under Bolzius and Gronau. But the sheep were scattered before the arrival (1741) of the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America, Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, who in 1748, with six other ministers and lay delegates, organized the first Lutheran Synod of America, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. The second oldest synod was that of New York, founded over twenty-five years later, uniting the Lutheran churches of New York and New Jersey, Pastor Johann Christian Kunze, who had removed from Philadelphia to New York, being the leader in the movement.[1] The third oldest Lutheran Synod was that of North Carolina, founded in 1803, from which the Tennessee Synod seceded in 1820. In South Carolina, where fifteen German (mostly Lutheran) churches of the interior had been incorporated in the year 1788, a Lutheran Synod was not formed until 1824. The Maryland and Virginia Ministerium was founded in 1820, and that of Ohio much earlier, about 1812. The fact that Ohio and Tennessee had

[1] Cf. A. J. Schem, *Deutsch-amerikanisches Conversations-Lexikon* ("Lutherische Kirche in Amerika"), vol. vi, p. 693. Dr. Schem's authority is considered very good on American church history. See the latter statement verified, and quotations taken from him, in Carroll, *Religious Forces in the United States*, p. 69. It is unfortunate that Dr. Schem did not see his great opportunity also of collecting biographical data on eminent German-Americans.

Lutheran ministeriums before some of the coast states shows how very largely Germans took part in the early migration to the West and Southwest. Schools were soon founded for the education of Lutheran ministers, since the supply from abroad was but very scant. After these theological schools began to send out ministers, the growth of the Lutheran Church in America was remarkable. Among the noted teachers were the Reverend Ernst L. Hazelius, professor in the Theological Seminary at Lexington, who served from its foundation in 1834 for nearly twenty years; the Reverend Samuel S. Schmucker, distinguished as professor of the leading Lutheran theological school, the Gettysburg Seminary, in Pennsylvania, and serving from 1825 for almost half a century; his pupil and successor, the Reverend Charles P. Krauth; the Reverend George C. Miller, professor in the Hartwick Seminary in Central New York;[1] and the Reverend Samuel Sprecher, professor in the Wittenberg Theological Seminary, Springfield, Ohio, from 1849.

The first union of Lutheran synods occurred in 1820, called the "General Synod," which included most of the Lutheran ministeriums of the country, though never all of them, and until the Civil War continuing as the one large Lutheran organization in the United States. Pennsylvania, the oldest and largest synod, withdrew for a period, but rejoined in 1853. In 1820 the General Synod had 170 preachers and 35,000 communicants, and its

[1] Hartwick Seminary, established in 1797, was named after Pastor Hartwig, the founder, on whose land in Otsego County, Central New York, the college was built. In 1815 the Reverend Dr. E. L. Hazelius became the principal and the professor of theology, with the son of the president of the New York Ministerium as his assistant. This was John A. Quitman, subsequently famous in the history of the South as a brilliant general in the Mexican War, and Governor of Mississippi. Cf. Volume I, Chapter XVI, pp. 519–522.

growth increased with the German immigration. With the Civil War came the separation of the four synods of North and South Carolina, Virginia, and Southwest Virginia, which, subsequently uniting with Georgia and the independent ministeriums of Tennessee and Holston, became the "United Synod in the South." In 1866 was organized another large Lutheran body, the "General Council," a dissension arising because of the admission of the Franckean Synod, which was declared not Lutheran by a strong minority, headed by the oldest synod, that of Pennsylvania. The "General Council" is strongest in Pennsylvania; New York, Minnesota, and Illinois follow in that order; Iowa, Ohio, Wisconsin, New Jersey, Nebraska, and Texas are represented by goodly numbers. The boundaries of none of the Lutheran organizations are limited geographically, and they contain German, English, Swedish, and other elements. The largest of the Lutheran general bodies, the "Synodical Conference," popularly known as the "Missourians," dates back to 1838, when about eight hundred so-called Saxon Lutherans (Alt-Lutheraner), with six of their preachers, left their native land because they objected to the attempt made by the central authorities to combine the Protestants of Germany (principally the Lutherans and the Reformed) under a united state church. The Union, they held, detracted from Lutheranism of the old form, and therefore they sought the land of religious liberty.[1] This spirit of ultra-conservatism, of living the age of Luther over again, has characterized this branch of the Lutheran Church; it found an expounder of extraordinary ability in the Reverend C. F. W. Walther, pastor in St. Louis beginning in 1841, and professor in the influential Concordia College of that city from 1850. The "Synodical Conference" was organ-

[1] For their settlement in Missouri, see Volume I, Chapter XIV, p. 448.

ized in 1872 by representatives of the Missouri, Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and Norwegian synods, four of which had taken part in the organization of the "General Council," but had withdrawn, intending to represent a type of Lutheran confessionalism stricter than the "General Council," though the latter had withdrawn from the "General Synod" for the same reason.[1] The "Synodical Conference" is almost entirely German in its membership, and champions the preservation of the German language in the pulpit and in the large number of church schools which it has founded. Besides these four large Lutheran organizations, there are independent Lutheran synods, as the "Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States," the "Buffalo Synod," the "Michigan Synod," and others.

The question of language has always been a difficult problem for the Lutheran Church in the United States. The church fathers knew that they could not adhere to the German language without the loss of large numbers of communicants among the descendants of German immigrants. Especially in the South, where no large German immigrations appeared to counterbalance the loss of the younger generation, the Lutheran churches abandoned the German language in order to save their church organization.[2] Doing this, they found they not only kept the children of the German immigrants, but obtained members also from other national elements. This change

[1] Cf. H. K. Carroll, p. 190.

[2] For example, the Tennessee Synod, at its first meeting in 1820, adopted the German language for all the business of the synod. In 1825 the minutes of the synod were printed also in English. In 1827 German was the official language of the synod for the first three days, and was thereafter displaced by the English. Cf. Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, pp. 486–487.

from sermons in German to English was by no means limited to the South. It occurred as early in New York and New Jersey, where an even greater complication appeared. The Lutheran churches in New York contained frequently an old Dutch membership who demanded that the sermons be preached in the Dutch language. The German membership soon exceeded the Dutch because German immigrants arrived in larger numbers, and these now demanded sermons in the German language, nor were they satisfied with a compromise. They declared that rather than hear sermons in the Dutch language, which they could not understand, they would join the English church, and their threats were very frequently carried out. The Lutheran ministers were no doubt greatly perplexed by the existence of the three languages side by side, and the only course for the future of their churches was to adopt the English language. Thus there arose an English Lutheran Church in the United States, which may be called a German foundation, and which represents an important German religious influence, the transplanting of the German church of Luther upon American soil. The Lutheran Church is fifth in size in America,[1] with more

[1] Taking the number of communicants of each denominational family together, the first eight churches stand as follows. (Cf. Carroll, p. 397): —

1. Catholic	6,257,871
2. Methodist	4,589,284
3. Baptist	3,717,969
4. Presbyterian	1,278,332
5. Lutheran	1,231,072
6. Episcopalian	540,509
7. Reformed	309,458
8. United Brethren	225,281

In many of the Western cities the Lutheran is the foremost of Protestant communions, in Chicago outnumbering the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches combined. See Jacobs, *The Lutherans*, p. 446.

than one million, two hundred thousand communicants. An estimate of its constituency by languages is as follows:[1]

Languages	*Number of Organizations*	*Communicants*
English	1816	198,997
German	2691	460,706
German-English	1178	232,512
Swedish	688	88,700
Norwegian	1786	190,154
Danish	181	13,674
Icelandic	13	1,991
Finnish	11	1,385
Total	8364	1,188,119

The "United Synod of the South" is entirely, and the "General Synod" is mostly, English-speaking; the "General Council," the "Synodical Conference," and the independent synods, with few exceptions, use German in their church services and business transactions. The history of the independent Lutheran synods and independent churches that are self-governed and securely provided with endowments and properties is oftentimes very interesting. A good example is the "Zions-Kirche" in Baltimore, which, on October 15, 1905, celebrated the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its foundation,[2] one among a hundred German churches that have witnessed the colonial

[1] Carroll, p. 178.

[2] The event of the celebration was above a common occurrence in the Monumental City. The publications issued by the church on that occasion show how general was the interest taken in the event, not only by the churches, educational and philanthropic institutions of Baltimore, but by numerous influential friends in the Fatherland. Cf. *A History of Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1755-1897*, by the Reverend Julius Hofmann, the present pastor. (Baltimore, 1905.) Also: *Festschrift der Zionsgemeinde zum 150. Jubiläum*, dargeboten von ihrem Pastor (Baltimore, 1905); and Festschrift: *Nachklänge zur Jubelfeier der Zionsgemeinde, 15.–17. Oktober, 1905*, vom Pastor der Gemeinde.

period, the birth of the Union, its perils, and its victories. The church was well endowed by a benefactor, who made the condition that German should be the language preached from its pulpit. Under the pastorate of the Reverend Heinrich Scheib, who served the church for the remarkable period of more than sixty years, the Zions-Kirche departed more and more from Lutheran dogmas, following in the path of the liberal doctrines of the great German preacher, Schleiermacher, and coming close to the position of the Unitarian Church in America.[1]

Episcopalians: The Episcopal Church in the United States exercised a strong attractive power upon the children of Lutheran parents, who themselves recognized the doctrinal kinship. Even graduates of Lutheran seminaries and sons of Lutheran ministers sometimes took holy orders, the most prominent example of which is perhaps that of William Augustus Mühlenberg, great-grandson of the founder of the Lutheran Church in America, who became a leading minister of the Episcopal Church in New York; he was the first pastor and superintendent of St. Luke's Hospital, in 1857, and had a national fame for his philanthropic work.[2] In Virginia, the Reverend Karl Minnigerode, born in Westphalia, Germany, in 1814, was the rector of St. Paul's Church, Richmond, the leading Episcopalian pulpit of the South. Minnigerode, while a student at the University of Giessen, had joined the Burschenschaften,

[1] The church was attacked in numerous polemical pamphlets by other Lutheran churches, stricter in their observance of confessional dogmas, but the congregation stood firmly by their pastor. One of the pamphlets written in reply by the Reverend Henry Scheib, in which his position was frankly stated, was entitled: *Die Zions-Gemeinde von Baltimore und ihre jüngsten Verketzerer.* (Baltimore, 1881.)

[2] For his career see below, under the head of German philanthropists. The Reverend William A. Mühlenberg was also a writer of hymns, "I would not live alway," being one of the best known.

and was implicated in the revolutionary movements of 1833 and thereafter. He was imprisoned for long periods, and when released in 1839 because his health was undermined, he sought refuge in exile. His scholarly attainments brought him the appointment of the professorship of classical literature at William and Mary College (Williamsburg, Virginia), which he exchanged for the pulpit in 1848, having four years previously taken orders in the Episcopal Church. In 1853 he became the successor of Bishop Cummins at Norfolk, and after several years of very successful work was called to the capital city of Virginia, soon to become the capital of the Confederacy. The leaders of the Confederacy regularly attended St. Paul's Church, and President Davis was present on the fateful morning, April 2, 1865, when a telegram announced to him the capture of Petersburg. The Reverend Karl Minnigerode showed his presence of mind that day by conducting the service to the end. While ex-President Davis was imprisoned at Fortress Monroe, Minnigerode several times succeeded in gaining permission to bring to his fallen friend the comforts of the Church.[1]

Reformed Church: There are three Reformed churches in the United States, the German Reformed Church ("Reformed Church in the United States"), the Dutch Reformed Church ("Reformed Church in America"), and an offspring of the latter, the "Christian Reformed Church." The German Reformed Church in 1900 comprised two thirds of the communicants of the whole denominational

[1] Cf. Körner, *Das deutsche Element, 1818–1848*, pp. 406–411. Körner (p. 411) compares Minnigerode and Follen, the one an Episcopalian minister of the Confederacy, the other a Unitarian minister in New England, and an abolitionist. Both were political refugees from Germany, and had been ardent advocates of freedom. Minnigerode was not a friend of slavery, but felt the loyalty of the Virginian to his state.

family, viz., 204,018; the Dutch Reformed, 92,970; and the Christian Reformed, 12,470. The beginnings of the German Reformed Church have been outlined in the historical part of this work. Its members were largely refugees from the Palatinate, and, since the parent church on the Rhine was unable to give them support, the Reformed Church of Holland sent ministers and raised nearly sixty thousand dollars for the erection of churches and schoolhouses and the support of ministers.[1] The Reverend Michael Schlatter, who bears a relation to the Reformed Church similar to that of the Reverend H. M. Mühlenberg to the Lutheran, was sent over as missionary and organizer, and in 1747 formed the first "cœtus" of German Reformed congregations in Philadelphia, the same year that the Dutch Reformed congregations organized their "cœtus" in New York. The Reformed Church, like the Lutheran, had the same difficulty of language to contend with throughout its history, and in the nineteenth century most Reformed churches adopted the English language; in 1869 the word German was dropped from the official name of the Reformed Church in the United States. There are still three Reformed synods (out of eight) in the country using the German language entirely, the German Synod of the East, the Central, and that of the Northwest. The ancient seat of learning of the German Reformed Church was Marshall College at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, which removed to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1850, and united with Franklin College. Franklin and Marshall remains the college of the Reformed Church in the East. On her honor roll are inscribed the names of G. Henry Ernst Mühlenberg, preacher and scientist; Frederick A. Rauch, able exponent of German philosophy, and first president of Marshall

[1] Cf. Carroll, p. 334.

College, and Philipp Schaff, a great teacher and scholar, professor of theology and German literature.

Presbyterians: As the Episcopal Church attracted the children of Lutherans, so the Presbyterian Church, being closely allied in Calvinistic doctrine, received into its fold large numbers of the descendants of the German Reformed. There were also prominent ministers among these, as the Reverend Dr. Henry Ruffner, who has been called the father of Presbyterianism[1] in the Valley of the Kanawha, i. e., in West Virginia. The Reverend Theodore J. Frelinghuysen,[2] who was born within the present borders of Prussia (at Lingen, East Frisia), and came to America in 1720, began a pioneer work of training men for the ministry. As an earnest, fervid, and eloquent preacher in the Dutch Reformed Church (of New Brunswick and elsewhere), he was of great influence also upon the Presbyterian ministers with whom he came in contact, and prepared, in New Jersey and New York, the way for the "Great Awakening."[3] There has also been a German section in the Presbyterian Church, which, however, is not increasing in strength. The Reverend G. C. Seibert was one of the pillars of this wing of the church.

Methodists: German influence quickened the very roots of Methodism. John Wesley, on his journey to America, received those strong impressions[4] from the Salzburgers at sea, and from the Moravian ministers after his arrival in Georgia, which resulted in a new religious birth. At

[1] Cf. J. P. Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, p. 304.

[2] See Volume I, Chapter VI, p. 153. The name was also spelled Frelinghausen. The Reverend Theodore Frelinghuysen was the ancestor of General Frederick Frelinghuysen (prominent as a soldier in the Revolutionary War) and of a line of statesmen in the nineteenth century.

[3] Cf. L. W. Bacon, *A History of American Christianity*, pp. 81, 134, etc.

[4] See Volume I, Chapter IX, pp. 237–238.

a meeting of the Moravians in Aldersgate Street, London, John Wesley was converted ("felt my heart strangely warmed") by the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith, during the reading of Luther's preface to Paul's Epistle to the Romans. The Methodist Church in America owed its beginnings to Philip Embury and Barbara Heck, who came from Ireland, but were both descended from the Palatines. Their direct ancestors were a part of that great exodus of German emigrants from the Palatinate who appeared in London in 1709, and greatly perplexed the Board of Trade.[1] About five hundred families, thirty-eight hundred persons, were sent to the north of Ireland, and settled as agriculturists in the province of Munster. Barbara Ruckle, born in the County of Limerick in 1744, became in her sixteenth year a communicant of the Methodist group which had been visited by Wesley's itinerants, and concerning which he said, in 1758, such another settlement could hardly be found in the British Isles. Barbara Ruckle married Paul Heck, a devout member of the little community, in 1760, and in the same year they emigrated with her cousin, Philip Embury, his wife and two brothers, with their families. It is said the devout spirit for a time declined somewhat in the circle of her acquaintance. On one of her visits Barbara Heck found a company, to which her brother, Paul Ruckle, also belonged, at a game of cards, and her spirit was roused. She seized the cards, threw them into the fire, and warned the party concerning their danger and duty. She went immediately to the house of her cousin, Philip Embury, and appealed to him to break his silence and preach the Word without delay. Philip Embury, a meek and diffident man, said, "How can I preach, for I have neither a house nor a congregation?"

[1] See Volume I, Chapter IV, pp. 78–79.

"Preach in your own house and in your own company first," was her reply.[1] Embury consented, and the first Methodist meeting in America took place, in 1765, at Philip Embury's house, located on Barrack Street, now Park Place, in New York City. The audience consisted of the few persons whom Barbara Heck had gathered; they were enrolled in a class and Embury preached weekly. The meetings were soon held in a sail-loft, and in 1768 the first church was erected, in John Street, at a cost of three thousand dollars. Captain Thomas Webb, of the British army, soon became an efficient worker with Embury. The Revolutionary War intervened,[2] and of the missionaries sent over from England only Francis Asbury remained, who, however, became the great representative of Methodism in the United States. On Asbury's missionary tours his traveling companion and principal helper was Henry Böhm,[3] who preached mainly in German and, for this very reason, had in some places, as in the Ohio Valley, larger audiences than Asbury. Böhm may be called the apostle of German Methodism. He lived to the unusual age of one hundred and one years, serving his church to the end. Wilhelm Nast, born in Stuttgart, 1807, has been called the father of German Methodism. He had studied theology and philosophy, taught German at West Point, modern languages at the Gettysburg Seminary, Greek and Hebrew at Kenyon College, Ohio, before entering the Ohio Conference in 1835. In 1839 he became the editor of "Der Christliche Apologete," which had a wide circulation

[1] Cf. J. M. Buckley, *A History of Methodists in the United States*, p. 101.

[2] At the outbreak of the war, Paul Heck took his family to Canada. Fitting tributes to Barbara Heck were the erection of Heck Hall for Women at Victoria University, Toronto, and Heck Hall at Evanston, Illinois (Garrett Biblical Institute).

[3] See Volume I, Chapter XIII, pp. 429–431.

throughout the country, and opposed the dropping of the German language, which is retained in a number of German Methodist conferences. Among noted Methodists of German descent, there is Bishop Joseph C. Hartzell, for a long time secretary of the Freedman's Aid and Charity Extension Society, and missionary bishop to Africa since 1896.

Baptists: In Germany, the first Baptist congregation was founded in 1834 by Johann Gerhard Oncken, who labored against severe persecution until his congregation in Hamburg was yielded full privileges in 1848. In America, K. A. Fleischmann, of German Swiss birth, founded the first German Baptist community, in Newark, New Jersey, in 1842, and this was followed by similar organizations in Philadelphia, New York, Buffalo, Rochester, and St. Louis. There are now about two hundred and seventy congregations, with over twenty-six thousand members. These are not the same as the Dunkards (often called German Baptists) who came to America in 1719, and settled in Pennsylvania. The Dunkards or Tunkers chose as their pastor Andrew Mack; Christopher Sauer, the printer of the German Bible, was one of their number; and at the present day their descendants, embracing the various sub-sects (the Conservative and the Progressive Brethren, the Old Order and the Seventh Day, German), number together 73,795 communicants.

Unitas Fratrum (*Moravians*): The Unity of Brethren, Unitas Fratrum, commonly, though not correctly, called Moravians, have been repeatedly mentioned in the historical part of this work. They trace their origin back to the time of Huss, and their abode to Bohemia and Moravia. But their order was suppressed until resuscitated in 1722–1735 by Count Zinzendorf, who invited them to settle on his

lands, where the town of Herrnhut was built. Some of the number came to Georgia in 1735, but did not remain long. Under Count Zinzendorf's guidance they soon after founded Bethlehem, and later, Nazareth and Lititz, all in Pennsylvania. They were the most successful missionaries among the American Indians in the history of our country, founding stations of Christian Indians in various states. They erected schools for the education of young women, and were prominent in the musical history of the country. Their settlement on the Wachovia tract about Winston-Salem, in North Carolina, begun in 1753, is still one of the most attractive spots in the South. They are not rich, they are not numerous, yet, wherever they have gone, their presence has been felt as an influence for social and moral betterment. Their number now is not quite twelve thousand; more than one third are located in Pennsylvania; North Carolina and Wisconsin possess the next largest numbers.

United Brethren in Christ: The United Brethren in Christ should not be confused with the Unitas Fratrum, or Moravians. The United Brethren in Christ, also of German beginnings, originated in the United States about the year 1800, under the fervent preaching of Philipp Otterbein, a native of Prussia, and Martin Böhm (father of the Methodist, Henry Böhm), a Mennonite pastor of Pennsylvania. These men met with eleven others in Frederick County, Maryland, in 1800, and founded a new denomination with a number of Methodistic features, as the practice of revivals, the system of itinerant preachers, elders, conferences. The church grew strong among the German element, and there still are German conferences, but gradually the German language was displaced by the English. In 1900 there were 4526 organizations and 225,281 communicants.

The Evangelical Association: A very similar history is that of the "Evangelical Association" founded by Jacob Albright (Albrecht), who was born in 1769 of German Lutheran parents living in Pennsylvania. Albright used the German language among his people, and adopted the doctrines, practice, and polity of Methodism. He gathered his converts for the first conference in 1807, and was elected bishop, but died in the following year. For some time the denomination was known as "The Albrights," or "The Albright People"; subsequently the name "Evangelical Association" was adopted. A division occurred in 1891. The number of organizations in 1900 was 2310; of communicants, 133,313. The English language has also in this denomination very largely encroached upon the German.

German Catholics: Though the Mother Church was brought over by the Spanish and the French, and is the oldest church in America, though it was established early (1634) in Maryland by English and Irish immigrants, it did not prosper until a much later period. In 1790 Bishop Carroll estimated the number of Catholics in the United States at about thirty thousand,[1] sixteen thousand of whom were in Maryland, seven thousand in Pennsylvania, and the rest widely scattered. From this inferior position the Roman Catholic Church rose in the nineteenth century to be the largest in the United States. This was accomplished first by the large Irish immigration, and beginning with 1840, by the ever-increasing German immigration. The importance of the latter was acknowledged by the church government in the appointment of the Reverend Johann Martin Henni as bishop of Milwaukee in 1844. Henni was the great pioneer of the Catholic Church in the Northwest, and

[1] Cf. H. K. Carroll, p. 68.

built strong foundations for the work of those that came after. He erected the cathedral of Milwaukee, a hospital, an orphanage, Notre Dame for the sisters that served as teachers, and a seminary for the training of German priests. He was made an archbishop in 1875, and in 1879 completed his fiftieth year of service. His successor to the archbishop's seat at Milwaukee was also a German, Michael Heiss, trained in Munich, and called from Cincinnati to Milwaukee by Archbishop Henni. The third archbishop of Milwaukee, Friedrich Katzer, was born in German Austria. The appointment of a large number of German bishops is a policy calculated to hold together the large German membership of the church.

German State Church: The State Church of Prussia is represented in the United States by the "German Evangelical Synod." The first organization was formed in Missouri by six evangelical ministers in 1840. Ten years later the Evangelical Society of Ohio joined the organization of Missouri. The Evangelical Synod of the East and of the Northwest joined the Union. The German Evangelical Synod accepts the Bible as the rule of faith and practice, subscribes to the Augsburg Confession, Luther's Catechism, and the Heidelberg Catechism, and upholds liberty of conscience. In 1890 the number of church organizations was 870; of communicants, 187,432.

Unitarians: The course of Unitarianism in America has been greatly influenced by contact with German liberal theology, beginning with the movement in American thought, before the middle of the nineteenth century, commonly called Transcendentalism. The beginnings of the Unitarian denomination in New England came much earlier, about 1815; a separate divinity school was organized at Harvard in 1819, and in the same year William

Ellery Channing preached an installation sermon in the newly founded Unitarian Church in Baltimore, in which he defined the differences between Orthodox and Unitarian doctrines. The denial of the Trinity, and the acknowledgment of no binding creed are not new ideas; they are as old as Arianism. In the carrying-out, however, of the ideal of "a movement of ever-enlarging faith," welcoming "inquiry, progress, and diversity of individual thought in the unity of spiritual thought," Unitarianism has turned toward German theology, whence America has derived every liberal theological movement in the nineteenth century. Three influences[1] may be clearly defined as coming from Germany — first, the influence of German speculative theology, in conjunction with the idealistic philosophy of Hegel, which furnished a great intellectual impulse. The central figure of this epoch, the master of liberal theology, was the great German preacher and scholar, Friedrich Schleiermacher, who opened a new interpretation for religion, and awakened that fresh enthusiasm among young American scholars which was characteristic of Transcendentalism. The publication of Professor A. Norton's Divinity School Address, "The Latest Form of Infidelity," in 1839, brought forth a bitter controversy, in which Theodore Parker, George Ripley, Frederic Henry Hedge,[2] and others took

[1] Cf. J. H. Allen, *Our Liberal Movement in Theology;* and *Sequel to Our Liberal Movement;* Chapter ii, *German Influence.* (Roberts Brothers, Boston, 1897.)

[2] J. H. Allen, in an essay on Frederic Henry Hedge, contained in the volume *Sequel to Our Liberal Movement*, p. 81, says: "He brought to the most brilliant and intellectual era of New England a gift of his own, that of two languages, English and German being about equally familiar to him from his school-days. It was not alone the literary knowledge of German, in which many scholars may have rivaled him; but he learned the tongue as a boy amongst boys, when the great day of German literature was still shining in its mellow afternoon. . . . This atmosphere of German thought, rather than

the liberal side. The second and third influences are those of critical theology. They take the Bible down from its position of infallibility and study it as the work of the inspired human mind. The one views the Bible from its poetic side, as literature, or from the historical and biographical, as explaining an evolution in the moral generation of man. This view dates from Lessing and Herder, with later great exponents, as Paulus, Strauss, and Baur. The third German influence is that of minute scholarly investigation, scientific criticism, and discovery, in which German scholars have led the world. Unitarianism has had the benefit of many of the ablest minds of their generation to deepen the channel and open the path to the sea, as W. E. Channing, James Freeman Clarke, Joseph Tuckerman, Henry Ware, W. H. Furness, E. H. Sears, F. H. Hedge, George Ripley, and Theodore Parker, each of whom represents one part or another of German liberal theology. One German name should not be omitted from this list, that of Carl Follen, the first professor of German in Harvard University, who, under the influence of his friends, Channing, Parker, and Everett, inclined to Unitarian doctrines, and became a Unitarian minister. He was a brilliant pulpit orator both in the English and in the German language, and but for his early death might have gathered greater fruits from his labors.

Freethinkers: "It would be strange," says Andrew D. White,[1] "if the land of Immanuel Kant did not recognize

its form and understanding merely, he had brought home with him just at a time when it not only quickened and enlarged his own university studies, but could be turned to later account to make flexible and rich the somewhat provincial dialect of letters and scholarship then prevailing in New England. This, rather than any formal teaching of philosophy — which he disbelieved in and kept aloof from — made his characteristic service to the so-called 'Transcendentalist Movement.'"

[1] *Some Practical Influences of German Thought upon the United States,*

a moral nature in man and its supreme value. The ethical principles developed in the 'Critique of the Practical Reason' were a power in the regeneration of Germany after the Napoleonic despotism. Such principles should be a power in the regeneration and high development of this Republic. Men of all creeds and parties may be united in it." Among the German refugees between 1820 and 1860 there were a large number that came to America with a stern sense of duty inherited from the traditions of their native country. That sense of duty has been a strong moral support in the case of the large number of intellectual Germans who do not adhere to the creed of any church for their moral guidance. Rationalism, freethinking, and ethical culture gained a stronger hold in America through the influx of German refugees of the nineteenth century. An illustration is the foundation of the Freie Gemeinden, modeled upon similar rationalistic or freethinking congregations in Germany. A union of such free congregations was effected in 1859, with Philadelphia as the central locality. The centre has now moved toward the Middle West. An interesting small denomination which has gathered together in its fold quite a number of liberal, independent churches, is the so-called "German Evangelical Protestant Church." Some of its churches are a century old; others are relatively new. In its theology the denomination is rationalistic and liberal. In 1900 it included fifty-two churches and 36,156 communicants.[1] Liberal theology need not be lacking in faith, and does not disavow the craving of the human heart for religious support, but gives evidence of deep thinking on religious subjects.

pp. 12–13, of an address delivered by Andrew D. White at the centennial celebration of the German Society, held in New York, October 4, 1884.

[1] Carroll, p. 155.

For the large majority of the German immigrants, their history has shown them to be eminently a religious folk. They brought their preachers with them at the beginning and held to their religious doctrines until merged in the stronger currents of American life, or until they gained strength enough to found lasting religious institutions of their own, as the Lutheran Church, the German Reformed, and many others.

(5) *German-American philanthropists*

An admirable trait of the rich American is his liberality toward charitable and educational institutions. Europe admires him for it and would wish the example followed more frequently by her own children. America looks upon the gifts of her favored sons of fortune with pride, but also with the dignity born of habit. Gift-giving on the large scale is therefore not a European influence, but sprang from a native spirit of generosity, and grew with the accumulation of greater wealth in the hands of individuals. In this evolution the German element[1] appeared early and continued to contribute generously in accordance with their means.

One of the earliest examples of a large public benefaction was the gift of a public library to the city of New York. By his will John Jacob Astor (born near Heidelberg, Germany, 1763) donated four hundred thousand dollars to found the Astor Library (1848). He also bequeathed fifty thousand dollars to his native town of Waldorf for the founding of an orphan asylum, thus giving the example to rich German-Americans of returning in kind some-

[1] Many of the names mentioned under this head and in this chapter have been referred to more at length in other places of this work. Complete references can be found in the Index at the close of this volume.

thing of the numerous gifts of money once made by Germans in the Fatherland for the benefit of German churches in the American colonies.[1] John Jacob Astor was the soul of honor and integrity in business, and was humane in his dealings with the Indians, his monopoly in the fur trade bringing him into constant connection with them. He was a constructor of institutions, not a destroyer, as when late in life by a gratuitous loan he saved the New York Life Insurance Company, which had been robbed of its entire surplus of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. William B. Astor, who inherited four fifths of his father's estate, turned the Astor fortune into real estate, and through wise administration was at his death (1875) the richest man in the United States. He is said to have erected over seven hundred stores and dwellings, was liberal to his tenants, generous in his charities. He added two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in money and two hundred thousand dollars in books to the endowment of the Astor Library. John Jacob Astor, 3d (born in 1822; died in 1890), is judged to have spent millions of dollars in charities, disbursed largely by his wife, Charlotte Augusta Gibbs Astor. The endowment of the Astor Library by the united benefactions of the family now amounts to about one million, seven hundred thousand dollars; the number of volumes in the library is about six hundred thousand.

Foundations of educational institutions and gifts to them have been numerous by men of German blood. William Wagner, born in Philadelphia in 1796, the great-grandson of Tobias Wagner, chancellor of the University of Tübin-

[1] As the gifts reported in *Hallesche Nachrichten*, for the establishment of a German church in Philadelphia, or the sums brought over for the maintenance of the pastors of the Salzburgers in Georgia.

gen in 1662, founded the Wagner Free Institute of Science in Philadelphia. The Reverend M. Tobias Wagner, who came to Pennsylvania from Würtemberg in 1742 and settled at Reading as a Lutheran minister, was the founder of the American branch of the family. William Wagner early showed his love of nature in his fondness for making collections of rare natural specimens. While in the employ of Stephen Girard, who advanced the young man rapidly to positions of responsibility, Wagner had one very good chance to indulge his taste. This was in 1818, when supercargo on an extensive trading voyage that lasted two years. He brought home a rare collection of shells, plants, and organic remains gathered from most varied parts of the globe. After being very successful in business William Wagner retired in 1840, and devoted himself to travel and study. In 1847 he began his courses of free lectures on science, first at his home, then in a hall, and in 1855 he founded a permanent institution. In 1865 an appropriate edifice was dedicated, which, with its cabinets and collections, was given to the city, provided the property should forever be used for instruction in natural science. The total amount contributed was estimated at five hundred thousand dollars, while the unique collections are above money valuation. William Wagner continued to act as president of the Free Institute of Science until his death in 1885, employing an able corps of lecturers and assistants.

Dr. William Pepper, the eleventh provost of the University of Pennsylvania, was of Pennsylvania-German stock.[1] During his administration, from 1881 to 1894, greater advances were made than in any previous part of the university's history. All departments experienced a regen-

[1] Cf. Honorable Samuel W. Pennypacker, *The Pennsylvania Dutchman, and wherein he has excelled*, *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. xxii, pp. 455–457.

eration, new departments, as finance and economy, philosophy, biology (Joseph Leidy), veterinary medicine, dentistry, and others, were established. Fifty free scholarships for worthy students were founded, and steps were taken toward the improvement of teaching. Provost Pepper, who in 1871 had been largely instrumental in the establishment of a hospital in connection with the University, now instituted another advance in the oldest medical school of the land, lengthening the three years course to one of four years. He took the initiative in raising the endowment needed for this purpose by his gift of fifty thousand dollars to the Medical School. An important donation benefiting mainly the University of Pennsylvania was that of General Isaac Jones Wistar,[1] who in 1892 presented a building for the anatomical museum (established in 1808 by Professor Caspar Wistar) and provided a liberal endowment for the "Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology."

Henry Villard (baptismal name, Heinrich Hilgard), born in Rhenish Bavaria, the prominent war correspondent, and railroad magnate of the Northwest, gave generously to a number of educational institutions, the State University of Oregon, the University of Washington State, and Harvard University. He also endowed a number of philanthropic institutions in Germany: the new hospital of the Red Cross Society at Munich, an industrial institution at Kaiserslautern, an orphan asylum at Zweibrücken, and a hospital and training-school at Speyer, his birthplace.

[1] Isaac Jones Wistar, the son of Dr. Caspar Wistar and Lydia Jones Wistar, was born in Philadelphia in 1827, and became a distinguished lawyer and soldier. As colonel of the Twenty-seventh Pennsylvania, a regiment to which he had largely contributed in organizing, he fought a desperate battle at Antietam, where he was left on the field for dead. Citizens of Philadelphia showed their appreciation of his services at Antietam, by the presentation of a sword. Cf. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. xii, p. 359.

John Welles Hollenback, of old Pennsylvania-German stock, has been a trustee of Lafayette College since 1865 and has made many gifts to the college. Charles M. Schwab, ex-president of the United States Steel Corporation, has established the Homestead (Pennsylvania) Industrial School, and also built the new Catholic Church at Loretta, Pennsylvania ($150,000). John Fritz, the veteran ironmaster of Bethlehem, gave to Lehigh University, of which he is a trustee, a thoroughly equipped and modern engineering laboratory, valued at over $50,000. Milton S. Hershey, the chocolate manufacturer of Pennsylvania, made the gift of a $50,000 science building to Franklin and Marshall College. The same institution has frequently received the liberal aid of the president of its trustees, George F. Baer (of German descent), president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company.

Charles B. Rouss, of German-Austrian ancestry, benefactor of the city of Winchester, in the Shenandoah Valley, Civil War veteran (Confederate Army), gave a thirty-five thousand dollar physical laboratory to the University of Virginia. He was a very successful dry goods merchant, the founder and editor of the "Auction Trade Journal," and the donor of the replica of the Washington and Lafayette statue by Bartholdi, erected in New York City. The day of the agricultural fair at Winchester, Virginia, is named Rouss's day in his honor. Treasuring Southern historical memories he was the patron of a museum of Confederate relics, fashioned according to the patron's plans, called Confederate Memorial Hall, or Battle Abbey of the South.

James Lick (original spelling Lück),[1] one of the pioneers

[1] James Lick was born in Fredericksburg, Pennsylvania, in 1796. It is said that he wooed a well-to-do miller's daughter, and was rejected by the father

of California, left several million dollars for scientific and benevolent purposes. His bequests included ten thousand dollars for the purchase of scientific and mechanical apparatus for the Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco; an equal amount for the California Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals; twenty-five thousand dollars to each of two Protestant Asylums; sixty thousand dollars for a bronze monument to Francis S. Key (author of our national anthem), to be erected in San Francisco; one hundred thousand dollars for an old ladies' home in the same city; one hundred thousand dollars for three groups of bronze statuary in front of the City Hall, and one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for public baths in San Francisco; five hundred thousand dollars to found and endow the California School of Mechanic Arts; and, the gift for which he is most widely known, seven hundred thousand dollars for the construction of an observatory and a telescope therein "superior and more powerful than any telescope yet made." The site for the observatory was carefully selected; it was located on Mt. Hamilton, 4285 feet above sea-level, on government land, thirteen miles east of San José, and fifty miles south of San Francisco. The telescope erected since then at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, said to be the largest and finest in the

on account of the suitor's poverty, whereupon the latter vowed he would erect a mill surpassing that of the father. This story is taken to explain the erection by the eccentric millionaire, of a palatial mill at San José, California, which before its destruction by fire was a curiosity in the whole region. He also erected an hotel in San Francisco costing an immense sum. James Lick began as an organ- and piano-maker, migrated to South America, where he seems to have made some money, and then appeared in California, where he invested heavily in real estate. In 1874 he assigned three million dollars to a board of trustees, but before his death, two years after, twice revoked and twice renewed the gift, demanding a different board of trustees. James Lick is described as unlovable, without friends, and miserly, yet the fact and the character of his bequests prove a large humanity and an intellectual thirst.

world, was also the gift of a descendant of the Pennsylvania-Dutch, Charles T. Yerkes. His ancestry was Holland-Dutch, though composed of several nationalities, probably including German. Yerkes was frequently called the street-car king, because of his heavy operations in street-railways in Philadelphia and Chicago, and his financing and managing underground railway systems in London. His gift to the University of Chicago for the construction of the Yerkes Observatory amounted to about four hundred thousand dollars.

Men of German blood have been deeply interested in extending education to the level of the people commonly lacking in means and opportunity. Thus, the first to conceive and project the "Chautauqua movement" was Lewis Miller,[1] the inventor of the "Buckeye Mower." In 1873, with Bishop John H. Vincent of the Methodist Church, he visited Chautauqua in Western New York and secured the ground where the first assembly was held in August of that year. Lewis Miller built a home on the lake, and was president of the assembly, the reading-circle, the college of liberal arts, and the complex departments of this

[1] Cf. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. vi, pp. 216–217. Lewis Miller was born in Greentown, Ohio, in 1829. His father, of German descent, removed from Maryland to Ohio in 1812. Lewis Miller in 1851 became a partner of Ball, Aultman & Company (see *ante*, Chapter III), manufacturers of reaping- and threshing-machines. Thoroughly trained in the machinist's art, he invented the "Buckeye Mower" in 1855, assisted in the study of the invention by his brother Jacob. The distinctive feature, "the double-hinged floating bar," became the model for all subsequent machines of the kind. Manufacturing establishments were located at Akron and Canton, Ohio, employing over fifteen hundred men and producing annually agricultural machinery valued at six million dollars. Lewis Miller was deeply interested in education and in matters of public concern; was an earnest anti-slavery advocate, and in 1878 Republican candidate for Congress. For forty years he was the Sunday-school superintendent of the Methodist Church at Akron, where he carried out some original ideas of Sunday-school room architecture (the "Akron style").

educational, religious, and social institution. The date 1878 is commonly given for the foundation of the Summer School, with its lectures, classes, and summer recreations; since then the institution has had about two hundred and fifty thousand members. The influence of the summer-school idea and of home reading has gone out from Chautauqua all over the United States, and the National Home Reading Union of England has been founded on the Chautauquan model.[1] Mr. Miller has also made liberal gifts to neighboring colleges, to Mount Union College and Wesleyan University of Ohio, to Allegheny College of Meadville, Pennsylvania, and to Buchtel College at Akron. The latter institution was founded by a business partner of Lewis Miller, viz., John Richard Buchtel,[2] whose great-grandfather, a mathematician and astronomer of university training, came from Germany. Mr. Buchtel was for many years president of the C. Aultman Company, manufacturers of agricultural machinery, and much of the origin of the business prosperity of Akron, now a manufacturing centre, is due to his energetic efforts. The corner-stone of Buchtel College was laid in 1871, when Horace Greeley delivered an address. Buchtel College is under the denominational control of the Universalist Church of Ohio.

One of the most liberal bequests ever made for the education of children was that of Jacob Tome.[3] He wished

[1] Cf. Baedeker's *United States*, p. 232. (Leipzig, 1909.)

[2] J. R. Buchtel was born in Summit County, Ohio, in January, 1820. In 1854 he entered the employ of Ball, Aultman & Company. Ten years after, he induced the manufacturers of the Buckeye machine to build a factory at Akron, which he considered a desirable location, and in which he was not deceived. In Athens County he founded the town of Buchtel, which had a phenomenal growth. He was a director in many companies, as the Akron Iron Company. Churches of many denominations were the recipients of his gifts.

[3] He was born in Manheim, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1810,

to establish a private school for the children of poor parents, and his original donation of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars was used to carry out that idea. The benefactor's will left about three million dollars for the educational work of the Tome Institute, and out of this magnificent endowment a preparatory school for college, the Jacob Tome Institute for Boys, was evolved, which is now the peer of Phillips Academy at Exeter and Andover, Lawrenceville, or St. Paul's School. Jacob Tome was also for many years a trustee of Dickinson College, and in 1884 made the gift of a science building.

The Drexel Institute of Philadelphia, the purpose of which is "the extension and improvement of industrial education as a means of opening better and wider avenues of employment to young men and women," was founded in 1891 by Anthony J. Drexel, a man of German descent. The endowment of this model institution, including the buildings and equipment, amounts to four and a half million dollars. The German idea of the trade school is realized in the plan of this great institution, with American adaptations. Liberal culture is fostered by lectures, concerts, a free library, a picture-gallery (presented by Mr. J. D. Lankenau and Mr. Drexel — the paintings are of modern French, German, and Italian masters), and a museum, containing collections of wood and metal work, ceramics, embroideries, textiles, and the rare autographs presented by George W. Childs, the intimate friend of the founder. The father of the latter, Francis Martin Drexel, was born at Dornbirn, in the Austrian Tyrol in 1792. After studying painting at Turin and Berlin, he spent a few years in

descended from German Lutherans. He made his money in the lumber trade at Port Deposit, Maryland, and there erected his institutions. See *ante*, Chapter v.

South America, painting portraits of notable men, including General Bolivar. He came North, first to Mexico, then to Philadelphia, and in 1837 established there the banking-house of Drexel and Company. The New York house, Drexel, Morgan and Company, was founded in 1850, the Paris branch, Drexel, Harjes and Company, in 1867. Before his death, in 1863, Francis Martin Drexel had the satisfaction of seeing his house established in the first class among institutions of the kind in the United States. He was succeeded by Anthony J. and Francis A. Drexel (deceased). The former appeared in the business office at the age of thirteen, before he had completed his schooling, and the story of his life is the history of the progressive expansion of the banking-house. The name of Drexel is also honored in the Mary J. Drexel Home, located by the side of the German Hospital of Philadelphia and opposite Girard College. It was founded by Mr. John D. Lankenau and named in memory of his wife. Mr. Lankenau had, as president and benefactor of the German Hospital, seen the need of trained nurses, and applied to Germany for Lutheran deaconesses, the first of whom arrived in 1884. A training-school for nurses of the German pattern, and a home to which the deaconesses might retire when enfeebled by sickness or old age, was the next step. Mr. Lankenau contributed over five hundred thousand dollars for the building of this home, and annually gives his liberal support to this the handsomest and most complete institution of its kind. The fact of the importation of German methods of hospital work is also of great significance.

John D. Rockefeller is descended from Johann Peter Rockefeller, who came from Germany and lived among the earliest New Jersey Germans.[1] His gift of thirty-two mil-

[1] See Volume I, Chapter VI, pp. 154–155. It is possible that Johann Peter

lion dollars to the General Education Board "is the largest sum ever given by a man in the history of the race for any social or philanthropic purposes." This gift was recently supplemented by over ten million dollars more. The founder of the University of Chicago, which through gifts amounting to over ten million dollars was enabled to assume a position of commanding usefulness, has also endowed the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York City. A large number of colleges and universities, particularly when in need, have been the recipients of benefactions from John D. Rockefeller, e. g., Yale ($1,000,000), Brown, Johns Hopkins, Cornell, Vassar, and Barnard.

The Reverend William Augustus Mühlenberg, born in Philadelphia in 1796, great-grandson of Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, the father of the Lutheran Church in America, was the founder of St. Luke's Hospital in New York City. He prepared himself for the ministry of the Episcopal Church, and during his first rectorship at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was instrumental in establishing the first public schools outside of Philadelphia. While at Flushing, Long Island, he founded a school, afterwards St. Paul's College. In 1846 he became rector of the Church of the Holy Communion in New York City, erected by his sister, Mrs. A. C. Rogers, as a memorial to her deceased husband. On St. Luke's Day the rector awakened his congregation to the need of a church hospital, and half of the collection of that day was laid aside for the purpose. Out of the small offering, which amounted to only thirty dollars, there grew a hundred thousand and

Rockefeller or some earlier ancestor came from the other side of the Rhine. It is an interesting fact that Johann Peter Rockefeller donated a lot to be used as a burial-ground for his neighbors and his family.

then another hundred thousand. The corner-stone of St. Luke's Hospital was laid in 1854; the hospital was opened for patients in 1858. The Reverend William Augustus Mühlenberg became the first pastor and superintendent of St. Luke's Hospital in 1857, and remained in that position until his death in 1877. He organized the first Protestant sisterhood in the United States, who took charge of St. Luke's Hospital and the day school connected with the Church of the Holy Communion. The Reverend Dr. Mühlenberg crowned his lifework with another humanitarian institution, called St. Johnsland, a sort of industrial community located on the north shore of Long Island, about forty-five miles from New York. There a home was built for destitute and crippled children, an old men's home, and opportunity provided for indigent young men capable of fitting themselves for the Episcopal ministry. The founder died in St. Luke's Hospital and was buried in St. Johnsland.[1]

A most remarkable organizer and distributer of charitable funds is Louis Klopsch, born in Germany in 1852. He became the proprietor of the "Christian Herald" in 1892, and through his widely circulating paper has raised more than two and a half million dollars in international charities. He brought relief funds to the famine-stricken in Russia in 1892 and received the personal thanks of the Czar. In 1898 he sent a cargo of corn of the value of four hundred thousand dollars to the famine-stricken in India. In the same year President McKinley appointed him on a commission of three, charged with the relief of the starving *reconcentrados* in Cuba, for which purpose he raised a fund of two hundred thousand dollars. In the spring of 1900 he visited the famine and cholera fields of India, and

[1] Cf. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. ix, p. 199.

in six months raised nearly seven hundred thousand dollars through his paper. The starving in China, in Finland, and Sweden, engaged his attention for the next few years. In 1906 he raised two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the sufferers in Northern Japan, and in the following year sent three hundred thousand dollars in money and flour to relieve the famine-stricken in Central China.

Nathan Straus,[1] born at Otterberg, Rhenish Bavaria, in 1848, is a friend of the poor. Since 1890 he has maintained at his expense a system of supplying sterilized milk to the poor in New York City, establishing stations where pure milk is to be had at one cent a bottle, or the same milk is supplied free on presentation of coupons calling for five bottles, the coupons being in the hands of physicians practicing among the poor, or being given to charitable organizations for distribution. The statistics of the Health Department show that many thousands of infant lives have been saved by this system. In the winter of 1893–1894, a year of great suffering among the poor, Nathan Straus established lodging-houses for the poor and homeless, and in conjunction with Mr. J. P. Morgan set up groceries and bakeries where food supplies could be obtained at the carload price. Mr. Straus has also originated a system of coal depots in the poor districts where coal can be had by the bushel or pailful at a very low price, or free, in winter. In 1898, after the surrender of Santiago de Cuba, Mr. Straus sent to the vanquished a complete

[1] Nathan Straus and his brothers, Isidor Straus (merchant) and Oscar Solomon Straus (diplomat), were all born in Rhenish Bavaria, and lived in Georgia before settling in New York City. There in 1866 the father and his sons established the firm of L. Straus and Sons, importers of pottery and glassware. Isidor and Nathan in 1887 entered the firm of R. H. Macy & Co., department store, and are now sole members. In 1892 they bought another large interest, the firm taking the name Abraham and Straus.

ice-manufacturing plant, which furnished thirteen tons of ice and forty thousand gallons of pure ice-water daily, besides the refrigeration of all meats and fruits needed for the soldiers' hospital.

Alfred Dolge,[1] born in Chemnitz, Saxony, founder of model factories of piano hammer-felt, felt shoes, and piano sounding-boards at Dolgeville, California, has instituted with great success some of the German methods of insuring and pensioning the laboring classes. He has studied and applied very successfully a method of profit-sharing, the profits being invested in a manner beneficial to the workmen, in building-associations, life-insurance, premium funds, and the like. A pension system prevails against accident and old age, the amount derived being dependent on length of service.

Ezra Charles Fitch, descended on his father's side from Thomas Fitch, governor of Connecticut (1754–1766), was born in Bremen, his mother being a German, Auguste Fechler. As president of the Waltham Watch Company since 1886, he employs over thirty-six hundred persons making twenty-seven hundred watches a day. He has not alone wonderfully increased the capacity of his manufacturing plant, but he has made the city of Waltham a study in social betterment. By his establishment of public parks, hotels, and lunch-rooms with food at cost, this Massachusetts town has become a model of its kind.

[1] Alfred Dolge came to the United States in 1866, and first worked at the bench as a piano-maker, a trade he had learned in his father's piano-factory at home. He started independently in 1869, building Dolgeville, New York, before removing to California. His great specialty is the manufacture of felt, in which he is unsurpassed. His factories have always held the monopoly in the manufacture of superior piano-felt. Mr. Dolge also founded a new industry, the manufacture of felt shoes in the United States. He has also perfected the manufacture of piano sounding-boards, as president of the Dolge-Posey Company, at Dolgeville, California, seven miles east of Los Angeles.

Adolph H. J. Sutro (born in Prussia), the great tunnel builder, settled in San Francisco in 1879 and invested heavily in real estate. An area of barren cliffs and sand wastes he transformed into a park called Sutro Heights. Elected in 1895, he was one of the best mayors San Francisco has ever had. He gave to the city a public reference library of two hundred thousand volumes, an art collection, and a replica of the Bartholdi Statue of Liberty.

Another great benefactor of San Francisco was the sugar-king, Claus Spreckels (born at Lamstedt, Hanover). The establishment of a great industry, and the founding of an interoceanic trade is itself a great philanthropic as well as economic achievement. Spreckels founded in San Francisco a model system of lighting accessible to the poor as well as the rich. He supported liberally all benevolent enterprises and erected a music-stand in Golden Gate Park at a cost of one hundred thousand dollars.

George Ellwanger (born in Würtemberg), the founder of the greatest nursery firm in the United States, was one of the most active promoters of the commercial progress of the city of Rochester, New York, and one of its greatest benefactors. His firm presented Highland Park to the city, with all its fine trees and shrubbery. Mr. Ellwanger also made the donation of a German Home for the Aged, in 1900. Similarly, in the city of Columbus, Ohio, Louis Zettler (born near Mainz, Germany, in 1832) has been a great force as a promoter of enterprises (pork-packing, groceries, hardware) and as a benefactor. A prominent member of the Catholic Church, he founded the St. Vincent Orphan Asylum in the seventies.

The founder of the city of Stockton, California, was Charles Marie Weber (born near Homburg, Rhenish Bavaria, in 1814). The name was given the settlement in

honor of Commodore Stockton, who promised aid in getting concessions for the new colony. Weber was one of the earliest pioneers of California, leading a life full of adventure and hazard while defending American against Mexican interests.[1] He was several times condemned to be shot and once set adrift in a desert near San Diego to perish. Immediately after the discovery of gold at Sutter's Fort, Weber organized the Stockton Mining Company. He had the courage to become the first banker of San Joaquin Valley, constructing a vault that cost him a thousand dollars, and taking on deposit at one half of one per cent a month all gold-dust and rough gold from the diggings. The city of Stockton was laid out according to his plans, and its miles of asphalt paving, macadamized streets, and fine residences supplied with electricity and natural gas, are a lasting monument to the genius and liberality of Charles M. Weber.

Adolphus Busch (born in Mainz, Germany), sole proprietor of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company, contributed one of the largest sums, one hundred thousand dollars, to the relief of the San Francisco earthquake sufferers. He also gave one hundred and fifty thousand dollars toward the building-fund of the Germanic Museum at Harvard University, and on many occasions has shown his liberality toward art and humanity. He was chairman of the committee on art at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, and like many more German-American millionaires, is a student and collector. Thus Richard Herrmann (born in Saxony), the furniture manufacturer of Dubuque, founded the Herrmann Museum of Natural History, and is a writer on geology and antiquities; Charles F. Gunther (born in Würtemberg), the Chicago

[1] Cf. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. vii, p. 455.

confectioner, owns one of the finest collections of Washington and Lincoln relics; Louis Windmüller (born in Prussia), merchant and political reformer in New York City, is a collector of books and pictures; Gustav Beyer (born in Saxony), the furrier, is the owner of one of the largest collections of American beetles; Charles A. Schieren (born in Prussia), the New York tanner, is a patron of the Brooklyn Museum of Arts and Sciences;[1] a very useful book collector was Abram H. Cassel, a Pennsylvania-German, who ransacked garrets and closets in Pennsylvania all his life in search of sources of history, and willed his entire collection to the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Single gifts of the latter kind have frequently been of very great value in the history of art and science, as the Rinehart scholarship,[2] which has enabled many promising young sculptors to spend several years of study in Rome; or the gift of William Ziegler, which has furnished the means for voyages of discovery in the Arctic regions. The benefactions of the manufacturer of "Royal Baking Powder" call to mind the generosity of the baker of the Revolutionary War, Christopher Ludwig, who made several charitable bequests, and left the residue of his estate, about three thousand pounds, for the foundation of a free school, called Ludwick's Institute.[3] The amount was not small for those days, and was a gift well bestowed.

In practically all of the cities where Germans dwell in large numbers, philanthropic institutions are established

[1] Among Mr. Schieren's gifts to the Museum is Gabriel Max's *The Martyrs of the Catacombs*. At Mühlenberg College (Allentown, Pa.) Mr. Schieren recently established a scholarship ($43,000) for young men studying for the ministry. As mayor of Brooklyn (1894–95) he laid the foundation of that city's enlarged park system.

[2] See *ante*, Chapter VI.

[3] See Volume I, Chapter XI, p. 305.

for the care of German orphans, the German aged and the sick, and frequently the privilege of entrance is not restricted to persons of German blood or speech alone. Good examples of such institutions are the German Hospital of Philadelphia, and that of New York; the German Orphan Asylum, and the Greisenheim of Baltimore; the Deutsches Altenheim of San Francisco, located in a beautiful valley near Oakland, destroyed by fire in 1908, but greatly enlarged and improved on rebuilding.

German charity has not been confined to the human species, but has extended to the brute creation. One of the leading traits of the Pennsylvania-German farmer has always been the care he has taken of his horses and cattle; in fact it has sometimes been said in reproach of him that the care of his stock gave him more thought than that of his family. It is but natural, therefore, that the movement to prevent cruelty to animals in the United States should have been initiated by a man of German blood. Henry Bergh, born in New York in 1823 of German ancestry,[1] being well provided for by his father, traveled extensively in Europe, and, particularly while secretary of the American legation at St. Petersburg in 1862, was shocked by the cruel treatment of animals. Bergh visited England and sought the acquaintance of Lord Harrowby, president of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. When Bergh returned to America, his determination was fixed to spend the rest of his life in the defense of the dumb brute. He persevered in spite of the indifference and ridicule that he encountered, and founded, in

[1] Cf. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iii, p. 106. The German ancestor came to America about 1740, settling near Staatsburg-on-the-Hudson. Henry Bergh's father was a naval architect who constructed numerous merchant vessels and some men-of-war. *Supplement to Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. i, p. 499.

1866, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in New York State. In imitation of the parent society, branches have been formed in nearly all states and territories. Mr. Bergh at first attended personally to the prosecution of cases in the courts, and was appointed a special attorney by the State of New York. In many cities the members of the society were given special authority to make arrests. In 1871 Louis Bonard, a Frenchman who had come to America poor and had accumulated wealth, willed his entire fortune, found to be one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, thereby aiding greatly the work of Mr. Bergh, who had supported the institution solely by his own means. Many other important matters, besides punishment for acts of cruelty, came within the province of the Society, as improved methods in the transportation and killing of cattle, the care of the horse and other beasts of burden, the purification of milk, and the prevention of cock- and dog-fights. Mr. Bergh invented a kind of trap by which clay-pigeons were shot upward to imitate the flight of a bird, as a substitute for live pigeons in shooting-matches. As a speaker and lecturer, as a worker on the streets or in the courtroom, Henry Bergh had no equal. He made frequent lecture tours, and inspired a new canon in the Episcopal Church, giving clergymen authority to preach a sermon at least once a year on the prevention of cruelty to animals, "speaking for those who could not speak for themselves." In 1874 the founder of the society rescued a little girl from inhuman treatment, and the act led to the founding of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, which became as widely beneficial as the original foundation.

The list of German-American philanthropists would be

incomplete without the names of a number of women, whose benefactions will now be considered under a special head, treating of the work of German women in the United States.[1]

(6) German-American women

As the personality of Carl Schurz stands out prominently among the German men who have come to this country, so does the career of Anna Behr Ottendorfer shine with the native brilliancy of genius among German-American women. She was born in Würzburg, Bavaria, in 1815, and followed her brother to America in 1837. In the following year she married the printer, Jakob Uhl, who in 1844 bought the "New Yorker Staatszeitung," then a small weekly paper, founded by Neumann ten years previously. With the able assistance of his wife, Jakob Uhl soon issued the paper three times a week, and in 1849 changed it to a daily. But he died suddenly, in 1852, leaving his widow with the care of her children and the responsibility of managing what was promising to be a large and influential journalistic undertaking. Being acquainted with every detail of the newspaper business, and endowed with unusual executive ability, she took up the burden, and from 1852 to 1859 was the sole manager of the "New Yorker Staatszeitung."[2] She refused all offers of purchase, and through her courage, energy, and perse-

[1] As in many other departments of this work, the writer has not had the advantage of a single "Vorarbeit" in this special field. He is therefore conscious of not doing the subject justice.

[2] There is another instance, almost contemporaneous, of a German woman conducting a German-American newspaper, that of the wife of Carl Heinrich Schnauffer, the founder of the only Republican newspaper in Maryland, *Der Wecker*, of Baltimore. Mrs. Schnauffer assisted her husband until his death in 1854, and after that was frequently called upon to edit it herself, and once courageously defended it against the attack of a Baltimore mob. See *ante*, Chapter IV, p. 134.

ANNA OTTENDORFER

verance not only made the paper remunerative, but laid the foundations of its powerful influence. In 1859 she married Oswald Ottendorfer,[1] who had been on the editorial staff of the paper for a number of years. While her husband occupied the chief editorial chair, Mrs. Ottendorfer continued the business managership until shortly before her death in 1884. She was sincerely beloved for her works of charity, most of which the public never knew of. Her wealth constantly increased, and she devoted a good part of it to the foundation and enlargement of institutions that were of lasting benefit. In 1875 she built the Isabella Home for Aged Women in Astoria, Long Island, in memory of her daughter Isabella. On this she spent about fifty thousand dollars, and a like amount as a memorial fund was distributed among several institutions. In 1882 she devoted seventy-five thousand dollars to the building of the Women's Pavilion in the German Hospital of New York, and subsequently gave one hundred thousand dollars for the German dispensary on Second Avenue. In recognition of her numerous acts of charity Mrs. Ottendorfer received a medal from the Empress Augusta of Ger-

[1] Oswald Ottendorfer, born in Zwittau, Moravia (Austria), in 1826, was an ardent revolutionist of 1848–1849, taking part in the disturbances in Vienna and Dresden, and exiled in consequence. Fleeing to Switzerland, he next turned to America, arriving in New York in 1850, and shortly after was employed by Uhl on the *Staatszeitung*. Ottendorfer was a Douglas Democrat, but refused to join the Southern Breckenridge faction because of its adherence to slavery. He supported the government strongly throughout the Civil War, and at its conclusion advocated a pacific policy toward the vanquished. In 1871 Ottendorfer was president of the German Reform party, taking a leading part against the Tammany Ring. He refused candidacy for the mayoralty of New York, but served as an alderman in 1872. He was a member of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, and made several gifts to New York University, e. g., books and the Ottendorfer Fellowship in Germanic Philology. His benefactions were numerous, particularly to German institutions of New York City.

many. In her will she bequeathed twenty-five thousand dollars to the employees of the "Staatszeitung," provided liberally for the various charities she had founded and included many others among her beneficiaries. Mrs. Ottendorfer's acts of charity should take rank far above the larger gifts of many a noble woman, because the generous sums of money which she spent, she had also earned herself; they were the fruits of her lifework.

Another distinguished philanthropist among women of German descent was Catherine Lorillard Wolfe, born in New York, in 1828. Her great-grandfather, John David Wolfe, came to America from Saxony before 1729. Members of the family served in the Revolutionary War, and her father retired from business at the prime of life in order to devote himself and his wealth to educational and benevolent purposes. He was one of the founders and the first president of the American Museum of Natural History, and a prominent member of the New York Historical Society. When he died in 1872, his only child, Catherine Lorillard Wolfe, succeeded to his philanthropic work. She had fully availed herself of exceptional educational advantages, cultivated her appreciation of art, and studied carefully the effect of her charitable awards. She personally visited the poor, educated young girls, relieved want and suffering. Some of her larger gifts, bestowed as often upon science and art as charity, were as follows: To Union College, Schenectady; the American Chapel at Rome; the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; the Wolfe expedition to Asia; the chantry and other buildings to Grace Church, New York; the Home for Incurables at Fordham. Perhaps she is most widely known as the patron of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, to which she gave her collection of paintings and a fund of two hundred thousand dollars

for their maintenance and increase. By her will she bestowed more than a million dollars upon the educational and charitable institutions founded by her father and herself.

Klumpke is a name which four sisters have made distinguished in Europe as well as in the land of their nativity. San Francisco claims the honor of being their birthplace. Their father, one of the early pioneers of California, is still living, in retirement, in an isolated home commanding a beautiful view over the waters of the Golden Gate. Their mother, a woman of strong character, possessed the ambition to see her daughters obtain the best educational advantages the world could give. In 1871 she went abroad with her daughters and saw each of them devote herself to a different Muse, and gain distinction in the service. The eldest, Anna Elizabeth, became an artist, the friend and protégé of Rosa Bonheur, the celebrated French painter of animal life and landscapes. The latter left to Anna Elizabeth Klumpke her fortune and her château, declaring her a worthy successor. The second daughter, Augusta, is a prominent physician, the wife of Dr. Déjerine, professor in the medical faculty of the University of Paris, whose collaborator she has been in many of his important works. Julia Klumpke, the youngest, is a talented violinist, pupil of Ysaye, and was one of the first women to pass the examination of the Paris Lycée. The most famous, however, of the distinguished sisters is Dorothea Klumpke, an astronomer of international reputation. She completed all the requirements and examinations in science and mathematics at the University of Paris, and is the only woman on whom was ever conferred the degree of doctor of mathematics at the Paris Academy of Sciences. She pursued studies also in Germany and Switzerland, and

in open competition won the position of assistant at the Paris Observatory, coming out first against fifty French competitors of the opposite sex. At the Paris Observatory her work was mainly the photographing of stars, and many valuable discoveries resulted from it. When the International Astronomical Congress undertook the cataloguing of all stars as far as the fourteenth magnitude, the French division of the work was placed in charge of Dorothea Klumpke, with four assistants. For her astronomical observations she has frequently made balloon ascensions, and in France has had a reputation as the leading woman aeronaut. In recognition of her scientific researches, Dorothea Klumpke was decorated by the Institute, and has been made an *officier de l'Académie*.

The great singers and musicians belong to all the world; they are migratory as the winged singers of spring and early summer. Several, however, because of their parentage, and birth or long residence in this country, may appropriately be called German-American women. A leading name among them is Minnie Hauck, born in New York City, in 1853. Her father was an eminent German scholar, a refugee of 1848, who married an American woman. They lived for a time in Kansas, then in New Orleans, and finally returned to New York for their daughter's musical education. Minnie Hauck's girlhood was care-free, and she loved to sing, attracting thereby the attention of a patron in New Orleans, who encouraged her to study for the opera. She made her début in the New York Academy of Music as Amina in "La Sonnambula," and from that evening on was one of the most popular artists in her native country. According to custom or necessity she then made a European reputation, singing in London and Paris her rôles of Amina and Lucia. Under Strakosch, Adelina

Patti's manager, she made a tour through Holland and Russia, being received with great enthusiasm in Moscow and St. Petersburg. In 1870 she made her début in the Royal Opera House of Vienna (singing Violetta in "La Traviata"), and became a great favorite. She attracted the attention of Richard Wagner, and under him studied the rôles of Elsa in "Lohengrin" and Senta in "The Flying Dutchman." In 1874 she became the prima donna in the Royal Opera House of Berlin, and remained four years, winning fresh laurels in new parts. The German composer Goetz wrote the part of Katharine in "The Taming of the Shrew" expressly for her, and the opera was produced with great success in 1876. The Emperor William and Empress Augusta bestowed upon her the rank of court and chamber singer for life, an honor shared only by Adelina Patti and Pauline Lucca. In 1877 she created her famous part of Carmen, which she sang for the first time at Brussels, subsequently in London and New York. For more than ten years she sang in New York in winter and during the spring season at Covent Garden in Her Majesty's Opera in London. The rôles in which for a long time she seemed unapproached were those of Selika in "L'Africaine," and Carmen. She was one of the most versatile of all singers that have ever appeared, performing in about one hundred and twenty parts, from Wagner to Rossini and Auber, singing in English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Russian. In 1894 she made a trip around the world, singing in Japan, China, India, Egypt, and Morocco. Her career, one of the busiest on record, marked the progress from the old to the new era of opera-singing. In 1882 she married the Austrian geographer and man of letters, the Baron Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg.[1]

[1] Cf. *National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. viii, p. 154.

Another great singer whom America may claim is Emma Juch, born in Vienna, in 1863. She was brought to New York by her parents as an infant, and took singing-lessons from her father. She made her début in London, singing Italian opera; subsequently she was very successful in the parts of Mignon and Marguerite, and in rôles from Verdi, Meyerbeer, and Wagner. In 1889 Emma Juch courageously undertook to form an English Opera Company of her own, under the business managership of Charles E. Locke, and, though the American Opera Company with Thomas as director had failed shortly before, she successfully toured the greater part of the United States. Such an undertaking, at the time when it was accomplished, may be compared to the pioneer work of the Germania Orchestra, or, in a different class, to the battles with axe and rifle against forest and savage.

The prima donna Lillian Evans Blauvelt, born in Brooklyn in 1873, bears a name that points to German origin. She gave recitals under Seidl, Thomas, and Damrosch, sang at the Handel Festival in London given in the Crystal Palace in 1900, and is the only woman ever honored by the decoration of the Order of Saint Cecilia at Rome (1901). Her rôles are Marguerite ("Faust"), Micaela ("Carmen"), Juliette ("Roméo et Juliette"), Zerline ("Don Giovanni").

German-Americans would gladly claim as one of their number the celebrated Wagner singer Schumann-Heink, born in 1861 near Prag, who has for many seasons interpreted Wagner in New York, and has been the leading soloist at many a German-American Sängerfest and at memorable concerts throughout the United States. The qualities of her heart, her humanity, and numerous charities, have given her a permanent place in America independent of the brilliancy of her musical genius.

Of pianists with an international reputation Fannie Bloomfield Zeisler may be called a German-American. She came from Austrian Silesia with her parents, Solomon and Bertha (Jaeger) Bloomfield, in her second year. They settled in Chicago, the city which the great pianist still names as her residence. She studied principally under Leschetizky in Vienna. She played in the principal American cities, 1883–1893, and since 1895; made a tour in Germany, 1893–1895; in England, 1898; in Germany, Austria, and France, 1902.

The number of German-American women who give excellent concerts of vocal or instrumental music throughout the land is very great. Their training has very generally been received in Germany, or latterly in American conservatories, which are so frequently supplied with German directors and instructors. As teachers of music, women of German blood are very numerous, and they are often the daughters of those patient music-masters who for the first time introduced music into American homes. The heritage of enriching American family life with the cultivation of music has been taken up by the second generation. Similarly the children of German portrait-painters and teachers of drawing have taken up the art, and of the two sexes the women are far more tenacious of the family traditions.

Teachers of the modern languages, particularly German, in our secondary schools and colleges are very frequently women of German blood. As professor of the German language and literature, Carla Wenckebach taught a generation of students at Wellesley College, instructing them in the literary excellence and ethical import of the German classics, quickening and training their mentality with linguistic scholarship, and inspiring them with the animation

and fervor of her personality. She has written a large number of text-books. Her successor, Margarethe Müller (born in Hanover), has created a beautiful memorial to her deceased friend in the book, "Carla Wenckebach, Pioneer,"[1] charming in tone, plastic in description, and withal a most fascinating story of a well-spent life. Ottilie Herholz (born in Prussia) has performed a great service in the chair of German at Vassar, and similarly Professor Kapp of Smith College, who was also a native German. The work of the kindergartners, and the establishment of a seminary for teachers of the kindergarten in New York City by Maria Kraus-Boelte (born in Mecklenburg-Schwerin), have been referred to in a previous chapter.[2]

As authors, women have contributed very largely to what in another connection has been called German-American literature. The earliest examples of note, perhaps, are the letters of the Countess of Riedesel,[3] the wife of the Hessian, or, more accurately speaking, the Brunswick General Baron von Riedesel. She followed her husband throughout the campaign of General Burgoyne in New York; after the surrender she accompanied him into captivity, traversing the greater length of the colonies, from Canada into Virginia and from there back and forth several times on the way to New York in the expectation of release. The letters amount to a diary, written in a direct and racy style, giving most interesting side-lights on contemporary history and social conditions. In the nineteenth century Therese Albertine Luise von Jakob wrote under the pseudonym "Talvj," formed of the initials of her name. She was born at Halle in Germany, the daughter of the eminent

[1] Published by Ginn & Co., Boston, 1908.

[2] *Ante*, Chapter v.

[3] *Briefe der Generalin von Riedesel.* (Berlin, 1800.) Translated into English by Wallenstein; also by W. L. Stone.

Professor von Jakob, who accepted a call to Russia, but returned to his chair at Halle in 1816. His daughter, through her Russian travels, derived the advantage of acquaintance with the Slavic languages, which stimulated her to linguistic studies. Her first publication, "Volkslieder der Serben" (1825–1826), translations into German of Slavic folk-songs, Goethe took occasion to praise highly in a conversation with Eckermann.[1] In 1830 she married the American Orientalist Edward Robinson, who at the time was librarian and professor at Andover, and from 1837 to his death, in 1863, was professor of Biblical literature at Union Theological Seminary in New York. His German wife became interested in the language of the North American Indians, and sent home a description of their dialects, entitled: "Die Sprachen der Indianer Nordamerikas" (Leipzig, 1834). In 1840 she published an essay of very great influence in the republic of letters, "The Poems of Ossian not Genuine," in which she gave evidence of her linguistic attainments and broad scholarship. The titles of some of her later publications show the range of her literary work: "The Colonization of New England" (1847), "Héloïse, or the Unrevealed Secret" (1850), "An Historical View of the Slavic Languages" (1850), "Life's Discipline, a Tale of the Annals of Hungary" (1851), "The Exiles" (1853). The house of the Robinsons in New York was a "salon" where scholars and literary men of the time went in and out. There, for instance, Mrs. Bayard Taylor met William Cullen Bryant, as she tells us in her memoirs. Mrs. Taylor[2] was also a German woman, the daughter of the distinguished Ger-

[1] *Eckermanns Gespräche mit Goethe*, vol. i, p. 130. (January 18, 1825.) Goethe also reviewed the translations for *Kunst und Altertum*.

[2] Bayard Taylor was twice married, the first time to Miss Mary Agnew.

man astronomer, Peter Andreas Hansen. American scholars at this period of German intellectual ascendancy brought back with them from Germany not only learning and literature and books, but frequently wives, of rare cultivation, of German warmth and genuine simplicity, whose influence in America no one has ever thought of considering at all. Yet the memoirs just referred to, "Aus zwei Weltteilen," Erinnerungen von Marie Hansen-Taylor,[1] are among the best ever written on America by a foreigner, whether man or woman. The book is appreciative of things American, yet it is not uncritical; while it reflects the truth fully, it is constructive, and gives the view of one who has not only observed, but also labored in the vineyard. The memoirs are full of interesting reminiscences of the leading literary men and women of the time (1857–1878) in America, and a particular charm is the impression we get of the inspiring personality of Bayard Taylor.

Mathilde Giesler-Anneke had a most remarkable career before she came to America as a refugee. Thrown on her own resources, she edited the "Westfälische Jahrbuch," with the collaboration of distinguished writers, as Freiligrath and Levin Schücking, and wrote poems, short stories, and a drama. An ardent revolutionist of the period of 1848, she had married Fritz Anneke, sometime a Prussian artillery-officer, who was imprisoned in 1848, but released soon after. During that epoch she founded the "Neue Kölnische Zeitung," soon suppressed by the government. She changed the paper to a woman's journal, wherein she argued for equality of the sexes and the opening of chan-

[1] *Deutsche Verlagsanstalt.* (Stuttgart u. Leipzig, 1905.) A translation has been prepared by the author and her daughter, Lilian Bayard Taylor Kiliani, entitled: *On Two Continents: Memories of Half a Century.* (Doubleday, Page & Co., 1905.)

nels for woman's work. This "Frauenzeitung" was also soon suppressed. In 1849 she followed her husband to the Palatinate and to Baden, entering Karlsruh, mounted, with the army of freedom. After the collapse of the revolution she came to America. In Milwaukee she founded the "Deutsche Frauenzeitung" in 1852, but soon removed to New York, then to Newark, where her husband edited a political newspaper. She was in Switzerland from 1860 to 1865, for her health, a frequent correspondent, however, of the "Belletristisches Journal" of New York and the "Illinois Staatszeitung" of Chicago. After her return to America in 1865 she founded a private school for girls in Milwaukee. Her literary work continued until her death in 1884, and included novels, short stories, and poems. Another refugee during the same period was Bertha Rombauer, born in Hungary of German parents. Her translations of Hungarian poems and her collection "Bunte Blätter" (Gedichte, St. Louis, 1869), are noteworthy. Her permanent home became Alameda, California. Pauline Widenmann, whose birthplace was the Solitude, near Stuttgart, so famous for its Schiller associations, contributed, like Frau Anneke, to the dignifying of woman's position. Her views were not radical, as seen in her poem "Der Beruf des Weibes."[1] Anna Nill (born also in Würtemberg), admitted to the Socialist Party at the age of twenty, writes flaming verses in the cause of human rights, and betrays a gnawing homesickness for the land of her fathers.[2]

Writers who have contributed poems and stories to current literature are Marie Raible (poems), Bella Fiebing (poems in "Belletristisches Journal"), Minna Kleeberg

[1] Cf. the collection of poems by Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika*, p. 242.
[2] Cf. Neeff's collection, p. 156.

(poems), and many others. Under the pseudonym "D. B. Schwerin," Dorothea Böttcher wrote two novels for the "Chicago Freie Presse," called "Der Sohn des Banquiers," and "Die Erbschleicher." Some of her poems were put to music by eminent composers. Kathinka Sutro-Schückling wrote a novel, "Umsonst," published in Baltimore in 1879, which treats the theme of the husband, a poet, married to a beautiful, rich, young wife who has no appreciation of the beauties of art or nature. As in Ludwig Fulda's treatment of the same plot, the tragic realization of their difference in constitution comes to the couple on their honeymoon trip. In the little story of Frau Sutro-Schückling the husband is a European, the wife an American. Within the present time, accompanying the modern movement for improving the position of women, a number of volumes of choice and exquisite poems by women have appeared in Germany, their standard of form and expression being far superior to that of our anthologies of German-American verse. A little volume of this kind, which has received very favorable notices from the severe type of literary criticism that relentlessly keeps pruning the vines in Germany, is one "Fremde und Heimat," Gedichte von Hermine Stueven,[1] who, a native German, is on the teaching staff of Wellesley College. A scholarly and pleasing *feuilletonist* is Amalie von Ende, who, in the columns of the New York "Nation," keeps America informed about the latest phases of contemporary German literature.

Few readers of Scott's "Ivanhoe" have been made aware of the fact that the original of the heroine, Rebecca, was an American woman. She was Rebecca Gratz,[2] of German-

[1] E. Piersons Verlag. Dresden, 1905.

[2] Cf. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. x, p. 130. Rebecca Gratz was born in Philadelphia in 1781 and died in 1869.

Jewish descent, whose family settled very early in Lancaster County, and whose father became a very successful merchant in Philadelphia. The Kentucky branch of the family were patrons of Transylvania University at Lexington. Rebecca Gratz was a woman of uncommon beauty and social accomplishments, and reputed still more highly for her philanthropy. One of the founders of the Philadelphia Orphan Society, she was for more than forty years its secretary, and held the same office in the Hebrew Benevolent Society. She was a worker in many charitable organizations, as the Fuel Society and the Sewing Society of Philadelphia. Her circle of friends was select, including Washington Irving, Henry Clay, the Schuyler and Hoffman families. Mathilde Hoffman, the only love of the author of the "Knickerbocker History," was Rebecca's intimate friend, and this explains Irving's acquaintance with her noble qualities. When Walter Scott was about to write his "Ivanhoe," with an ideal of the Jewish race as the heroine, Irving described his friend to the novelist. Scott sent the first copy of his work to Irving with the question, "How do you like your Rebecca? Does the Rebecca I have pictured compare well with the pattern given?"[1]

In opening avenues for woman's work men of German blood have frequently rendered assistance. Thus it was

[1] Scott derived other descriptions of the Jews from hearsay. He wrote to Mr. Skene, who had given the novelist vivid accounts of the persecution practiced upon the Jews in some German cities: "You will find this book owes not a little to your German reminiscences." Most accurately does a speech of Rebecca's at the close of *Ivanhoe* fit the life of Rebecca Gratz: "Among our people, from the time of Abraham downwards, have been women who have devoted their thoughts to Heaven, and their actions to works of kindness to men, tending the sick, feeding the hungry, and relieving the distressed. Among these will Rebecca be numbered. Say this to thy lord, should he chance to inquire after the fate of her whose life he saved."

upon the suggestion of General Spinner,[1] United States Treasurer under Lincoln, that women were employed for the first time in government offices. It happened during the war, when places made vacant by clerks who enlisted in the army, were filled by women. Prominent as a collector of statistics for the United States Bureau of Labor has been Mary Clare de Graffenried, a descendant of the Baron de Graffenried who brought the first German colonists to North Carolina.[2] She has gathered industrial and sociological data throughout the United States, and in Belgium and France. A pioneer in hospital work was the American woman, Frances Stubbs Pritchard, who in 1859 married the eminent surgeon, Dr. William Tod Helmuth, then in St. Louis, the organizer of the Good Samaritan Hospital. Through the experience derived in this hospital, Frances Helmuth undoubtedly received the inspiration for her subsequent philanthropic work in New York. In 1870 she led the movement that resulted in the foundation of the Flower Hospital; she was for many years the president of the Woman's Guild of the New York Homœopathic and Medical College (to which her husband

[1] Francis E. Spinner was born at German Flats, Herkimer County, New York, in 1802. His father had come to America the year before from Werbach, Baden. The son was a prominent member of the state militia, and for twenty years executive officer of the Mohawk Valley Bank. He was an anti-slavery Democrat elected to the Thirty-fourth Congress; also a member of the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth congresses. In 1861 he was appointed by Lincoln United States Treasurer, and continued in that position until 1875, ending his service without the discrepancy of a penny in his accounts. While a congressman he served on a number of important special committees, on the Army Appropriation Bill which the Senate had rejected in the Thirty-fourth Congress, and on the committee to investigate the assault made by Preston Brooks on Charles Sumner. Cf. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. xii, p. 388. Also, *Encyclopædic Dictionary of American Reference* vol. ii, p. 247.

[2] See Volume I, pp. 212–213.

had been called), and was a leader in the establishment of industrial training for girls under the State. The first woman to receive a medical diploma, Mary Putnam Jacobi, daughter of the publisher, G. P. Putnam, became the wife (1873) of the eminent German surgeon, Abraham Jacobi, in New York, authority on diseases of children. She was the first woman to be admitted to the École de Médecine at Paris (graduated there in 1871), and has been the pioneer as a practitioner in America, and in advancing the medical education of women.

Before the modern era, two types of women have been praised most highly and portrayed most frequently in German literature, the heroic and the domestic. Both are most abundantly represented by the German element in the United States. The history of the American frontier records the brave deed of Elizabeth Zane,[1] who ran the gauntlet of British and Indian rifles to carry in her apron the contents of a keg of powder for the use of the besieged. A monument has been erected in her honor near the site of the deed, in the city of Wheeling. In the Valley of the Mohawk the wife of the frontiersman Christian Schell,[2] at a moment when her husband and boys were reloading, and the Indians thrust the points of their rifles through the walls of the block-house, seized an axe and bent the barrels of the deadly intruders, putting them out of combat. For her courage and coolness at Monmouth, Molly Pitcher[3]

[1] See Volume I, Chapter XIII, p. 419.

[2] See Volume I, Chapter XI, pp. 316–318.

[3] For an account of Moll(y) Pitcher (Maria Ludwig), see Volume I, Chapter XI, pp. 341–342. A few more details may be added here: She was born in Pennsylvania, in 1744, of Palatine ancestry. The *National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. ix, pp. 262–263, states that for her brave deed of handling and firing the deserted cannon at Monmouth and thereby inspiring the men to hold their position at a critical moment, General Greene presented her to General Washington the next day, who appointed Moll Pitcher (not her

received the rank of sergeant on the field of battle at the hands of General Washington. Barbara Frietchie in Whittier's poem stands for numbers of instances when German-American women risked their lives in defense of their country's flag, and the gentlest of women displayed their ability to rouse strong men to deeds of valor, when the Moravian Sisters of Bethlehem embroidered banners[1] for Pulaski's legion, to be carried aloft in the cause of freedom.[2]

The domestic type includes the great majority of German women and their daughters in the United States, and

husband) to the rank of sergeant. She is said to have served in the army eight years, and was placed on the list of half-pay officers. She is also credited with gallantry during the capture by the British of Fort Clinton, on the Hudson, in 1777. The garrison fled in such haste that her husband dropped the lighted torch with which he had been about to fire the cannon. Thereupon she picked it up and sent the last ball fired into the enemy's ranks. In 1822 the Pennsylvania State Legislature granted to Molly Pitcher by special act an annuity of forty dollars semi-annually for life. She died the following year, and was buried with military honors. On her monument at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, her name appears as Mollie McCauley (renowned in history as Molly Pitcher, the Heroine of Monmouth), the latter being the name of her second husband, a worthless subordinate officer (sergeant) who lived on her income. A monument on the battle-field of Monmouth commemorates her in the act of ramming a cannon. She also appears in G. W. Parke Custis's painting, *The Field of Monmouth*. See Volume 1, p. 342, note.

[1] This event has been immortalized in Longfellow's poem: "Hymn of the Moravian Nuns of Bethlehem, at the consecration of Pulaski's Banner," beginning: —

"When the dying flame of day,
Through the chancel shot its ray,"

The cold historical fact seems to have been, that Pulaski ordered one or more banners to be embroidered by the Moravian Sisters, who were accustomed to do artistic needlework to aid in the support of their house. A banner of Pulaski, the handiwork of the nuns of Bethlehem, is preserved by the Maryland Historical Society.

[2] Among women of the heroic type there should be included also Barbara Heck, mentioned above as the founder of Methodism in this country. "Barbara Heck put her brave soul against the rugged possibilities of the future, and throbbed into existence American Methodism." (Bishop Fowler.)

if this were not a fact our country would not be what it is in vigor, population, and the bed-rock civilization that comes from home training. Historically the emphasis laid upon the household arts, as cooking, sewing, care of the house and children, by so large a formative element of the population from the earliest period of German immigrations to the present time, cannot have resulted otherwise than in impressing the economic advantage of the principle and furnishing an example for imitation. German women have contributed far more to the greatness of the German race than is recorded in history; the superstructure is that which attracts attention, yet the security comes from the foundation of the building. "What every woman knows," is not unknown to the German woman, namely, that she is the making of her pompous, egotistic lord. The clever woman has a sense of humor, the loving a heart full of charity, and the noble woman a sense of duty helping her to make the sacrifice of subordination for the welfare of her race.

(7) *German traits*

The Germans in the United States have furnished an example of the humbler virtues which constitute, nevertheless, the backbone of good citizenship, such as respect for the law, honesty and promptness in the discharge of business obligations, dogged persistence, industry, and economy. Their respect for the law, and for the officers that represent it, is inbred with them, an inheritance due to conditions in the Fatherland. The German immigrant is as greatly shocked by the evasion of the law as the native American is frequently amused at its observance by the newcomer. Wherever the Germans have settled in large numbers, the community has received a peculiar stamp which makes for the observance of law and order, and the

virtues that produce prosperous homes. Such is the testimony of Benjamin Rush, cited repeatedly before. The Texas Germans, settled in the region of New Braunfels and San Antonio, in Corral, Gillespie, and Medina counties, "have a state reputation as a law-abiding community." [1] In regard to the people of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, who have even longer upheld a reputation for being orderly and law-abiding, the writer picked up an interesting comment while traveling in that region during the past year. A detective, whose business it was to catch thieves among the trolley conductors, declared that it was his experience that in Lancaster County he found fewer thieves than anywhere else in his large circuit. In North Carolina in the eighteenth century, we find the agricultural Germans making a similar record of moral citizenship. In the reminiscences of the Reverend Arnold Roschen, we find: "The Reverend Storch and I recently passed by the court-house in Salisbury, at the moment when a man was standing in the pillory. A German called to us to stop a while and see how the Americans punished rogues and thieves. Upon my asking him, the criminal is

[1] Ex-President Roosevelt commended them on this reputation some few years ago on a trip through Texas. Mr. Alfred H. Stone, author of *Studies in the American Race Problem*, with an introduction and three papers by W. F. Willcox (New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1908), called the writer's attention to this fact and also the following: Though the people of New Braunfels are exemplary as law-abiding citizens, on the race question they stand as other Southern people do. A case of rape occurred in New Braunfels shortly after President Roosevelt's visit. The case was that of a German child, the four-year-old daughter of William Karbach, a German farmer on the outskirts of the town. The outrage was committed by a negro, Sam Green, sixteen years old. The Germans are said to have turned out in full force, and the negro was shot while in his cell by the mob, who were unable to effect an entrance. The negro was in the employ of Karbach at the time of the crime. The shooting is said to have been done by the people of New Braunfels, and the mayor, a German, to have been at heart in sympathy with the lynchers.

certainly not a German? — I received the literally true reply: 'Never has a German stood in the pillory in Salisbury; nor has ever a German been hung in this place.'"[1] Dr. Rush speaks as highly of the Pennsylvania-Germans: "Such has been the influence of pious education among the German Lutherans in Pennsylvania, that in the course of nineteen years only one of them has ever been brought to a place of public shame or punishment."[2]

The German pays his debts. Honesty is the virtue which is the foundation of all business enterprise. The German tradesman, mechanic, and agriculturist possessed this quality from the earliest period. Again Dr. Rush brings testimony: "They are industrious, frugal, punctual, and just. As merchants they are candid and punctual." "The Bank of North America has witnessed, from its first institution, their fidelity to all their pecuniary engagements." Among the early Pennsylvania-Germans, Christopher Ludwig, the superintendent of bakers for the Continental armies of the Revolutionary War, is on record as the original anti-grafter. When he was required to furnish only one hundred pounds of bread out of one hundred pounds of flour, as his predecessors had done, he declared that he did not wish to grow rich at the expense of the government. Out of one hundred pounds of flour one hundred and thirty-five pounds of bread could be baked (because of the weight of the added water), and that is what he proposed to do. He carried out his purpose, although all his predecessors had furnished but one hundred pounds of bread out of the same weight of flour. "The honest friend" of Wash-

[1] Cf. Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, p. 332.

[2] Cf. Benjamin Rush, *Essays* (*An account of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania*), pp. 235–237.

ington was a tower of moral strength in his generation. A modern instance of honesty in high financial transactions is furnished by the house of Middendorf and Company, of Baltimore, the founder of which, J. William Middendorf, is of German parentage. A few years ago there appeared in a Baltimore paper[1] an account of the settlement in full of the debt of the two banking firms, J. W. Middendorf and Company of Baltimore, and J. L. Williams and Sons of Richmond, Virginia. These two firms had engaged in large enterprises for the development of the South, and unexpectedly found their capital locked up, so that they needed an extension of credit. The debts of the two firms amounted at the time to twelve million dollars. They declared to their creditors that if given time they would settle for every penny, with interest. "It is easily conceivable how these two firms with great profit to themselves could have wound up their affairs quickly, their creditors meeting a heavy loss, and the only public comment being 'it was nothing more than the chances of business.'" Such are the daily occurrences in high finance; but within less than two years the firm accomplished all they had promised, and if at the close they did not themselves get any of the spoils, they at least gained a reputation for integrity, and they proved their ability under trying circumstances, which is equal to a capital of a dozen millions. This old-fashioned business honesty, the editorial writer is proud to call typically representative of his city. It is just as typical of the German tradition. One of the most noted cases of model financiering was that of Francis E. Spinner, appointed United States Treasurer in 1861 by President Lincoln, serving through the entire critical period of the Civil War, and then ten years more, and when, in 1875,

[1] *The Baltimore Evening News*, May 2, 1905.

he resigned his post as Treasurer, his accounts were absolutely clean to the last penny. Spinner was a son of the Mohawk Germans.[1] Many of the great German merchant princes gained the enviable reputation of spotless integrity in all their business dealings, typical in which class was John Jacob Astor and his son, William B. Astor, both of whom also were modest in their habits of life and were very fond of books and study.[2]

Professor F. J. Turner [3] gives as one of the influences of the German element, that "they have infused into the American stock and society a conservatism and sturdy persistence and solidity useful in moderating the nervous energy of the native Americans." The German, as farmer, mechanic, or business man, sticks to his colors; he is persistent, win or lose, in his particular profession; he continues in his devotion to it, either reaching the goal or dying in the attempt. This characteristic has been noted by the author, Charles Sealsfield, an acute and sympathetic observer of conditions in America between 1820 and 1827. In his German work on North America, he compares the American merchant with the European: "The American does not, like the Dutch or the German, break a new road and then keep on, even though the beginning does not promise good returns. As a tradesman he is an adventurer. I know more than fifty merchants, mostly Germans, who, by being satisfied with small profits in the beginning, have become rich. The American, on the contrary, will abandon any line of trade if he does not see immediate and large

[1] It was shown above that the Treasurer of the Southern Confederacy was also of German blood, viz., C. G. Memminger, born in Würtemberg. He likewise made an excellent record. Cf. *ante*, p. 180.

[2] Washington Irving was an intimate friend of John Jacob Astor. The poet Fitz-Greene Halleck was his secretary for seventeen years.

[3] *The Chicago Record-Herald*, September 4, 1901.

returns. He will jump from one thing to another. The German sticks to his trade and frequently also if he goes to ruin in it. In America, however, he generally succeeds in it, because through patience he can overcome the native competition."[1] The quality exhibited is the German stick-to-itiveness. It may be said also that on the one hand the object is to make money, and on the other it is not merely that, but also to advance the trade, to serve the guild, and to improve the methods of a particular branch of business.

Above all things the German loves his work. He is not forever exercising his ingenuity as to how he may do the least work for the most pay, or escape work altogether, but he plunges in and enjoys his work, knowing the force of the proverb, "Arbeit macht das Leben süss." So large a part of our native population of the laboring class do not understand that work gives strength, and they applaud themselves for their "smartness" if they can steal an hour from their employers, or stand idly by when the foreigner works. The writer, after residing in several sections of the country widely distant from one another, thinks he can safely generalize, and ventures to state his opinion, that where there is a very small or no German element in the population, it is harder to get any work[2] done, and it is far more difficult to get work done well. The German is satisfied to do his best in a humble occupation, and this applies both to men and to women. Dr. Rush tells us that the Pennsylvania-German brought up his children in the love of work, a tradition that has been kept up by the

[1] *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, nach ihrem politischen, religiösen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse betrachtet.* Von C. Sidons (Charles Sealsfield), vol. i, p. 158. (1827.)

[2] Such work as carpentering, building, tailoring, baking, laundering, and the like ; also day-labor and house-service.

nineteenth-century immigration. Many German business men of the present day, with an ambition to continue their house through another generation, put their sons through a vigorous apprenticeship, starting them at the lowest rung of the ladder, and insisting on industry and punctuality, and a thorough acquaintance with every detail of the business.

The sense of duty is inborn in the German, though he be unacquainted with the philosophy of Kant. It is a force within him as potent as the voice of conscience, and just as exacting. It keeps him at his work, forces him to respect law and authority, and frequently impels him to make sacrifices in which he loses all consideration of self. We need not go back for a host of historical examples when the present time can furnish abundant illustrations. When Senator Foelker at the risk of his life cast the deciding vote at Albany against race-track gambling, he was simply doing his duty as he saw it. A student of Cornell University, Oliver L. Schmuck, of Pennsylvania-German stock, went back into a burning building (the Chi Psi Fraternity House) to save the life of a comrade, and perished in the flames. Chief Kruger, for many years head of the New York City fire corps, lost his life in battle with fire and smoke. Henry Maurer, a Mennonite missionary from Indiana, was killed by Turkish bullets at Adana, Asia Minor, in the attempt to save the property and lives of others.

The German has furnished and continues to furnish an example of simple life and of home life. An eloquent advocate of the simple life (of German birth), has recently published a book on the subject.[1] The German is economical and thrifty, and has shown that plain living is conducive

[1] Charles Wagner, *The Simple Life.* (McClure, 1904.)

to health and progress. The middle-class German is fond of home life, and takes his family with him in pursuit of simple pleasures. With excellent good-humor even the cultivated German has frequently accepted the conditions of plainest living until his estate might improve. Charles Leland's comments upon this trait have already been noted.[1] Frederick Law Olmsted, in his Southern travels just before the War, made the following observations on the Texas Germans: "There is something extremely striking in the temporary incongruities and bizarre contrasts of these [German] backwoods settlers. You are welcomed by a figure in blue flannel shirt and pendant beard, quoting Tacitus; Madonnas on log walls; coffee in tin cups upon Dresden saucers; barrels for seats to hear a Beethoven symphony on the grand piano; 'my wife made these pantaloons and my stockings grew in the field yonder'; a bookcase half filled with classics, half with sweet potatoes."[2]

A strong trait of the German is his individualism. It is seen in his independence in politics, his particularism in religion, his agitation for personal liberty. He has no feeble fear of what his neighbors think of him, nor does he care to conform for the sake of conformity to the common pattern of wearing-apparel and social form. This trait may frequently lead to excess, to isolation, or to lack of coöperation, but it is also an excellent bar against the crushing of the individual by commonplace democratic standards. It is invaluable as the "infusion of German

[1] See *ante*, Chapter VII (Literature).

[2] F. L. Olmsted, *A Journey through Texas, or a Saddle-trip on the Southwest Frontier*, p. 430. (New York, Mason Brothers, 1859.) Olmsted estimates that there were about thirty-five thousand Germans in the whole of Texas at the time, twenty-five thousand in Western Texas. His description of their abolitionist attitude is very interesting.

sturdiness and conservatism moderating the nervous energy of the native Americans."

Lastly the trait of idealism should receive a word of comment. It has probably received more attention than any other characteristic of the Germans, in books that have been written in hot haste, and speeches that have been made after dinner. Idealism is the heritage of the German through his literature, philosophy, and religion. In America, the German was met halfway by the idealism of the Puritanic element, and the two combined have created some of the grandest institutions of the country, colleges and universities, music and fine arts. Heretofore perhaps the idealism of the American has necessarily been directed toward the development of the great resources of the country; the German element also has large numbers of representatives among the captains of industry. The idealism, however, which has acted as a social influence through the German element, and which should therefore be most appreciated, is that which has diverted attention from material things to those which make life more beautiful and joyous. That idealism has been well defined by an American who has carefully studied the German here and abroad, and twice represented the American nation in the home of the Germans:[1] "The dominant idea is, as I understand it, that the ultimate end of a great modern nation is something besides manufacturing, or carrying, or buying or selling products; that art, literature, science, and thought, in its highest flights and widest ranges, are greater and more important; and that highest of all — is the one growth for which all wealth exists — is the higher and better development of man, not merely as a planner or a

[1] Cf. A. D. White, *Some Practical Influences of German Thought upon the United States*, p. 12.

worker, or a carrier, or a buyer or seller, but as a *man*. In no land has this idea penetrated more deeply than in Germany, and it is this idea which should penetrate more and more American thought and practice."[1] Emblematic of the spirit of kinship between the German and the American people was the enthusiastic reception given Prince Henry of Prussia on his visit to the United States in 1902. His coming was a message of one Germanic nation to another, denoting friendship, peace, and goodwill, and was accepted with the cordiality that had prompted it.

Recapitulating what has been brought forward in the present chapter on the social and moral influence of the German element, it has been shown that, in addition to a large share in the introduction of music and the fine arts in the United States, the Germans have exerted themselves to impress upon the American people the joy of living, giving greater prominence to merrymaking, festivals, and the Christmas celebration. They have insisted on the care of the body, with needed food and drink, and introduced gymnastic exercises in schools and also in social clubs called "Turnvereine"; medical care of the body was provided by German physicians, who from the earliest period have been prominent in the medical history of our country. In every city with a large German population there has existed an independent social life among

[1] Germany's ideals of the present have not declined. They have been defined by no one better than by Professor Kuno Francke (in *German Ideals of To-day*, p. 50), as follows: "Social justice as the controlling force in the development of political institutions, social efficiency as the goal of education, universal sympathy with life as the guiding principle of literature and art — this is a triad of uplifting motives which cannot help stimulating every constructive energy, every power of good, contained in the nation."

the Germans. Throughout their history in the United States the Germans have been a religious people or thinkers on religion. Several large denominations have been founded by them, others have been strengthened by their large membership, and the liberal movements in American churches have been under the influence of German theology. German-American philanthropists have bestowed money and energy upon educational and benevolent institutions, and German-American women have had able representatives in literature, music, art, and philanthropy.

The German traits are such as to unite the various formative elements of the American people more securely and harmoniously. In common with the English stock of New England, the German is inspired with idealism, the origin of education, music, and art; he shares with the Scot a stern conscience and a keen sense of duty; he touches the Irish with his emotional nature, his joy of living, and his sense of humor; and, thus linking the great national elements together, the German provides the backbone, with the physical and mental qualities of vigor, sturdiness, and vitality, and the moral tone of genuineness, virility, and aspiration.

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Zauberbühler (Zuberbühler), Sebastian, as Waldo's agent, I, 249.
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Zenger, Peter, as founder of first independent political newspaper in New York, II, 155; influence of, on journalism, II, 373.
Zeppelin, Count Ferdinand, services of, I, 562; aeronaut, II, 86.
Zerrahn, Carl, a conductor of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston, II, 258.
Zettler, Louis, as benefactor, II, 443.
Ziegler, Gen. David, career and services of, I, 332; commanding Fort Washington during St. Clair's absence, I, 409; earlier service, I, 410; jealousy and intrigues against, I, 410, 411; mayor of Cincinnati, I, 411.
Ziegler, William, merchant and inventor, II, 67; as benefactor, II, 445.
Ziegenhagen, Rev. F. M., petitioned by Lutherans, I, 117; relation to Salzburgers, I, 235, 242.
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Zimmerman, William, introduces English language into German service, I, 183.
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Zimmermann, Magister Johann Jacob, belief in millennium, I, 48.
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Zweibrücken (Deux Ponts), Prinz Wilhelm von, I, 345, 346–347.

APPENDIX

TO BOTH VOLUMES

All the new material contained in this edition has been brought together in the following pages. It has been arranged in the form of Notes to the foregoing chapters of both volumes. The number in the margin at the left denotes the page of the text to which they refer. The Notes in the *Appendix* should be read in connection with the pages indicated, since they not only amplify, but frequently revise the subject matter, and they always attempt by references to more recent investigations or publications to bring the work up to date.

An Index at the close covers the new materials of the *Appendix*, and occasionally refers also to the body of the book. The *General Index* (II, pp. 565–605), and the *Bibliography* (II, pp. 479–562), together with the *New Index* at the end of the book, should all be consulted by those in search of a particular name or subject.

The best collections of books on the Germans in the United States are the following: That of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; the German Society of Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia; the New York Public Library (476 Fifth Ave., N.Y.), of the very first rank mainly by the efforts of Richard E. Helbig; the Rattermann Collection at the University of Illinois; the Zimmermann library at the Lincoln (Germania) Club in Chicago; the collections at the library of the Missouri Historical Society; the Carnegie Library at Pittsburgh; and the Buffalo Public Library. The librarians at all of these places wish to encourage gifts of books, journals, letters and manuscripts relating to the history of the Germans in the United States, for only through coöperation can these collections grow to greater usefulness.

In the following pages certain works of reference relating to the German element, which owing to their importance are cited very frequently, are for convenience referred to with abbreviated titles, as follows:

D. P.: *Der deutsche Pionier*, 1869–1887. (Rattermann, etc., ed.)
A. G.: *Americana Germanica*, 1897–1902. (Learned, ed.)
A. G. Mon. Ser.: *Americana Germanica Monograph Series*, nos. 1–35.
G. A. Annals: *German American Annals*, 1903–1919. (Learned, ed.)
Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill.: *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois* (Fortsetzung der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Geschichtsblätter). Chicago, Illinois. 1912–1923. Herausgegeben von Julius Goebel.
Learned's Guide: *Guide to the Manuscript Materials Relating to American History in the German State Archives.* By M. D. Learned. Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1912.
Faust's Guide: *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives.* By A. B. Faust. Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1916.
Am. Hist. Rev.: *The American Historical Review.* Issued quarterly. Managing Editor: J. Franklin Jameson. The Macmillan Co.
Who's Who: *Who's Who in America.* A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women of the United States. Founded 1899. Revised biennially. Chicago: The A. N. Marquis Company.
References to this work, i.e. *The German Element in the United States*, will be given without title, numerals indicating volume and page, thus: Lieber II, 163, means that (Francis) Lieber is referred to in Volume II, at page 163.

VOLUME I

Chapter I (Earliest Germans)

5. Waldseemüller. A claim has been made that the poet *Matthias Ringmann* and not the scientist Martin Waldseemüller was the originator of the name *America* for the new continent. Matthias Ringmann (the name seems to imply German blood) was born not far from Schlettstadt in Alsatia, in the borderland between the German and French nations. He belonged to the humanistic circle at St. Dié, where the *Cosmographiae Introductio* had its origin.

The theory claims that Waldseemüller had the introductions to several of his maps written by his friend Ringmann. The assumption is made that Ringmann and not Waldseemüller was the real admirer of Vespucci, that Waldseemüller regarded Columbus as the first, Vespucci as only the third discoverer of America, and in later maps dropped the name *America*. The name *America* it is claimed could only have sprung from the brain of a poet (going back to Gothic *Amalreiks*, *amal*, *ric*) and its beautiful sound fascinated later cosmographers, appearing as a fitting companion of Asia, Europe, Africa.

If Waldseemüller later looked upon Columbus as the greater discoverer, it is a proof of his intelligence. However, the earlier publications of the name *America* in his work produced the lasting effect. The theory about Ringmann must receive a firmer basis before it can be accepted.

6. Tyrker. It must be remembered that the personality of Tyrker is legendary, and that the saga wherein he appears is considered least capable of being regarded as accurate historical narrative. This saga is the *Graenlendinga Thattr*, which Professor Gustav Storm (cf. *Memoirs de la Société des Antiquitaires du Nord, N. S. 1888*) regards as untrustworthy and he views the Tyrker episode as an interpolation. However, the fact that Tyrker (Dietrich, Dirk) appears in tradition points to the fact that Germans were omnipresent. Cf. also: M. L. Fernald: *Notes on the Plants of Wineland the Good.* (Rhodora, vol. 12, no. 134, Feb. 1910.) Storm makes a good case for Nova Scotia, Fernald places Wineland farther north, in Labrador, and declares the wineberry to be a kind of currant frequently used for making wine in northern lands. For a more recent attempt to locate Wineland, see: *The Wineland Voyages: A few suggestions*, by Halldor Hermannsson. The Geographical Review, vol. xvii, no. 1, January 1927, pp. 107–114.

10. Minuit, Minnewit. The record of the birth of Peter Minnewit has not been found, in spite of repeated search. There is nothing to contradict the tradition that he was born at Wesel on the lower Rhine, in Rhenish Prussia, where his father was pastor of a Protestant church. It is claimed this was a Walloon church (cf. *The Story of the Walloons*,

by W. E. Griffis, Boston, 1923, p. 164 f.), and that the ancestry of Minuit was Belgic, i.e., Celtic, not Germanic. It is true that Wesel, then in the Duchy of Cleves, a Low-German principality, was a place of refuge for Protestants from the Netherlands, including Walloons and Flemish, who fled from the persecutions of the Duke of Alva. Mixed blood is therefore a strong probability in the versatile personality of Peter Minnewit. To the German city of Wesel belongs at least the credit of hospitality furnished to a large number of refugees who later energetically took part in the early settlements on the Atlantic coast.

13. Johann Printz. A tradition says that 54 families came with the new governor, among whom were Swedes, Dutch and many Germans from Pommerania, then a Swedish province.

Amandus Johnson in *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*, 1638–1664 (A. G. Mon. Ser., no. 13, 2 vols. 1911) claims the Germans in New Sweden were mostly soldiers of the garrisons.

Cf. also: Thomas Campanius Holm's account of New Sweden, and that of Acrelius, in *Memoirs* of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, vols. III and XI respectively.

LEISLER. In 1911 two young oak trees presented by the city of Frankfurt-on-the-Main, Leisler's birthplace, were planted in City Hall Park, New York, in memory of the first people's governor of that colony. This celebration awakened renewed interest in the character of the man, his cause, martyrdom and origin. Among the pamphlets that appeared may be named that of Albert J. W. Kern: *Jakob Leisler. Weiterausführung der Festrede gehalten am 23. April 1911 im City Hall Park.* Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1913, pp. 149–179. (A good bibliography at the end.)

There can be no question about the birthplace of Jacob Leisler. The date of his baptism is recorded in the City Archive (Stadtarchiv) of the city of Frankfurt as: Tuesday, March 31, 1640. (T a u f b u c h 1630 bis 1644, fol. 129.) The father's name is Jacob Victorius (Victorian) Leyssler, (Leuszler, Leisler), his mother named Susanna; godfather: Jacob Grosshans, Doctor of Laws and attorney in Frank-

furt. The father was pastor of the Dutch and French Reformed Church in Bockenheim, suburb of Frankfurt, became a naturalized citizen of Frankfurt in 1638 (20. Nov.) when he was called to this church from Frankenthal in the Bavarian Palatinate (not far from Mannheim, Baden). His father being a naturalized citizen of Frankfurt, and he himself born in that city, Jacob Leisler unquestionably belongs to the German element. The name Leissler is not infrequent in Germany. With astonishing reasoning the work cited above (*The Story of the Walloons*, p. 236 f.), makes of Leisler a Walloon. There is no basis for such an assumption but there is a probability of Huguenot blood in the ancestry of Leisler, since his forefathers at one time lived in Oetingen, just across the border in Lorraine (now in French possession). The location of a monument to Leisler at New Rochelle, originally a Huguenot settlement, is therefore not altogether inappropriate, though New York City, where Jacob Leisler labored and died, would have been historically a more fitting place.

26. Otto Lohr, *First Germans in North America and the German Element of New Netherland* (G. E. Stechert & Co., N. Y., 1912, 15 pp.) pp. 10–11 estimates the German stock among the original settlers of Manhattan at about one fourth to one fifth of the total population prior to 1664. His work on the oldest church records of New York seems quite convincing and corrects some of the estimates of Ruth Putnam. Lohr also discovers in Heinrich Christiansen (from the German city of Cleves) the first German as well as first white settler within the limits of present New York State. "He continued and completed the work begun by Hendrik Hudson — being the explorer (not discoverer) of the Hudson river territory."

In a subsequent pamphlet: *A Brief Review of the Achievements of German Nationals in the Early Days of American Colonization.* (The Period from 1564 to 1682 inclusive). By Otto Lohr. The Concord Society, Hist. Bulletin no. 1, May 1923 (8 pp.); the author restates most of the points made in the earlier work without repeating the proofs. Cf. also: *Die Anfänge deutscher Einwanderung in Nordamerika.* Von Otto Lohr. Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1912, pp. 499–509.

Chapter II

43. Pastorius. Professor Learned's Pastorius studies that had appeared in G. A. Annals, he collected later in the documentary biography: *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius. The Founder of Germantown.* Illustrated. By Marion D. Learned. Philadelphia (Wm. J. Campbell) 1908.

Chapters III–IV

60. Cf. *Briefe deutscher Auswanderer aus dem Jahre 1709.* Herausgegeben von Julius Goebel. Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1912, pp. 124–189.

Neue Dokumente zur Geschichte der Massenauswanderung im Jahre 1709. Herausgegeben von Julius Goebel. Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1913, pp. 181–201.

Pennsylvanien im 17ten Jahrhundert und die ausgewanderten Pfälzer in England. Von Emil Heuser. Neustadt a. d. Hardt, 1910.

61f. The archives of Switzerland contain a large amount of material on the Swiss emigration of the 18th century, which applies exactly to conditions in Germany also. The attempt of Swiss governments to restrict or prevent emigration corresponds to the attitude of South German countries when the danger of depopulation by emigration seemed imminent. After realizing the impossibility of prevention, and even advantages in the release of certain elements in overpopulated districts, a more lenient policy was pursued, until in the 19th century emigrant agencies were licensed and regulated. The agents of the eighteenth century, the so-called "Newlanders" (*Neuländer*), and their proscribed activities appear in a new light as a result of investigations in the Swiss archives. Cf. *Swiss Emigration to the American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century.* By A. B. Faust. American Hist. Rev., vol. xxii, no. 1, pp. 21–41, and *Documents*, pp. 98–132, October 1916. Also: *Lists of Swiss Emigrants in the Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies*, vol. i, Zurich, 1734–44. Edited by A. B. Faust. 1920. Vol. ii. *Bern 1706–1795; Basel 1734–1794.* Edited by A. B. Faust, and G. M. Brumbaugh, 1925. Both volumes publ. by the National Genealogical Society, Washington, D. C.

72. Descriptive works. For the whole field, research work has received an important aid through the *Guides to European Archives*, published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington; for the German countries especially the following works:

GUIDE to the *Manuscript Materials Relating to American History in the* GERMAN STATE ARCHIVES. By Marion Dexter Learned. Washington, D. C. Publ. by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1912; pp. VII, 352.

GUIDE to the *Materials for American History in* SWISS *and* AUSTRIAN ARCHIVES. By Albert B. Faust, Washington, D. C. Publ. by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1916, pp. VII, 299.

A fitting companion piece to the work of the Swedish traveler PETER KALM, *Travels in North America* (London, 2nd edition, 1772), is the work of J. D. SCHOEPF (see *Bibliography*, II, 547) of which an excellent version in English is now available: *Travels in the Confederation (1783–1784) from the German of Johannes David Schoepf*: Translated and edited by Alfred J. Morrison. Philadelphia (Wm. J. Campbell) 1911. Dr. Schoepf was born in Wunsiedel, Bavaria. After a university education in medicine and natural sciences he served as surgeon to the Anspach troops in the British army, 1777–1784 (see I, 355). After this he spent two years of travel and study mainly in the Middle and Southern states including Florida, which he describes as accurately and interestingly as Kalm had done the middle and northern sections. Having a thorough command of the English language, Schoepf was able to gain much by personal intercourse, and he describes the American people as much in detail as the flora and fauna. Many references to the German settlers are found in these volumes, and they corroborate what is said of the location of the Germans in the eighteenth century in chapters V–IX of Part I of this book. An interesting reference to indentured servants, Irish as compared with German, can be found in Morrison's version of Schoepf, vol. I, pp. 339–340.

Chapter V

146. Early printing. Two excellent monographs have followed Oswald Seidensticker's pioneer work: *The First Century of German Printing in America 1728–1830.* (See *Bibliography*, II, 549.) They are:

Early German American Newspapers. By Daniel Miller. Lancaster, Pa., 1911. (Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings.) The monograph is illustrated and therein lies a special value.

Social Conditions among the Pennsylvania Germans of the Eighteenth Century as revealed in the German Newspapers Published in America. By James Owen Knauss, Jr. Lancaster, Pa., 1922. Published by the Pennsylvania German Society. The contrast between the journalistic style of Christopher Saur and that of the ardent revolutionist Henry Miller is well brought out. Miller's *Staatsbote* was the first Philadelphia newspaper (or anywhere) to announce the *Declaration of Independence*, viz.: in the issue of Friday, July 5, 1776, that came out a day sooner than other Philadelphia papers, which were issued Saturdays. His words were: "*Gestern hat der Achtbare Congresz dieses Vesten Landes die Vereinigten Colonien Freye und Unabhängige Staaten erkläret.*" In the next issue, which came out the following Tuesday, he published the complete text of the Declaration in the German language. The English papers, not having to translate it, got it out earlier (see p. 156). Knauss gives us a complete list of all papers printed in the German language during the 18th century. There were 38 between 1732 and 1800, not all existing at any one time. He tells us also what issues have survived to the present day, and where, i.e., in what libraries or collections, they may be seen.

There appeared an interesting sketch of an early German printer, named *Justus Fox.* See *Justus Fox, A German Printer of the Eighteenth Century.* By Charles Lemuel Nichols. Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1915. Worcester, Mass. Fox or Fuchs was born in Mannheim 1736, came to America in 1750, was apprentice, then assistant to Christopher Saur the Elder and also to the Younger. He invented a lamp black for printing-purposes

which had a special name because of its excellence, "the Germantown Black." He supplied with printers' ink Philadelphia and all the southern colonies. There was a father and son, and "these added a leaf to the wreath of Germantown" (Pennsylvania Hist. Mag., vol. VI, p. 131). They were also type-casters, designers in wood engraving, apothecaries and surgeons — men of eleven trades, it was said.

Chapter VI

154. Rockefeller. For the derivation of the name Rockefeller from the town-name Rockenfeld, see *The Progressive*, vol. X, no. 6 (Jan. 1, 1927), pp. 146, 147, 149. Certain genealogists claim to be able to furnish proofs of the descent of Johann Peter Rockefeller, who came from Germany early in the 18th century, from the Rocquefeuille family of Southern France, Huguenots, who supposedly spent only a short time in Germany.

161–163. Maryland, early settlers. Augustin Herman — He is claimed by the Slavic as well as the German element as their own. See Emily G. Balch: *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens.* (N.Y. Charities Publ. Com., 1910.)

The matter is taken for granted by this author because Herman was born in Prague. It must be remembered, however, that 35 per cent of the population of Bohemia is German, and that the city of Prague throughout its history had a large German contingent in its population. For German blood the following circumstances speak: The German name Herman; his being a cosmographer, for he drew the best map of Maryland that was ever drawn of any colony up to that date (one of these maps is preserved in the Grenville Library of the British Museum, and the other in the State Archives in Richmond, Va.); again his portrait shows a Teutonic face; and finally his associates were Dutch or German. All of this circumstantial evidence points in the one direction. There are descendants of Augustin Herman living in Chestertown, Maryland, who may some time solve this question of their ancestor's national stock.

Bomberger. Lawrence Bomberger (or Bromberger) said to have descended from a German family that furnished a

long line of statesmen, received three grants from Lord Baltimore, among them "Blue Rock," granted July 1, 1758. He owned two wharves in the city of Baltimore, sold for taxes, his descendants neglecting to pay at the proper time. Descendants are still living. See the Baltimore Sun, Sunday, Sept. 27, 1925. Dr. Charles Frederick WIESENTHAL (see II, 399–400) is mentioned in Schoepf's *Travels in the Confederation*, op. cit. I, 340, as a distinguished citizen of Baltimore in 1784 and one of the oldest inhabitants.

Catonsville Biographies. By George C. Keidel. 1915 and 1921. Catonsville Argus, July 17–November 13, 1915. New Series in Maryland Historical Magazine. By the same author: Dr. Abram Paschal Garber. *A Biographical Sketch.* Lancaster, Pa. (The *A. P. Garber Herbarium* was acquired by Franklin and Marshall College.)

Maryland Records, Colonial, Revolutionary, County and Church. Vol. I, 1915. By G. M. Brumbaugh. Vol. II. 1924. By Brumbaugh and Hodges.

173f. WELLINGTON. Among families in Western Maryland as elsewhere, many have changed their names in such a way as to allow no possibility of recognizing German origin. A conspicuous example is that of Senator George Louis Wellington, born in Cumberland, Md., 1852. Self-educated he went to work at the age of 12, as clerk in a bank of his native city. He soon became prominent as a financier and as a manufacturer (Wellington Glass Works, Potomac Glass Works, Pres. Citizens' Nat. Bank, German Savings Bank, Cumberland Electric Railway, etc.). He was also very prominent in politics: Delegate Rep. Nat. Convention, 1884, 1888; Ass't Treas. U.S. in Baltimore, 1890–93; Member 54th Congress, 1895–97, 6th Md. district; U.S. Senator, 1897–1903. Senator Wellington's parents were immigrants from Baden. "Their name was *Weissgerber*. The father was a humble track worker on the B. & O. R.R. What possessed the father when he was naturalized to borrow the English name Wellington is beyond me. The parents were not many years in America when their son George Ludwig was born. The only school he ever attended was the parochial school of the German Lutheran Church of Cumberland. In his early life he was a prominent worker in the Sunday

School and Young People's Societies of that church, and there no doubt laid the foundation of his future career of leadership and remarkable eloquence. He spoke the German language like a native of Germany. His brother and sisters also were of a marked intellectual superiority. So I imagine his father somewhat in the rôle of the father of Martin Luther. Wellington was a remarkable man and but for his unfortunate falling out with McKinley would have continued to rise (this was no discredit to Wellington). In spite of the English name which the father had chosen possibly in some freakish mood, George Louis Wellington was always proud of his German blood." (Letters to the author, of Rev. L. S. Braren, Jamaica, L.I., who was pastor of the old Lutheran Church in Cumberland from 1901–11, and observed the career of this remarkable man. Letters dated March 22, and April 7, 1927. Senator Wellington died in March, 1927.)

Chapter VII

178. Wayland's studies in the Virginia Magazine (vols. IX, X), *The Germans in the Valley*, are now more accessible in book form: *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia.* By John Walter Wayland. Charlottesville, Va., 1907. Pp. XI, 272, and bibliography of 35 pp. By the same author appeared: *A History of Rockingham County, Virginia.* Dayton, 1912. Pp. 466.

190. Shepherdstown. Cf. *Historic Shepherdstown*, By Mrs. Danske Dandridge. (Privately printed.)

Chapter VIII

212f. A very good account in English of Graffenried's colony and the historical background was written by Vincent H. Todd: *Christoph von Graffenried and the Founding of New Bern, N.C.* Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1912, pp. 1–124.

The Graffenried Manuscripts in the possession of W. F. von Mülinen, Bern, Switzerland, were printed as follows: *The Graffenried Manuscripts* (a general description of three manuscripts, called A. B. and C. and a literal printing of B.,

the German manuscript, for the first time), G. A. Annals, vol. 11, nos. 5–6, pp. 205–312, Sept.–Dec., 1913. *The Graffenried Manuscript C.* (this is the longest, the French manuscript, printed here for the first time), G. A. Annals, vol. 12, nos. 2–5, pp. 63–190. March–October, 1914. (With the original illustrations.) The Manuscript A., in the Library of Yverdun (no. 2110), Switzerland, was published in a literal English translation in the *Colonial Records of North Carolina* (1886), vol. I, pp. 905–985.

Learned's *Guide to the German State Archives*, and Faust's *Guide to the Swiss and Austrian Archives*, may also be consulted for eighteenth century immigration to the Carolinas (*die Insel Carolina*, as that distant place, supposedly a West Indian Island, was generally called).

231f. The Moravians of North Carolina.

We are very fortunate in possessing a rare enrichment of historical materials, giving the history of the Moravian settlements in North Carolina, the affairs and doctrines of the early church, diaries, memorabilia, etc., drawn from the carefully kept records in the archives of the Moravian church in North Carolina. A series of volumes is being published with painstaking care, in the English language, a translation from the original German. The three volumes so far issued carry the narrative as far as the year 1779, and furnish us not only with materials concerning the church, but also give us an intimate view of the life of the times. They are entitled: *Records of the Moravian Church in North Carolina. Edited by Adelaide L. Fries, M.A., Archivist of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province.* Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission. Raleigh, N. C., vol. I, 1752–1771 (publ. 1922); vol. II, 1752–1775 (publ. 1925); vol. III, 1776–1779 (publ. 1926). More volumes are to follow.

Chapters IX–X

237. Salzburgers. An important monograph on the Salzburgers in Georgia has appeared abroad and is not generally known: *Die Ansiedlung der Salzburger im Staate Georgien in Nordamerika.* Von. A. Prinzinger. In *Mitteilungen der Gesell-*

schaft für Salzburger Landeskunde, XXII. Vereinsjahr, pp. 1–36. Salzburg, 1882.

248. New England. WALDO. The German origin of this family has been denied by a member of the Waldo family, who refers to a genealogical work by Waldo Lincoln of Worcester, Mass. *Genealogy of the Waldo Family.* This work connects Samuel Waldo with a grandfather Cornelius Waldo of Ipswich and Chelmsford, Mass. This Cornelius "was born about 1624, probably in England, died Jan. 3, 1700, at Chelmsford, Mass." There is, however, no certainty that this Cornelius Waldo was born in England, nor that he was the grandfather of Gen. Samuel Waldo. H. A. Rattermann claims that Jonathan Waldo, the father of the General was born in Pommerania of Swedish Pommeranian nobility, and settled in Boston as a wealthy merchant. (D. P. XIV, pp. 7–8.) He married, according to Jos. Williamson (Maine Hist. Soc., Series I, vol. IX, p. 75), a woman of German descent, apparently of means, for "their wealth, connections and high character gave the family an enviable and deserved distinction."

In the book of Waldo Lincoln, Jonathan Waldo, twelfth child of Cornelius Waldo and Hannah Cogswell, marries not a German but an American woman, named Hannah Mason. These according to W. L. were the parents of Samuel Waldo, baptized Dec. 22, 1695. Rattermann and others give the birth as 1696 and place of birth, London, England.

The two traditions are so much at variance that it seems likely that there were two different families, for the name Waldo is wide-spread. The Prussian spelling of the name is Waldow. In the New England records appears also Waldoe (pronounced as spelt). In any case the importations of German colonists, by General Samuel Waldo and his son of the same name, the close connections with Germany, give the family a place in the history of the German element in New England.

250. An excellent chapter on the earliest German settlers in New England appeared in the work: DESCENDANTS *of* JACOB SCHOFF, *who came to Boston in 1752 and settled in Ashburnham in 1757, with an account of the German immigration into Colonial New England.* By Wilfred H. Schoff

(Sec.-treas. The Commercial Museum of Philadelphia), Philadelphia, 1910. The work is by no means merely genealogical, but searches the old records and archives of New England for the historical background, which is accurately depicted. In several details it corrects the account given in this book, e.g., the settlements in New England in 1775 perhaps stretched farther northward at some points than indicated by the frontier line on the map facing I, page 264. While agreeing with the total estimate given here for New England Mr. Schoff estimates the German settlers about Boston as less numerous. An interesting evidence of the existence of German settlers in and about Boston is the record of a German boy killed in 1770. Cf. Emil Baensch: *A Boston Boy, the First Martyr to American Liberty.* Publ. by the author, Manitowoc, Wisconsin. Also in Monatshefte für deutsche Sprache und Pädagogik, (Milwaukee) XVIII, Heft 3, (März 1917), p. 69f.

256. Frankfort-Dresden. Mrs. R. H. Houdlette, herself a descendant of the earliest settlers, names 20 of the original settlers of Frankfort later Dresden in Maine, of whom 7 wrote their names in German script, therefore undeniably German. Twelve are French names and one is doubtful. Frankfort-Dresden as is correctly stated on p. 256, was not a settlement exclusively German as Waldoboro. The Huguenot element came with the German settlers in charge of Crellius, but after reaching the new territory formed groups of their own.

Chapter XI (Tryon County Resolutions)

291–293, etc. Having referred to the pre-revolutionary activities among German citizens of Philadelphia and the German frontiersmen in the Valley of Virginia, it would be unfair to leave unrecorded the patriotic resolutions adopted by the Palatines of the Mohawk Valley, contemporary with the others, and carried through in a far more unfavorable environment.

The Minute Book of the Committee of Safety of Tryon County, N. Y., has been preserved (printed verbatim with an introduction by J. Howard Hanson, and Notes by Samuel

Ludlow Frey. New York, Dodd, Mead and Co., 1905) and gives us an accurate account of the action taken by the patriots of this frontier district, pushed out farthest into the Iroquois territory and inhabited mostly by German settlers, some Dutch and Scotch-Irish. We read: "This County has for a series of years been ruled by one family . . . still strenuous (1775) in dissuading people from coming to Congressional Measures . . . they appear with all their Dependants armed to oppose the people, their Number being so large they struck terror into most of them." This refers of course to the Johnson family. Sir William had died in 1774, his son John and nephew Guy Johnson were ardent Tories and carried the Indian nations with them. In spite of such desperate opposition and the hazard of Indian raids we find the organization of a Committee of Safety as early as 1774 and resolutions made at the first meeting to the effect, that while George III was recognized as the rightful sovereign, the levy of taxes without consent of themselves (or their representatives) was unjust and unconstitutional; that the blockading of the port of Boston was oppressive and arbitrary, and that the County should unite in bringing relief to the distressed inhabitants of Boston, and THAT WE WILL JOIN AND UNITE WITH OUR BRETHREN OF THE REST OF THIS COLONY IN ANYTHING TENDING TO SUPPORT AND DEFEND OUR RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES. — A standing committee to correspond with other counties was appointed, viz.: C. P. Yates (an able lawyer, probably Irish), Isaac Paris (Alsatian, taken prisoner at Oriskany and tortured to death by the Indians) and two men of German blood, John Frey, and Andrew Finck, jun. The meeting took place at the house of Adam Loucks (an English phonetic spelling for the German name Lux), and the date was August 27, 1774, just a few months later than a similar meeting of the Germans in the Valley of Virginia, June 16, 1774 (see Resolutions, I, 292–293), where Peter Mühlenberg was moderator. The Tryon County Committee of Safety nine months after, at a meeting May 21, 1775, at the house of the Palatine Philip W. Fox (other meetings were held at the house of the German William Seeber at Canajohary, killed at Oriskany) made bolder resolutions approving of the Actions and Proceedings of

the Massachusetts Bay and other Provinces of New England, also condemning the unwarrantable and illegal conduct of Col. Johnson, who raised fortifications around his house, kept an armed guard of Indians, stopped and searched travelers on the King's Highway. Their final resolution rang out in a bold declaration: (5) *That as we abhor a State of Slavery. We do join and unite together under all the ties of Religion, Honor, Justice and Love for our Country, never to become Slaves, and to defend our Freedom with our Lives and Fortunes.*

It has been claimed for this resolution that it is in effect a declaration of independence prior to any other, and over a year ahead of the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776, by the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. As a matter of fact it is not nearer to a declaration of independence than the many Virginia county resolutions of the summer of 1774, but at the same time it gives evidence of the bold frontier spirit backing up the Continental Congress. Such resolutions as these gave the Congress the necessary courage and back bone to adopt the resolutions of independence, in the following year.

The outstanding feature of the Tryon County resolutions is the fact that they came out of a far more difficult and dangerous environment than elsewhere, the Tory element was almost overwhelming in that County and the fear of the Indians was an ever present one, the Iroquois being the most powerful confederacy of the land, and the most terrible in war. But these Palatine frontiersmen were sturdy and fearless, they loved independence better than their lives, and they had the correct instinct for the guidance of the future. The Palatines of Schoharie as those of the Mohawk Valley were also quick to organize for defense.

306, etc. HERKIMER (also spelt Herckimer, Herkhimer, Herckheimer, Herkheimer, the last most frequently found in the Committee's records). In Tryon County General Nicholas Herkimer soon came to the fore as the natural leader. Johan Jost Herkimer, the General's father, was one of the patentees of German Flats, but the General had bought a farm to the eastward of "Fall Hill," on which he had built the brick house which is still standing. He was therefore in the

Canajoharie district. The Herkimer family was probably, next to the Johnsons, the most influential family in the valley. John Jost had 13 children, and they were all married but one, many had large families, so that it can readily be seen that at the time of the Revolution they were connected with nearly every prominent family of the valley. (Minute Book, Notes, pp. 117–118.) See also Campbell, *Annals of Tryon County;* F. Kapp, *Geschichte d. Deutschen im Staate N.Y.*, Chapter XI; F. F. Schrader, 1683–1920 (pp. 175–177) and the same author's *The Making of America*, pp. 120–125. (The Stratford Co., Boston, 1924.)

305–306, etc. The Tryon County resolutions came ten days earlier than the famous *Mecklenburg Declaration* of May 31, 1775. These also represent not a real declaration of independence, but a set of bold resolves quite abreast with the public sentiment of the day, "to remain in force till Great Britain had resigned her pretentions."

The great controversy about these Mecklenburg resolutions arose from the fact that the original records were destroyed by fire, and John McN. Alexander, when an old man, fell into the error of reconstructing them from memory, which led him to certify to resolutions strikingly close to those of July 4, 1776, by the Continental Congress. Later the original Mecklenburg resolutions were found in old contemporary newspapers, whereupon the reconstructed document called the *Mecklenburg Declaration* was proved to be spurious. (Cf. J. N. Larned, *History for Ready Reference*, vol. IV, p. 2375).

That the *Mecklenburg Resolutions* were made in 1775 and were very effective and widely known, is testified by a passage in the recent publication of A. L. Fries: *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (in BAGGE papers) as follows: "At the close of the 1775th year I cannot omit to mention that already in the summer of this year, that is in May, June or July, the County Mecklenburg, in North Carolina, declared itself free and independent of England, and made such arrangements for the administration of the laws among them as the Continental Congress later made for the whole country. Congress, however, considered this proceeding premature."

It was then (1775) still customary to declare loyalty to the King but oppose his ministers, or as Bagge put it, it was indeed the mode of the time to oppose the British Government, under the cloak of acknowledging George III as King. This shows how difficult it was to get public sentiment to accept the idea of separation from the English crown, that is from the theory of the British Empire.

The German original reads in the legible, faultless handwriting of the keeper of the Moravian stores, Traugott Bagge:

"Ich kan zu Ende des 1775sten Jahres nicht unangemerkt lassen, dass schon im Sommer selbigen Jahres, das ist im Mai, Juny, oder July, die *County Mecklenburg* in Nord Carolina sich für so frey und *independent* von England declarirte u. solche Einrichtung zur Verwaltung der Geseze unter sich machte, als jemalen der *Continental Congress* hernach ins Ganze gethan. Dieser *Congress* aber sahe dieses Verfahren als zu frühzeitig an." *Records of the Moravians of North Carolina*, vol. II, p. 852f.

This statement, though not quoting the words of the original Mecklenburg document, records the impression made upon the general public. The judicial Traugott Bagge, who had no ax to grind in the matter, writes in his journal that Mecklenburg County actually declared its independence, and that that was earlier than the Continental Congress wished it. Perhaps it was even embarrassing, just as the all too hasty action of Frémont was not welcome to Lincoln.

We may indeed consider ourselves fortunate in the possession of the account by Bagge, giving a vivid picture of the incidents and conditions leading up to the Revolutionary War. The editor, Adelaide L. Fries, has wisely translated the German manuscript into English, in order to make it more useful for contemporary American historians. It is printed there for the first time, and it is to be hoped, that some time the manuscript may be printed in the original German. There is no more valuable, trustworthy and interesting contemporary account in existence in any language.

306. Jacob Klock, in command of the 2nd battalion under

Herkimer at the battle of Oriskany, was the central figure in stopping a raid by the enemy three years later.

The action of KLOCK'S FIELD took place on the late afternoon of October 19, 1780, and ended a three days' raid by the British, Indians and Hessians. The enemy entrenched near the present Mohawk Turnpike on the Klock farm, near Fort Klock, a strong stone dwelling still standing, which was palisaded in the Revolution and defended by a garrison of militia on the day of the battle. The battleground lies a mile or less east of St. Johnsville, and its site is good for a monument to the heroes of that time. The battle of Klock's Field closed a savage and destructive foray into the Schoharie and Mohawk districts that covered 125 miles.

Klock's Fort was built close to the King's Highway (N. Y. Central R. R. track) in 1750. The great or upper castle of the Mohawks stood seven miles to the westward, at present Indian Castle. Nine miles westward is the famous homestead built by General Herkimer in 1764 in the shadow of rocky, forest-covered "Fall Hill." Two miles to the eastward stands the old stone Palatine (Lutheran) Church, built in 1770, which was spared in the raid of 1780 because it had been largely built by local Tories. Near by is the house of Gen. Cochran, 1790, famous in post-revolutionary days as a stopping place for travelers. A little over a mile eastward stands Fort Wagner, another stone colonial valley homestead, palisaded during the Revolution, and the home of Lt. Col. Peter Wagner, second in command to Col. Klock, in the Palatine regiment of militia. Five miles east Fort Plain, eight east Canajoharie, both rich in Indian and historical associations.

This land was acquired by the pioneer Klock about 1725, who was a "Mohawk Dutchman of Palatine ancestry," and is still held by descendants. In the cellar is a living spring in the solid rock which supplied the pioneers with water when they were besieged by the Indian or Tory raiders of the Revolution. There is also a dungeon built of solid masonry into which local Tory traitors and prisoners were confined during the war. Benches were of stonework, a hard bed for prisoners. (See Mohawk Valley Democrat, Fonda, N.Y.,

Thursday, December 28, 1922.) The will of Col. Jacob Klock, of the town of Palatine, in Montgomery Co., N.Y., a quaint document, dated Oct. 14, 1809, sheds light on the family history of the revolutionary hero.

The above material was supplied through the kindness of Mr. M. O. von Klock (Boston), descendant of another branch of this family.

316. The 1062 Scalps. The sufferings of the frontiersmen from Indian depredations and cruelties cannot be questioned, and the German pioneers, occupying so largely the most exposed positions (see map of the Frontier line, facing page 264), bore a share proportionately larger than their numbers.

Scalpings, however, were indulged in relentlessly on both sides. (Cf. the thorough investigation of the subject by Dr. Georg Friederici: "*Skalpieren und ähnliche Kriegsbräuche in Amerika.*" Braunschweig, 1906, 170 pp.) The story cited here of the bundle of 1062 scalps must be dismissed as a hoax, though it has found entrance frequently into very good books of history. Its graphic and lurid details are so close to authentic records, that the deception was not discovered until revealed by the author himself. In *Benjamin Franklin's* collected works, under the head of what he called *Satires and Bagatelles*, we find the proof of Franklin's deception.

While living in France as agent for his country, under date of Boston, March 12, 1782, Franklin printed on his private press at Passy, a *Supplement to the Boston Independent Chronicle.* In typography, style, advertisements, etc. he imitated exactly the appearance of a Boston newspaper, and circulated this publication abroad with the intention also of its reaching England. We are reminded of the genius of a Swift, but also of the vicious atrocity stories perpetrated against the Germans in Belgium during the late war.

Franklin's excuse for this unfair war propaganda was given in a letter to Dumas (May 3, 1782): "Enclosed I send you a few copies of a paper that places in a striking Light the English barbarities in America, particularly those committed by the Savages at their Instigation. The form may

perhaps not be genuine, but the substance is truth." Similarly in a letter to John Adams, April 22, 1782: "I send enclosed a paper, of the veracity of which I have some doubt, — as to the Form, but none as to the Substance, for I believe the Number of People actually scalped in this murdering war by the Indians to exceed what is mentioned in invoice, and that Muley Ishmael (a happy name for a prince as obstinant as a mule) is full as black a Tyrant as he is represented in Paul Jones' pretended letter. These being *substantial* Truths the Form is to be considered as Paper and Packthread. If it were republished in England it might make them a little asham'd of themselves." (In a new edition of the *Supplement* containing the Seneca Indian story, there appeared also the Paul Jones letter.) Cf. *The Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin.* Collected and edited with a life and introduction by Albert Henry Smyth (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1906), vol. I, p., 174f., and vol. VIII, pp. 433, and 437–447.

317–319. Bibliography.

The American Revolution in New York. Its Political, Social and Economic Significance. For General Use as Part of the Program of the Executive Committee on the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Revolution. Prepared by the Division of Archives and History, Albany. The University of the State of New York, 1926. (Illustrated.)

The Battle of Oriskany, August 6, 1777. Issued in Commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of the Battle. By the Oriskany Unit, Boston Branch of the Steuben Society of America. Copyright, 1927. Compiled and edited by Max von Klock.

Biography of Michael Hillegas. First Treasurer of the United States. Published by Michael Hillegas Unit, no. 55. S. S. A. New York. 1924.

General Washington's Body Guards. Historical Sketch by V. W. Richter. The Concord Society Historical Bulletin no. 3. (See also I, 298–299.)

320f. STEUBEN. No biography of General Steuben has appeared since Kapp's pioneer work (1858, edition in German, 1859 in English). Many errors have been pointed out in

this work, but no standard biography has replaced it. Anton B. C. Kalkhorst has criticized the inadequacy of Kapp's researches in the archives of Germany. The life of Steuben as far as his career in Europe is concerned, has never been written, so Kalkhorst correctly states in his article: *Steubens Preussische Soldatenlaufbahn.* Sonderbeitrag für die Milwaukee-Sonntagspost. 2. Teil. d. 5. Dezember, 1926. Kalkhorst was able to publish for the first time Steuben's baptismal name in full: *Friedrich Wilhelm Ludolph Gerhard Augustin*, and the correct date of his birth as: *September 17, 1730* (not November 15, etc.). This was revealed in a church record he found in 1921. He also objects to the titles "Baron," and "aide" ("Flügeladjutant") to Frederick the Great. Mr. Kalkhorst's Steuben articles appeared scattered in various newspapers, as "Neue Zeit," "Californisches Journal," "Erie Tageblatt," "Detroit Abendpost," "Milwaukee-Herold," "Issues of To-day," "Progressive," etc. His early death prevented his gathering the material together in accessible form.

For an account of the Steuben monument, see: *Proceedings upon the Unveiling of the Statue of* BARON VON STEUBEN, *Major General and Inspector General in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, in Washington, D.C., December 7, 1910.* Erected by the Congress of the United States. Compiled by G. H. Carter. U. S. Government Publication. See APPENDIX under Jaegers, the sculptor.

For the STEUBEN SOCIETY OF AMERICA, see APPENDIX note to p. 200.

347. HESSIANS. Diaries of Hessians, besides those mentioned in the text, have been printed as follows:

Tagebuch des Capt. Wiederholt, vom 7. Okt. 1776 bis 7. Dez. 1780. Ed. by M. D. Learned, and C. Grosse. Americana Germanica IV (1902), pp. III–XVII, and 19–93.

Waldeck's Diary of the Revolution (1776–1780). Ed. by M. D. Learned and Rud. Cronau. A. G. 5–6. G. A. Annals, N. S., vol. 1 (1903), 8 sections, and vol. 2 (1904), 6 sections.

Journal of Du Roi the Elder. Ed. by C. S. J. Epping, from *Schlözers Briefwechsel.* G. A. Annals, vol. 9 (1911), nos. 1–6. Reprinted as no. 15, A. G. Mon. Series.

A German Song of 1778 relating to Mercenaries in America. By Chas. A. Williams. Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1915, pp. 361–367.

The Diary of Doehla (see *Marschroute* I, 347) was republished in complete form in German by Julius Goebel in Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1917, pp. 14–358.

Auszüge aus Tagebüchern hessischer Offiziere. Jahrbuch op. cit. Jahrgang 1920–1921, pp. 251–279.

Protokoll des hessischen Feldpredigers G. C. Cöster. Op. cit. Jahrgang 1920–1921, pp. 280–304.

In the English language the book of E. J. Lowell is still used: *The Hessians and the other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War.* New York, 1884. 328 pp.

A. J. W. Kern, in his review of this chapter in *Deutsche Erde, Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde*, Gotha, 1910, Heft 8, pp. 235–239, correctly calls attention to the fact that the ease with which certain German princes were induced to sell their subjects as soldiers to the English king, was not alone due to mercenary considerations, but to the important circumstance that they were related by blood or marriage to George III of the House of Hanover, and therefore felt loyally disposed to offer military assistance to a near relative "against rebellious subjects."

352. Frederick the Great. An evidence of the power of the Prussian king in European affairs is the satire published and circulated by Benjamin Franklin, called: *An Edict by the King of Prussia, Dantzig, September 1773.* From the Gentleman's Magazine, October, 1773, p. 513. See Volume VI, pp. 118–124, of *The Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin.* By A. H. Smyth. The edict assigned to the King of Prussia pretends that he has taken possession of the British Isles, which are really a German colony ever since the settlements of Hengist and Horsa, etc., and that now he places restrictions on their industries, forbids the manufacture of wool, iron and steel, hats, etc., etc., levies taxes without representation, searches all vessels and compels them to come into the port of Dantzig to be examined, all in imitation of the regulations and statutes of the English Parliament, which could not be objected to, "since it would be impossible to believe that a people so liberal in its sentiments, so just and

equitable, etc., etc. could for petty immediate profit treat its own children in a manner so arbitrary and tyrannical." The satire was intended of course to awaken public opinion in England to a realization of the wrongs inflicted upon the American colonies.

Frederick II's attitude toward the American colonies is well outlined by F. F. Schrader: *Prussia and the United States. Frederick the Great's Influence on the American Revolution.* Historical Bulletin no. 2. The Concord Society. New York, 1923.

Chapters XII–XV

367. Frontier. Cf. Frederick J. Turner: *The Frontier in American History.* New York (Holt & Co.) 1921. Also the book published earlier by the same author: *Rise of the New West,* 1906. See also: Frederic L. Paxson: *History of the American Frontier.* Boston (Houghton Mifflin Co.) 1924.

382. Carpenter. *Genealogical Notes of the Carpenter (Zimmermann)* Family. By Col. S. D. Carpenter. Publ. by Geo. N. Kreider, editor Illinois Medical Journal. Springfield, Ill. 1908.

412. Wetzel. *Life and Adventures of Lewis Wetzel.* By R. C. V. Meyers. Chicago (W. H. Harrison, Jr.) 1883.

437. Mississippi Valley. A work based on independent investigation: *Die erste deutsche Einwanderung in das Mississippital. Eine kritische Würdigung.* Von Dr. Alexander Franz. Frankfurt a M. Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1912, pp. 190–282.

439. Arkansas. *Die katholischen Missionen im nordöstlichen Arkansas und das Benediktiner-Frauenkloster Maria Stein bei Pocahontas, Randolph County, Arkansas.* Eine geschichtliche Darstellung der katholischen Missionen im Nordosten von Arkansas seit Gründung durch Bischof Eduard Fitz-Gerald D. D. 27. August 1868 und des Klosters Maria Stein seit seinem Anfang 14. Dezember 1887 bis auf die Gegenwart. Eine Festschrift zum goldenen Jubiläum die Diozöse Little Rock und zum Silberjubiläum der Mission von Nordost-Arkansas. Druck der Arkansas Echo Publ. Co. 1893.

457. Illinois. *Zur Geschichte der frühsten deutschen Ansied-*

lungen in Illinois. I. Die deutsche Niederlassung in Illinois, fünf Meilen von Belleville. Von G. E. Engelmann. II. Beleuchtung des Duden'schen Berichtes über die westlichen Staaten Nördamerikas. Von G. Koerner. Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1916, pp. 248–333.

Quincy's Gründung und das deutsche Element in der Entwickelung der Stadt. Von H. Bornmann. Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. 1912, pp. 536–544.

461. Iowa. Cf. J. Eiboeck: *Die Deutschen von Iowa und deren Errungenschaften.* 800 pp. See *Bibliography,* II, p. 498.

464. Michigan. *The Germanic Influence in the Making of Michigan.* By John Andrew Russell, LL.D. Dean of the School of Commerce and Finance of the University of Detroit. Herold Press. Detroit, 1927. 415 pp. The historical background, the German influences, material and cultural, the statistical, biographical, and bibliographical materials are all well handled. This recent publication is worthy of imitation in other states.

468. Wisconsin. *The German Element in Wisconsin.* By J. H. A. Lacher. 60 pp. Published by Muehlenberg Unit 36, S. S. A. Milwaukee. 1925. See also *Bibliography* (under Wisconsin) II, 560.

490. Texas. See *Bibliography,* II, 484f. under: Benjamin, Bracht, Ehrenberg, Eickhoff, Martin, Olmsted, Römer, Scherpf, Sörgel. *Tagebuch von Gustav Diesel über seinen Aufenthalt in Texas, 1837–1841.* Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1920–1921, pp. 338–476.

Eberhard Ihrigs Jugend und Erlebnisse in Amerika (bezw. Texas) vor fünfzig Jahren. Bakocza. 1902.

501. Colorado. *The German Element in the State of Colorado.* By Mildred S. McArthur. Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1916, pp. 334–382. This study is based upon investigations during three years' residence in the state, and the picture revealed is typical for the whole Rocky Mountain area.

501–502. Kansas, Nebraska. C. H. Wedel: *Abriss der Geschichte der Mennoniten.* 4 Bände, bearbeitet von C. H. Wedel. Newton, Kansas, 1900. Schulverlag. I. Die Geschichte ihrer Vorfahren bis zum Beginn des Täufertums im 16. Jahrhundert. II. Das Täufertum im 16. Jahrhundert.

III. Die niederländischen, preussischen und russischen Mennoniten. IV. Die Täufer und Mennoniten in der Schweiz, in Mähren, in Süddeutschland, am Niederrhein und in Amerika. (The cultural center of the Mennonites in these states is the college at Newton, Kansas. Other colleges are located at Bethel, Kans., Goschen, Ind., Bluffton, O.)

504. Oregon. *The Community at Bethel, Missouri, and its Offspring at Aurora, Oregon.* By Wm. G. Bek. G. A. Annals, N. S., vol. 7, nos. 5–6; vol. 8, nos. 1–2. (1909 and 1910.)

507. California. *Scharmanns Landreise nach Californien.* A booklet of 125 duodec. pages reprinted from the New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, Jahrgang xviii, no. 15, 16, 17 & 19. April 10, 17, 24, and May 1, 1852. The little volume was a gift of his children in 1905 to the author on his 70th birthday. A commendatory letter of Carl Schurz introduces this valuable bit of "Kulturgeschichte." It includes a fascinating account of an overland trip to California during the gold-seekers' period of 1849.

Chapter XVI

513f. *German American Records.* Gathered from *Niles' Weekly Register.* By Dorothea Nath. G. A. Annals, vol. 2 (1904), pp. 83–105.

Das Deutschamerikanertum vor hundert Jahren und der Krieg von 1812–1815. Von Otto Lohr. Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1914, pp. 392–450.

517. Custer. Our knowledge of Custer's ancestry is derived from F. Whittaker: *A Popular Life of General George A. Custer.* New York, 1876, p. 5: "The name of Custer was originally Küster, and the grandfather of Emmanuel H. Custer (father of the General) came from Germany, but Emmanuel's father was born in America. The grandfather was one of those same Hessian officers over whom the colonists wasted so many curses in the Revolutionary War, and who were yet so innocent of harm and such patient, faithful soldiers. After Burgoyne's surrender in 1778, many of the paroled Hessians seized the opportunity to settle in

the country they came to conquer, and amongst these the grandfather of Emmanuel Custer."

The German origin of General Custer's ancestry has never been questioned, but a member of the family has in the course of her genealogical studies found an Emmanuel Custer (Küster) among the original settlers of Germantown, Pennsylvania. This Emmanuel Küster and the General's ancestor of the same name may have been different individuals related to one another. The matter could only be settled by discovery of a record in the War Department archives.

The brother of General Custer, Thomas Ward Custer (1845–1876) should not be forgotten when the imperishable name of Custer is mentioned. In spite of his youth Thomas fought in the early campaigns of the Civil War, later he became aide-de-camp to General Custer. He distinguished himself by his cavalry charges and his daring on all occasions, and rose to the position of lieutenant-colonel though barely twenty years of age when the war ended. He always accompanied his brother, was lieutenant in the Seventh Cavalry when he fell with George A. Custer at the Little Big Horn. His older brother said of him: "If you want to know my opinion of Tom, I can only say, that I think he should be the general and I the captain."

522f. A thorough and painstaking work on the Germans taking part in the battles of the Civil War has appeared in the German language, by Wilhelm Kaufmann: *Die Deutschen im amerikanischen Bürgerkriege* (Sezessionskrieg 1861–1865). Mit 36 Karten und Plänen. München u. Berlin (Verlag R. Oldenburg) 1911. 8vo. 588 pp.

Kaufmann takes account only of the men born in Germany, and estimates the number participating in the war at 216,000, by no means an exaggeration. This figure assumes its proper proportions when we remember that in 1860 there were only 1,276,075 persons of both sexes born in Germany resident in the United States. Of these about 72,000 lived in the Southern States; about 100,000 German immigrants arrived in the United States between 1860–1864. This makes a German population of both sexes residing in the Northern States in 1864 of about 1,300,000. Of

these over 200,000 enlisted in the war, a truly remarkable record. About one out of every 3–4 males (all ages) born in Germany enlisted in the war.

The number of German officers in the Civil War Kaufmann does not attempt to count, but he gives a list of 500 German officers who reached the rank of major and above, of whom 96 were killed in battle. Nine reached the rank of major general: Osterhaus, Sigel, Schurz, Willich, Steinwehr, Stahel, Weitzel, Kautz, and F. S. Salomon. Kaufmann attempts to give a judicial estimate of the German generals and their part in the campaigns. All investigations of the achievements of the Germans in the war lack the aid of the archives of the U. S. War Department. They have long been closed to be sure, but the path is no longer barred at present.

567. Financial Aid. The purchase of bonds by German people in 1864 was an argument for fighting the war to a conclusion. Of the campaign of 1864 for Lincoln's reëlection, Rhodes (History of the U. S. 1850–1877, vol. IV, p. 535) says: "But persons given to reflection found satisfaction in the speeches of Carl Schurz (contra Winthrop and Seymour), demonstrating clearly and cogently the necessity of the reëlection of Lincoln. (Footnote): Carl Schurz said in a speech in Philadelphia September 16: 'You have heard of the people of Germany pouring their gold lavishly into the treasury of the United States (applause). You have heard of a loan of a thousand millions having been offered and being now in progress of negotiation. Would those people who are standing by us so generously in our embarrassments, would they have done so, if they did not trust in our ability and determination to carry through the war?'"

573f. A summary view of the location and settlements of the German element, the so-called German Belt, etc. is found in *Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika*, Philadelphia, 1909, pp. 155–229. *Die Deutschen in Pennsylvanien*, nach Pennypacker, Seidensticker etc.; in *Maryland*, von L. P. Hennighausen; in *District Columbia*, von G. Bender; in *West-Virginien*, von C. W. Bente; am *Untern Mississippi*, von Hanno Deiler; in *Illinois*, von E. Mannhardt; in *Missouri*, von C. Gundlach.

579f. CITIES.

NEW YORK. *Das deutsche Element der Stadt New York.* Biographisches Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikaner New Yorks und Umgebung. Herausgegeben von Otto Spengler. New York. 1913. 367 pp.

Jahrbuch des Verbands deutscher Schriftsteller in Amerika. N. Y. 1911. Verlag des Verbands. 226 pp.

Verhandlungen des ersten allgemeinen Kongresses veranstaltet von der Vereinigung alter Deutscher Studenten in Amerika. New York 6–8. April, 1914. Hrg. v. d. Vereinigung A. D. S. in A. 112 pp.

See also *Bibliography*, II, 519 (under Lemke).

CHICAGO. *Chicago und sein Deutschtum.* Illustriert. Herausgegeben von der German-American Biographical Publishing Co. Cleveland, O. 1901–1902. (Copyright J. E. Mueller.) 4to. 538 pp.

Jahrbuch der Deutschen in Chicago und im Staate Illinois für das Jahr 1917. Mit einer übersichtlichen Geschichte des europäischen Krieges und mit einer Beleuchtung der politischen Lage in Amerika. Herausgegeben u. redigiert von Dr. Michael Singer. Chicago, 1917. 354 pp. (Dr. Singer was the founder of the German literary weekly, *Die Neue Zeit*, which he edited until his death in 1924). For Chicago, see also *Bibliography*, II, 495 (Dietsch), 548 (Seeger).

ST. LOUIS. *The Early Saint Louis Movement in Philosophy, Psychology, Literature, Art and Education, and Centennial Appendix.* Illustrated. A brief report of the meeting commemorative of the early Saint Louis movement. In honor of Dr. Denton J. Snider's 80th birthday, held January 14–15, 1921. D. H. Harris, chairman and general manager. 254 pp.

CINCINNATI. *Cincinnati Sonst und Jetzt.* Eine Geschichte Cincinnatis und seiner verdienstvollen Bürger deutscher Zunge mit biographischen Skizzen und Portrait Illustrationen. Von Armin Tenner. Cincinnati, O. 1878. Druck von Mecklenborg u. Rosenthal. 448 pp.

BUFFALO. Double title: *History of the Germans in Buffalo and Erie County, N. Y. Geschichte der Deutschen in Buffalo und Erie County, N. Y.* mit Biographien und Illustra-

tionen hervorragender Deutsch-Amerikaner, welche zur Entwickelung der Stadt Buffalo beigetragen haben. Verlag und Druck von Reinecke und Zesch. Buffalo, N. Y. 1898. 4to. 121 pp.

ROCHESTER. *Hundertjährige Geschichte des Deutschtums von Rochester.* Herausgegeben vom Deutsch-Amerikanischen Bund von Rochester und Umgegend. (Illustriert.) Verfasst von Hermann Pfaefflin. Rochester, 1915. 255 pp.

BALTIMORE. *The Germans of Maryland, 1812–1814.* Publ. for the Star Spangled Banner Centennial, September, 1914. Baltimore. (J. Hofmann, editor.) For Baltimore see also in *Bibliography*, references under: Maryland, Hennighausen, Leyh, Scharf, etc.

MILWAUKEE. See *Bibliography*, II, 517 (under Kosz), and II, 560 (Wisconsin).

INDIANAPOLIS. See *Bibliography*, II, 502: Fritsch, W. A. *Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Indiana.*

LOUISVILLE. See *Bibliography*, II, 553: Stierlin, L. *Der Staat Kentucky und die Stadt Louisville*, etc.

VOLUME II

CHAPTER I (POPULATION)

12–18. A publication of the United States Census Bureau entitled: *A Century of Population Growth in the United States 1790–1900* (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1909) Chapter XI: *Nationality as indicated by names of heads of families reported at the first Census* (1790), pp. 116–124, presents results farcically unfair to all elements except the English, who are supposed to make up 86.3 per cent of the entire population of 1790, the Scotch 7.5, the Irish 3.9, i.e., the British together 97.7 per cent, leaving to all others a mite of 2.3 per cent, of which the Dutch are given 1 per cent, the French 0.5 per cent, and the German 0.4 per cent. Even on the basis of an imperfect method of reading the names of the incomplete Census of 1790, when names were Anglicized almost without exception for patriotic reasons, the estimate is ridiculously unfair to the non-English elements. This is not the proper method of approach. The problem is not a statistical but an historical

one, which can be settled only by a close study of colonial records and contemporary accounts of population and settlements.

26–27. The author has made an estimate of the contribution of each of the national stocks composing the white population of the United States at the time of the Census of 1910, using the same statistical and historical methods as employed in II, chapter I, pp. 5–27, for the Census of 1900.

The results are given in the table below:

		Per Cent
Total white population in the United States in 1910	81,731,957	100.0
English (including Scotch and Welsh, about 5,000,000)	24,750,000	30.3
German (including Dutch, about 3,000,000)	21,600,000	26.4
Irish (including Catholic and Protestant)	15,250,000	18.6
Scandinavian (Swedish, Norwegian, Danish)	4,000,000	4.9
French (including Canadian French)	4,000,000	4.9
Italian (mostly recent immigration)	2,500,000	3.1
Hebrew (one-half recent, Russian)	2,500,000	3.1
Spanish (mostly Spanish-American)	2,000,000	2.5
Austrian Slavs (Bohemian, Moravian, Slovac, etc.)	2,000,000	2.5
Russian Slavs and Finns (one-tenth)	1,000,000	1.2
Poles (many early in nineteenth century)	1,000,000	1.2
Magyars (recent immigration)	700,000	.8
Balkan Peninsula	250,000	.3
All others*	181,957	.2

* This does not, of course, include the colored population, which in 1910 was as follows: Negroes, 9,827,763; Indians, 265,683; Chinese, 71,531; Japanese, 72,157.

This table shows that the German contribution in blood is second only to the English, and is but a small percentage below it. The figure 21,600,000, or 26.4 per cent, represents the amount of German blood in the total white population, over against the largest contribution, that of the English stock represented by the figure 24,750,000, or 30.3 per cent, and the Irish 15,250,000, or 18.6 per cent of the total white population of the United States. In the case of those national stocks that began coming to America in the eighteenth century or before, their blood is diffused among a larger number of people than the figures indicate. Perhaps no person whose ancestors came over a hundred years ago has in his veins the blood of one national stock alone; the typical American is a blend, part English, German or Irish, a fraction French or Spanish. In the table above, the units

represent pure blood, the calculation attempting to reduce the divided blood to units of full or pure blood, in order to represent mathematically the contribution of each. In reality all of the older stocks, as the English, German, Irish and French, are probably diffused through twice the number of persons represented by the figures above, while the recent immigrations, as the Italian, Hungarian, Russian, etc., are mostly of unmixed blood and in their cases the figure representing their contribution corresponds closely to the number of persons in the United States who have any of their blood in their veins.

In the table above the Dutch have been included in the German stock, the Scotch and Welsh in the English, because their early settlements were indistinguishable from or inextricably mingled with their kindred national groups. The assignment of five and three millions to them respectively is tentative. This would mean for the Dutch 3.7 per cent, for the Scotch and Welsh together 6 per cent of the total population.

Assuming that the blood of the oldest stocks by repeated intermarriage has been diffused more largely than that of recent immigrations, it is a conservative estimate to double the percentages above named and assume that the English blood is diffused at least through 60 per cent, the German through 50 per cent and the Irish through 37 per cent of the white population of the United States.

No estimate has been made here on the basis of the Census of 1920, because of the confusion of national boundaries caused by the Treaty of Versailles. The immigration to the United States from 1914–20 was not sufficient to affect the above figures materially. The racial complexion of the people of the United States has remained stationary.

27. Records of Germans in foreign countries are published annually in the *Jahrbuch des Vereins für das Deutschtum im Ausland.* Berlin. Deutscher Schulverein.

See also: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ausländer an der Universität Berlin.* Jahrgang 1926 etc.

Two historical works of importance in this connection though going back into the remoter past, are the following: K. H. Schaible: *Geschichte der Deutschen in England, von*

den ersten germanischen Ansiedlungen. B. G. Teubner (Leipzig) 1885.

W. Stricker: *Die Deutschen in Spanien und Portugal und portugiesischen Ländern von Amerika.* Leipzig, 1856.

Chapter II (Agriculture, and Allied Manufactures)

34f. Professor Frederick J. Turner's statements and observations on the Germans' occupying the limestone areas of Pennsylvania, and their zones of settlement, are now more accessible in his work: *The Frontier in American History.* New York (Holt & Co.), 1920. Cf. also: *History of the American Frontier.* By Frederic L. Paxson. Houghton Mifflin Co. (Boston) 1924.

36. Cf. *Der deutschamerikanische Farmer. Sein Beitrag an der Eroberung und Kolonisation des Bundesdomains der Vereinigten Staaten besonders in den Nord Centralstaaten.* Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Einwanderung. Von Dr. Joseph Och. Columbus, Ohio. Copyright 1913.

37, 40. Friedrich Münch was also a skillful cultivator of grapes, and producer of good wines. His grandchildren relate, that to the last year of his life he pruned his favorite vines with his own hand. He published a booklet on American grape-culture in German in 1859, a second edition of which appeared in 1867, and a third in 1877. Translations into English were also published. It was entitled: *Amerikanische Weinbauschule. Kurze, doch hinreichend ausführliche Anleitung zur Anlegung des Weinbergs, zur Behandlung der Reben und zur Gewinnung des Weines in Nordamerika.* Von Friedrich Münch. Dritte, völlig umgearbeitete Auflage. St. Louis, Mo. Verlag der C. Witterschen Buchhandlung, 1877. Title of edition in English: *School for Grape-Culture.*

56. An example of the profound influence of the plain German farmer upon the development of American agricultural products, often by an unconscious act, is the following:

When Wendelin Grimm in 1857 emigrated from his home, Külsheim, in northern Baden and settled in Minnesota, he took with him a sack of seeds, doing what so many Germans coming from the Palatinate in the eighteenth century had done before him. This simple act became an

epoch-making event for the development of agriculture in the American Northwest. The seed which Wendelin Grimm took with him was a variety of alfalfa, in German called "Luzerne," which had already been cultivated in the valley of the Tauber for centuries and was known to have special advantages over many other varieties. Grimm sowed his "perpetual clover" ("Ewiger Klee") as he called his "Luzerne" or alfalfa, and fed his stock with it. In the extremely cold winters of this northern climate his horses always looked extremely well, to the astonishment of his neighbors, who asked him where he got the grain to feed them so well. He answered laconically, not grain, but "perpetual clover." By means of careful selection Grimm had mastered the art of producing a species of his "Ewiger Klee" which could resist the extremes both of cold and dryness. During his lifetime his variety of alfalfa gained no farther reputation than among his neighbors. But after his death in 1891 his sons developed the production of this variety with still greater success, until the state experiment stations grew interested. Experiments were made and it was found that the alfalfa which Grimm had cultivated for thirty years and by careful selective processes had adapted to the climate and soil, was the only variety that could survive for any long periods in Minnesota and the remote Northwest. All other species of alfalfa and especially the South American varieties, that had been cultivated successfully in California, froze to death or decayed in this severe climate, though vigorous human beings found it healthy and invigorating. In grateful remembrance this new variety was named *GRIMM ALFALFA*. By means of it large districts in the far north could be put under cultivation which otherwise would have remained barren in spite of good soil. "Grimm should be recognized as one of our great benefactors" are the words of one of the big farmers at Excelsior, Minnesota.

Cf. Charles J. Brand: *The Acclimatization of an Alfalfa Variety in Minnesota.* Reprinted from Science, N. S., vol. XXVIII, no. 729. Dec. 18th, 1908. Pp. 891–892. By the same author: *Grimm Alfalfa and its Utilization in the Northwest.* U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Plant Industry, Bulletin no. 209. Issued May 27, 1911. Government Press, Washington.

59. Forestry. B. E. Fernow. The new forestry building at Cornell University has been named *Fernow Hall* in honor of the founder of the first School of Scientific Forestry in the United States.

The new idea of planting forests, not as formerly with only one kind of tree, as a grain field or potato patch, but growing mixed varieties as pine, beech, etc. intermingled as nature does, also comes from Germany. This is supposed to be better for the trees and not to exhaust the ground, a discovery made during and since the war.

60. For additional materials on the Germans in American forestry, cf.: *Die Deutschen in der Försterei von Nord-Amerika. Nach Regierungs-Akten von Bund und Staaten.* Dargestellt von Friedrich Baare. Hazleton, Pa. In: *Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika*, Phila., 1909. Pp. 657–672.

65–74. Names of firms under the heads of Preserving and Pickling, Milling, Manufacture of Cereals, Sugar, and Salt, Cattle-raising, Brewing, etc., etc., are of the date of the first publication of these volumes, viz.: 1909. Just as good German names exist at the present day, and some might have been substituted for those that have passed away, but they would not illustrate better the principles that have been laid down in these pages. Completeness in the account of any one industry has not been attempted, nor is it possible for a book of this kind to keep up with the frequent changes in business firms.

Chapter III (Technical Branches — Other Manufactures)

80. To the great German bridge builders there should be added several names:

Gustav Lindenthal was born in Brünn, Austria, in 1850, received his training in Brünn and Vienna, and was active in surveys and railway construction in Austria and Switzerland before coming to the United States in 1874. He was engaged in Philadelphia, in Pittsburgh and the West before becoming commissioner of bridges in New York. His work of lasting fame and one of the grandest engineering feats in the world is his creation of the Hellgate steel arch bridge over the East River, which connects the entire

Atlantic Coast directly by rail from Halifax to Key West. This Hell-Gate-Bridge Line was opened for traffic in 1917. For a contemporary account, see N. Y. Staatszeitung, Sonntagsblatt, April 1, 1917.

Eduard Hemberle built several bridges over the Mississippi and the Missouri, of the cantilever type.

William Mueser (born in Elberfeld-Barmen, Germany), concrete-steel bridge builder and engineer, has constructed the Causeway Viaduct at Galveston with its 107 spans of 60–70 feet, the Monongahela River Bridge at Fairmont, W. Va. and others introducing concrete and steel into bridge-building. Cf. *The Development of Reinforced Concrete Bridge Construction.* The Cornell Civil Engineer, no. 8, May, 1925.

80–81. Along with Albert Fink, there should be mentioned his two brothers Henry and Rudolph Fink, who were also born in Hessen, Germany, and came over as a result of the revolutionary conflict of 1849. All three brothers had been well trained at the Polytechnic School in Darmstadt, and when first employed on the B. & O. R. R. rose quickly above their rivals because of their ability to design, construct and supervise. They combined theoretical training with practical ability. During the Civil War all three brothers did invaluable service in the engineering corps at different places, reconstructing demolished railroads daily in most exposed positions between the lines and accomplishing their tasks with a speed and thoroughness that heartened their comrades in arms and sent despair into the enemy. The brothers Henry and Rudolph figured after the Civil War in railroad construction and organization, Henry particularly as receiver of Southern and Southwestern railroads at important crises, and invariably succeeding in putting a wrecked property back on its feet again, as he did with the Memphis and Charleston R.R. and the Norfolk and Western, of which he remained president after the reorganization, 1896–1902. Rudolph Fink was the only one of the brothers who left the country for a while, when he was general manager of the Mexican Central R.R. and president of the local board in Mexico, but he returned in 1884 to accept the receivership of the Memphis and Little Rock R.R. Rudolph

survived his brothers. A very appreciative article on the work of the three brothers at the time of the death of Henry Fink in 1912, appeared in the New York Times, Sunday, July 21, 1912, p. 3.

90. Drugs.

The founder of the firm of *Lehn and Fink* wholesale importers of German drugs and medicines, was F. W. Fink, born on January 13, 1846 in Cassel, Hessen. He died in 1925, while on a visit to his home. See obituary notice in N. Y. Staats-Zeitung, January 4, 1925.

The ancestor of *Schieffelin Bros.*, N. Y. was Jacob Schieffelin, who came to this country about 1754. His family lived in Nördlingen, Germany. (Letter to the author by Wm. Jay Schieffelin, Aug. 6, 1911.)

91. Bausch and Lomb. The founder, J. J. Bausch, was born in Gross-Süssen, Württemberg, in 1830, and came to the United States in 1849. He started as a wood-turner, but an accident while at this work caused him to seek some other occupation. From his friend Henry Lomb, born in Hesse-Cassel, he borrowed all the latter's savings amounting to $62, and while Lomb was a soldier in the Civil War, Bausch carried on a business in eye-glasses. The brilliant idea of using hard rubber (then just started as a commercial article) for the frames of eyeglasses, caused a rapid progress upward for the firm of Bausch and Lomb, whose capital was $800, share and share alike, when Lomb came back from the war. They gradually gained the confidence of the public for the lenses they ground themselves, and the Bausch and Lomb Optical Company grew to hold a monopoly in this department. For many years there was a close association with the celebrated firm, Carl Zeiss, in Jena, only interrupted by the war.

95. Iron and Steel.

Among the pioneers in iron and steel manufacture during the colonial period Peter H. Hasenclever must be placed in the front rank. He was born in 1716 at Remscheid in Westphalia, had learned the art of producing steel in the foundries of his father, had traveled in foreign countries, and from England came to America in 1764 with the idea of buying up large wooded districts near lands containing iron

ore. There he wished to furnish the mother country with iron from her colonies cheaper than she could produce it herself. His plan was brilliantly started with the importation of German colonists, the erection of a large plant, and the purchase of lands in New Jersey and New York. (The location is not definitely settled.) It is said that by 1766 he was able to send quantities of raw iron to England, of a quality better than produced anywhere else in the colonies. Suddenly he received word that his partners in England, due to their extravagance, had brought the firm to the edge of bankruptcy. He hastened to England, instituted a lawsuit, which suffered from the law's delay and the chicanery of his enemies, until his business was utterly ruined. After thirty years a decision in his favor of 158,400 pounds indemnity, shows that his establishment must have been on a large scale. He seems to have rescued something out of the wreck, for he returned to Germany, and in Silesia started textile manufactures, contributing to the revival of the linen-weaving industry. A biography has appeared recently by a member of the family: *Peter Hasenclever aus Remscheid-Ehringhausen, ein deutscher Kaufmann des 18, Jahrhunderts.* Seine Biographie, Briefe und Denkschriften (mit 3 Abbildungen) im Auftrage der Familie Hasenclever herausgegeben von Professor Dr. Adolf Hasenclever in Halle a. S. Verlag Friedrich Andreas Perthes A. G. Gotha 1922, pp. vii, 252. A section of this biography was printed in advance in the Jahrbuch d. D. A. Hist. Ges. v. Ill. Jahrgang 1920–21, pp. 314–337.

100. In *Metals* the Germans have been prominent. About the middle of the nineteenth century two young Germans, technically trained for their pursuit, settled in La Salle, Illinois, and started the Zinc Plate Industry and by-products. Mathieson and Hegeler was the name of the great firm they founded, which did a business of from 15 to 20 millions annually. The Open Court foundation in Chicago (of which Paul Carus, son-in-law of Mr. Hegeler, was director) was based upon the Hegeler estate.

The great fortune of August Heckscher (born in Hamburg, 1848), was built on zinc and iron (see Who's Who, 1926–27). Among his numerous philanthropies is his en-

deavor to solve the housing problem in New York's congested East Side district.

Wisconsin is prominent in metals. Cf. J. H. A. Lacher, *The German Element in Wisconsin* (Publ. by Muehlenberg Unit, 36, Milwaukee, S. S. A.), pp. 32–33: "The manufacture of aluminum products, in which Wisconsin leads the country, was started at Two Rivers by Joseph Koenig, who is still active in the management of his large plant, now a unit of the Aluminum Goods Company of America (a $12,000,000 corporation), of which George Vits, of the mammoth Manitowac unit, is president. Conrad Werra, of the Werra Aluminum Foundry, and President A. C. Pankratz of the Quality Aluminum Foundry Co., Waukesha, and the Wentorf brothers, of the West Bend Aluminum Co., were likewise pioneers in this industry who gained their experience at Two Rivers."

"Men of German stock also dominate the manufacture of enameled ware in the state and country, the most notable being the great establishments of the Volraths at Sheboygan, Kohler at Kohler, the Kieckhefers and Geuder, Paeschke & Frey Co., of Milwaukee."

An interesting case of faith and persistence finally crowned by success is narrated in an article by W. C. Cronemeyer: *John Henry Demmler, the Preserver of the Infant American Tinplate Industry.* The Progressive, vol. IX, no. 24 (Oct. 1, 1926), pp. 562–66.

101. Textile industries.

Germantown Wool is still a trade-name to conjure with. Near Reading, Pennsylvania, lies the town of Wyomissing, famous for its textile machine works. The founder of this institution is the president of the Borough of Wyomissing, Ferdinand Thun, born in Barmen, Rhenish-Prussia, in 1866. Trained in the great technical schools of the industrial center in which he spent his youth, he came to the United States in 1886. In 1892 he was naturalized and engaged in manufacturing textile machines, first with his fellow-townsman of Barmen, Henry Janssen. He is president of the Berkshire Knitting Mills, Lehigh Structural Steel Co. (Allentown), secretary and treasurer of Textile Machine Works; organizer and treasurer of the Narrow Fabric Co.

Four leading wool manufacturing companies located in Passaic, New Jersey, are German:

The Botany Worsted Mills, Edward Stoehr, Pres.

The Forstmann & Huffman Co., Julius Forstman, Pres.

The Gera Mills, Ernest F. Weissflog, Proprietor.

The Passaic Worsted Spinning Co., Eugene Ruckdeschel, Pres.

Silk production (Seidenzucht) has proved a failure in the United States, while silk manufacture is one of America's proudest industries. In both there has been strong German participation. Silk-worms and an expert for their culture were sent to the colony of Virginia early in the seventeenth century by King James I, who earnestly desired that silk should be produced instead of tobacco, but in spite of bounties to the farmers who would produce silk, and penalties for those that refused to plant mulberry trees, the industry died out in Virginia before the end of the century. In the eighteenth century attempts were made in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and the Carolinas without lasting success, and finally in Georgia, at the very beginning of the colony in 1732. The German Salzburgers took a very active part in this culture and the English government supplied them with reeling-machines. The Salzburgers (see 1, 241, 243) persevered longer than all others; though their exportations came to an end with the Revolutionary War, some of them kept up for a long time after the manufacture of a silk twine. Not again until 1825 did interest in silk-culture revive, but then it rose to a fever of speculation in many parts of the country up to 1839, when the bubble burst. The last hope came with the introduction of silk culture into California in 1854, which proved the most successful attempt ever made in this country. But the uncertainty of the output owing to diseases of the silk-worm, and above all else the higher wages of labor rendered competition with China and Japan, and even with Southern Europe, entirely out of the question. Silk production has therefore been abandoned and the large silk manufacturing establishments of the country now import their raw material from the Orient and from Southern Europe. The first silk-manufacturer of note [1] was Wil-

[1] Earlier attempts, as that of Horatio and Rodney Hanks in Mansfield, Connecticut, in 1810, who manufactured silk thread, did not continue long.

liam H. Horstmann, a native of Hessen Kassel, who arriving in Philadelphia in 1816, began at once the manufacture of silk trimmings (passamenterie). Before he came to America he had thoroughly studied the art of silk manufacture in Germany and in France, and visited almost every European country to become more proficient in his branch. In 1824 he introduced the first Jacquard loom in America, and his son William J. Horstmann designed and built the first power loom for weaving narrow ware fabrics (ribbons, etc.) in this country, simultaneously with its adoption in Switzerland. This Philadelphia enterprise continued under the active management of members of the Horstmann family for nearly a century, and branches were established in leading American and European cities. At the outbreak of the Spanish War this firm was the only one in the United States able to meet the requirements of the Government for equipping the troops in the field with national and regimental colors.[1] One of the largest individual silk manufacturers in this country has been Hermann Simon, proprietor of the silk mills at Union Hill, N. J., and Easton, Pa. Robert Simon and his surviving brother Hermann were born in Frankfurt-on-the-Main, and came to this country after the Civil War, well-trained in their special line of manufacture. In 1874 they started their plant at Union Hill, in 1883 they founded the silk mill at Easton. The two factories together employed over 2200 hands.[2]

102. Tanners.

The founder of the Schoellkopf family, born at Kirchheim (unter Teck), in Württemberg, was Jacob F. Schoellkopf (1819–1899), who came to this country in 1841 and settled in Buffalo, N.Y., establishing his tannery there in 1844, destined to become one of the greatest in the United States. He had six sons and one daughter. A grandson is mentioned, vol. II, 396, Henry Schoellkopf, in whose honor and memory the athletic field at Cornell is named. The family is widespread and a good instance of a German-

[1] Cf. Posselt's Textile Journal, February, 1910, p. 51.

[2] Most of the facts here presented were furnished the author by Mr. F. W. Scherer (b. in Mannheim), at the time a superintendent in the establishment of R. and H. Simon.

American family expanding to ever larger spheres of activity. One of the sons, Jacob F. Schoellkopf, born in Buffalo, 1858, is regarded as the founder of the aniline color industry in the United States. He became connected since 1900 with the Hydraulic Power Co., merged with the Niagara Falls Power Co. 1917, in which he became chairman of the board. This plant has a capacity of 600,000 h.p. including three units of 70,000 h.p. each, the largest in the world.

A grandson of the founder, son of Arthur S. and Jesse Gluck S. has been president of the Niagara Falls Power Co. since 1919, and was earlier engaged with his father in power development, also general manager of the Canadian Niagara Power Co., vice-president of the Niagara Falls Milling Co.; director of the Shredded Wheat Co., etc. (See Who's Who in America, 1926–1927.)

The tanner of the state of Michigan is Carl E. Schmidt, founder of the Detroit firm of Carl E. Schmidt and Co. His father Traugott Schmidt, born in America, was also a Detroit tanner before him, his mother of an old German Quaker family of Pennsylvania. Carl Schmidt was born in Detroit in 1856 and completed his studies in Germany. He is also a successful agriculturist, cultivating a model farm of 10,000 acres at Lake Huron, Mich., which was waste land before he took hold of it. His "Walhalla," a rebuilt hunting lodge, at Cedar Lake, near Oscoda, stands on the scene of his triumph. Cf. The Progressive, vol. x, no. 17, pp. 410–412 (Article by Kalkhorst). The Schmidt family originates in the Voigtland, Saxony. Their civic virtues and love of freedom are chronicled in the records of the old town of Gera.

110. Photography.

The two brothers, William (1807–74) and Frederick Langenheim (1809–79), daguerreotypists of Philadelphia, specimens of whose work are as good to-day as when produced generations ago, introduced "Hyalotypes," photographs on glass colored for magic-lantern slides. Their pictures of Niagara Falls won gold medals from the crowned heads of Europe. They are important figures in the history of photography. Cf. S. H. Gage: *The Introduction of Photographic Transparencies as Lantern Slides.* Journal Royal Soc. Arts, vol. LIX (1911), pp. 255–57.

113–118. Piano and Organ Manufacture.

O. G. Sonneck mentions David Wolhaupter, a German in New York, as probably having been as early a manufacturer of pianos in the United States as Johann Behrend (John Behrent) in 1775.

The earliest manufacturer of organs in the United States of whom there is a record, was (also on the authority of O. G. Sonneck) Henry Neering, in all probability German, who was negotiating with the vestry of Trinity Church in New York in 1703. (There are records, it is said, of pipe organs having been built in Philadelphia as early as 1704). However, the first organ in Trinity Church was not built by Neering, but by the German American Gottlob Klemm, 1739–40. He was preceded in Philadelphia by Matthias Zimmermann, who was then followed by a long line of German organ builders of whom David Tannenberg was most noteworthy. (Cf. O. G. Sonneck: *Deutscher Einfluss auf das Musikleben Amerikas*, in Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika, Philadelphia, 1909, p. 358.)

David Tannenberg, a native of Berthelsdorf, Saxony, made a large number of pipe organs at Lititz, Lancaster Co., between 1762 and 1804, which were sold to other towns as Hanover, Pa., Salem, N.C., etc. He is said to have built the organ of Zion Church in Philadelphia (the largest church in America at the time) which was inaugurated in 1790. The last organ Tannenberg built was in York, Pa., for Christ Lutheran Church. He was stricken with apoplexy while tuning the organ in May, 1804. Adam Ault, Pennsylvania German, the Hanover organ builder, was a pupil of Tannenberg.

The city of Chicago claims its quota of early piano manufacturers, in the seventies, early for the central west. The German, Gotthard Schaff, and his brother were the pioneers, and for the first ten years had a monopoly in the construction of upright pianos.

Robert Sturn of Boston, in a letter to the author, records the purchase of an organ in Boston from the German firm Eberhard Walcker & Co. in Ludwigsburg, Württemberg, for $60,000. The organ was shipped by sail-boat from Rotterdam in 1863 and was three months on the way. The

oldest son of the firm, and the foreman of the factory, Julius Sturn (father of the writer of the letter), accompanied the organ and set it up with three assistants. At its inauguration in the Winter Palace, a music hall devoted to popular concerts in Boston, an admission fee of 25 cents was charged, and the organ concerts proved popular for some years. Sturn remained, engaged as the tuner.

Dr. Upsham was responsible for the purchase of this organ. He had traveled all over Europe, in England, France, Russia and Germany, before he selected the German firm as the best. It was the second largest organ in the world at the time, with 84 registers and bass pipes 32 feet long. Its influence on the popularity of organ music is said to have been noteworthy. The organ was eventually sold to J. Searle, who bought it for the town of Methuen.

The musical instrument manufacturers named on pages 111 to 118 were of the date 1909. Many changes have occurred since, especially through mergers. The Steinway piano, however, has not only maintained its leading position, but has remained in the same family.

119. Among leaders of industry not classified under the foregoing heads there may be mentioned: The German-Swiss Zerbrügg, founder of the leading watch-case factory in the country at Riverside, New Jersey; Schoenberger & Co. the great wire-manufacturers of Pittsburgh; Henry Heide, confectioner in New York; the Pagenstechers, paper manufacturers of New York (Keith, Ryegate, Manufacturers Paper Co., etc.), the founder, Albrecht Pagenstecher, native of Germany, the sons Albrecht and Rudolph, born in this country; finally Ringling Brothers, "Baraboo's seven famous sons," who hailed from Wisconsin, were of German parentage, and became the country's greatest showmen, absorbing Barnum's circus.

In every city where Germans resided in large numbers they founded National Banks, Savings Banks and Trust Companies, that before the war could usually be distinguished by their names. One of the noblest financial institutions founded by Germans was the GERMANIA LIFE INSURANCE Co., the central office of which was established in New York City in the year 1860. Two names are imperish-

ably associated with the *Germania*, that of its first president Hugo Wesendonck (brother-in-law of Mathilde Wesendonck, who inspired Wagner's Tristan und Isolde), and his successor Hubert Cillis, both during their time prominent also in the social life of New York Germans. Up to 1913 the *Germania* had disbursed more than $88,500,000 to policyholders or their heirs. During the war the Germania changed its good name to Guardian Life Insurance Company.

Chapter IV (Politics)

125. Frederick Frelinghuysen was not a member of the Convention of 1787, but may have been a member of the New Jersey Convention ratifying the constitution. (On the authority of Prof. Max Farrand, author of "Records of the Federal Convention of 1787").

126f. Slavery.

Proudly may the Germans of the United States refer to the two protests against slavery (1) by the German Quakers of Germantown (see 1, 45); and (2) the Salzburgers (see 1, 242). The Virginia Germans did not favor the keeping of slaves (see 1, 182). The Germans of North Carolina (see the Fries volumes of *Records of theMoravians in North Carolina*) also opposed slavery, the Moravians finally taking the same position as the Salzburgers, when overpowered by the prevailing sentiment, viz.: they allowed the keeping of slaves (though very few) if thereby these unfortunates could be led to God.

It was by no means an accident that the chairman of the congressional committee who drafted and put through the bill for the prevention of the importation of negro slaves to the United States after 1808, was a man of German parentage, Major George Michael Bedinger, the noted Kentucky hero of pioneer and revolutionary fame (see 1, 358, 372, 374, 383). Cf. also: *George Michael Bedinger, a Kentucky Pioneer*, by Danske Dandridge. Charlottesville, Va., 1909.

An interesting fact is that one of the most authoritative books on the American negro was written by a German:

Hoffman, Frederick Ludwig (b. Varel, Oldenburg, North Germany, 1865): *The Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro.* In American Economic Association, Publ. vol. XI, 1–3, 1896. (See Who's Who, 1926–27.)

137. On the subject of the German influence in the Northwest during the Lincoln campaign the following articles have a bearing:

W. E. Dodd: *The Fight for the North West, 1860.* American Historical Review, XVI, no. 4, July, 1911, pp. 774–788.

F. I. Herriott: *The Germans of Chicago and Stephen A. Douglas in 1854.* Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill., 1912. Vol. XII, pp. 381–404.

—— *The Germans of Iowa and the "Two Year" Amendment of Massachusetts.* Jahrbuch 1913, pp. 202–308.

—— *The Germans in the Gubernatorial Campaign of Iowa in 1859.* Jahrbuch 1914, pp. 451–622.

—— *The Premises and Significance of Abraham Lincoln's Letter to Theodor Canisius.* Jahrbuch 1915, pp. 181–254.

—— *A Neglected Factor in the Anti-Slavery Triumph in Iowa in 1854.* Jahrbuch 1918–19, pp. 174–355.

150. GERMAN LANGUAGE.

German as a spoken language in the United States always had a hard struggle to maintain its existence against the established national language, just as the French language in Canada, the English in Mexico, or South America. Equality could exist only in isolated instances, where there was a strong concentration of German immigration. In the 18th century there was such a concentration of the Germans in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, but though the German population was large, it did not number more than one-third of the total population of the colony. In certain counties, however, such as Lancaster, Berks, Montgomery and York, the Germans numbered from fifty to seventy-five per cent of the population.

These large numbers gave rise to a myth, often repeated, about as follows: Immediately after the Revolutionary War, the German population equalled in numbers the native population of Pennsylvania, and the question was raised in the State Legislature, which of the two languages should be the official language of the State. The question when put

to a vote, resulted in a tie, and the decision, it was said, was made by the presiding officer, Frederick Augustus Mühlenberg, who, though of pure German blood, decided against the German language. This act was described, on the one hand, as that of a patriot, on the other, as the treachery of a Judas, for Frederick August Mühlenberg represented the best of the traditions of the German immigrants of the 18th century. He was a son of Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, the founder of the Lutheran Church of the United States, and on his mother's side descended from Conrad Weiser, the famous Indian interpreter. Since this myth had the faculty of spreading rapidly and gaining credence, the author thought it worth while to trace the story to its origins, and ascertain whether there was any shadow of truth in it. The result of a search of the records of Pennsylvania (incl. *Minutes of the Council of Censors*, of which F. A. Mühlenberg was president, the *Journal of the First and Third Congresses*, of which Mühlenberg was Speaker, and the *Minutes of the Pennsylvania Assembly until 1781*), conducted by Thomas L. Montgomery, State Librarian, Harrisburg, showed that F. A. Mühlenberg was never put into the embarrassing position of deciding for or against the language of his fathers. The confusion may have come somewhat in the following way: Frederick Augustus Mühlenberg was the first Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States; he was a member of the first four sessions of Congress and was re-elected Speaker of the House in the Third Congress. He was also repeatedly President of the Assembly of Pennsylvania. But only once in his career was he called on to cast a deciding vote upon a very important matter. It was when Congress had resolved into a Committee of the Whole on the question of the Jay treaty, exceedingly unpopular everywhere because considered too favorable to England. As chairman, Mühlenberg on April 29, 1796, cast the deciding vote in favor of the treaty, and thus incurred some of the disfavor which the unpopular treaty carried with it. The tenacity with which the Pennsylvania Germans clung to their language may have given rise to the legend that a struggle for supremacy had existed in the State.

There are a number of extremely interesting entries in the minutes of the Pennsylvania legislative bodies, as follows:

"Convention of 1776: July 26; 1776; (Friday).

'Upon motion, Resolved, That the minutes be published weekly in English and German, and that the house will appoint a committee to superintend the publication.'

Monday, May 18, 1778, P.M.

'A petition from a number of the German inhabitants of this State, praying that the laws enacted since the establishment of independency, within this commonwealth, may be printed in their language, was read, and ordered to lie on the table.'"

This last petition (that the whole body of laws be printed) was apparently never renewed. In November of the same year there occurred an action which denotes the closest approach to equality between the two languages. The minute reads as follows:

"Saturday, November 28, 1778.

'On motion, Ordered, That 5000 copies in English and 5000 in German of the foregoing resolves be printed, and that the same be continued one month in the public news-papers.'"

Immediately after the war appear a number of renewed petitions.

"Wednesday, August 25, 1784 A.M.

'Petitions from a number of Germans, inhabitants of Pennsylvania, were read, praying the Laws and Minutes of the General Assembly may be printed in the German language.

Ordered to lie on the table.'

Friday, November 4, 1785. A.M.

'Moved by Mr. Orth, and seconded by Mr. Logan, That four hundred copies of the Minutes, part of the twelve hundred copies, be printed in the German language.

After some debate, it was moved by Mr. Miller and seconded by Mr. Hubley, To commit the last motion; which was

Carried in the affirmative,

Ordered, That the same be referred to Mr. Miller, Mr. Trexler and Mr. Orth, to report upon.'"

The committee reported seven days afterwards, whereupon the following resolution was made:

"Saturday, November 12, 1785 A.M.

'Resolved that 400 copies of the minutes, part of the 1200 copies agreed to by the resolve of the 4th of November, be translated and published in the German language.
Resolved that all public bills ordered for publication be translated and published in a German newspaper.'"

It was ordered, "that Mr. Will, Mr. Hubley and Mr. Richards, be a committee, to superintend the translating and printing the minutes of this House, and bills for the consideration, in the German language."

The following Tuesday was assigned for the election of a German printer of the minutes and bills, and also for the choice of a person to translate them into the German language. The result of the election was that Leibart and Billmeyer became the official printers.

On Saturday, October 28th, 1786, A.M., appears another record, as follows:

"It was moved by Mr. Will, and seconded by Mr. Morris, That four hundred copies of the minutes, part of the twelve hundred copies, be printed in the German language. Which was carried in the affirmative."

On Monday, September 24, 1787, P.M., the following entry:

"On motion of Mr. Findley, seconded by Mr. Will, Resolved, That three thousand copies of the constitution for the government of the United States, recommended by the late honorable Convention, be printed in the English language, and five hundred copies thereof in the German, to be distributed throughout this state, for the information of the inhabitants thereof."

Data of the same nature appear at intervals in succeeding years. This proves that the situation in Pennsylvania was similar to that which exists in Switzerland at the present day. The laws of the land are printed in several languages, to serve the better understanding of the various language groups.

In other states also during this early period the legislatures found it necessary to print their action in the German language. In Maryland three hundred copies of the Constitution of the United States were ordered printed in German by the legislature and ordered to be distributed in

Baltimore, Frederick and Washington counties. This happened in 1787, and is one of several similar records.

156f. SCHURZ. We are under great obligations to Frederic Bancroft for the editing of the speeches, letters, etc. of the foremost of all German Americans.

Carl Schurz, 1829–1906. Speeches, correspondence, and political papers of Carl Schurz; selected and edited by Frederic Bancroft on behalf of the Carl Schurz Memorial Committee. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913. 6 vols.

164f. LIEBER. Cf. *Francis Lieber.* A Study of a Man and an Ideal. By Ernest Bruncken. Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. v. Ill. Jahrgang 1915 (vol. xv), pp. 7–61.

156–177. *Typical German figures in American politics.* A large number of important omissions have been noted in this list, partly due to the fact that memoirs and new materials are constantly being published. The following *Addenda* must be viewed as an attempt to partially correct this fault, though lack of space is a hindrance to doing justice to the subject.

KOERNER. (See also: I, 458, 459, 590; II, 132.) Cf. *The Memoirs of Gustave Koerner (Gustav Körner); 1809–1896.* Life sketches written at the suggestion of his children. Edited by Thomas B. McCormack. In two volumes. Cedar Rapids, Iowa, The Torch Press, 1909. These Memoirs were published too late to be considered in the first edition of this book. Therefore a note must be added here to do belated justice to this noble figure.

Worthy to be placed by the side of Schurz and Lieber as representing the ideal type of the German in American politics is Gustave Koerner (Gustav Körner). Always unselfish when the rewards of office were obtainable, aggressively independent, fighting to the last ditch for high principles and never listening to the seductions of parties, he was surpassed by no German-American statesman in influence and general usefulness. Carl Schurz was his superior in forensic eloquence, Francis Lieber in depth of learning, and both of these men held more conspicuous positions. But Koerner controlled the German vote of Illinois, and thereby held the balance of power, in the critical period of the beginnings of

the Republican Party. The weight of his influence turned the balance in favor of Lincoln.

Recognized as one of the ablest lawyers and judges of the state, Koerner had been a leader in the Democratic Party, which elected him Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois, 1853–1856. He had stumped the state with Douglas, and on a tour in 1852 had often occupied with him the same room and the same bed in the rural sections of the state. Though keenly sensitive to the shock of breaking with his political friends, Koerner severed the ties promptly when the great issues of slavery and disunion came to the fore. He was one of the original members of the Republican Party, and one of the first to expose the demagoguery of Douglas, as proceeding from a monstrous passion for the presidency of the United States. In the Republican National Convention of 1860, when a great many of the German delegates, among them Schurz, stood for Seward, Koerner cast his large influence in favor of Lincoln and was one of the principal factors that secured his nomination. During the period after Lincoln's election and before his inauguration while residing in Springfield, Koerner was one of a small group of Lincoln's closest advisers, and strengthened the President-elect in assuming an uncompromising attitude toward slavery. Koerner's serving as one of the pall-bearers at Lincoln's funeral was a recognition of his intimacy with the President. He was also instrumental in starting General Grant on his military career, at a time when the latter, unknown to fame, was unable to impress persons in high station. Judge Koerner at once became the right hand man of the inexperienced war-governor, Yates; wrote the Governor's message to the legislature for him at the opening of the war, and remained a power behind the throne until called to serve on the staff of Frémont in Missouri. Upon that, Lincoln appointed him Minister to Spain to succeed Carl Schurz, whose desire to take active part in the war was gratified. Koerner remained a Republican until the exposures of frauds in administrative circles induced him to turn against Grant. He supported Hancock against Garfield, Tilden against Hayes, and rejoiced in the election of Cleveland. Throughout his long political career Koerner

remained a true independent, supporting a party only so long as it represented the worthiest principles, and honestly striving for betterment in political methods.

Just as interesting and valuable as the narrative of Koerner's political career is for American history, so the account of his earlier life as an ardent "Burschenschafter," furnishes revelations indispensable for the historian of the German revolutionary period of 1830–34. Born in the city of Frankfurt, Koerner grew up among a set of German patriots who desired national unity and republican institutions at any cost. Imprisonment at Munich did not disturb his purpose, which was fostered in the student societies of the universities of Jena, Munich and Heidelberg, and culminated in the revolutionary outbreak of the third of April, 1833, the "Frankfurter Attentat." Koerner was one of the ringleaders and had to flee from the country in disguise. He finally found refuge in Belleville, Illinois, which became the typical "Latin Settlement," the home of the leading German refugees of 1833 and subsequently of 1848. The transition from cultivated European intellectual to American farmer, the painful process of assimilation with a population of different standards and ideals, finds reflection in *Koerner's Memoirs*, a work which for its historical, literary, and human interest is the fit companion piece of the *Reminiscences of Karl Schurz*. A remarkable feature of the *Memoirs* is their accuracy and trustworthiness. Though written down when the author was over eighty years of age, they are not the product of an old man's brain and memory necessarily fallible. Koerner had the old fashioned habit of keeping a diary through most periods of his life, and on this record and his papers his narrative is based. When in some matters of detail he corrects the recollections of Grant, or of Sherman, his statements should be treated very seriously.

Stallo. Johann Bernhard Stallo was likewise a leader of the very first rank during the critical period of American history in the nineteenth century. As his friend Koerner, Stallo was also a prominent jurist and a man whose personality impressed deeply not only his German constituency, but also his whole American environment. Stallo was born in Sierhausen, Oldenburg, in 1823. The name Stallo is

Frisian and denotes "forester." In 1839 he followed the example of his liberty loving, somewhat eccentric uncle, founder of Stallotown, now Minster, Ohio. He made use of his excellent education in languages, ancient and modern, and in mathematics, by starting as a teacher in the United States at St. Xavier, Cincinnati, and then St. John's College, Fordham, N. Y. Teaching and study was in his blood and it seemed for a time that he would give himself up entirely to scholarly work, when he published in Boston, 1848, *General Principles of the Philosophy of Nature*.[1] Stallo always remained true to his first love and frequently contributed during his busy life to the *Popular Science Monthly*, the founder of which, Edward L. Youmans, was a personal friend of his. Already in 1847 Stallo had returned to Cincinnati to study law and was admitted to the bar two years later. In 1853 he was called by the governor of the state to fill a vacancy in the court of the Hamilton circuit, and was regularly installed later by popular vote. Giving this up in 1855 he returned to his law practice in Cincinnati. In the following year he became widely known through his defense of the *Turners* who had had a collision with the *Know Nothings* at Covington, Ky. (cf. vol. II, 393). The Germans of Ohio now recognized in Stallo their natural political leader. More widespread interest was aroused in 1869 by his defense of the School Board of Cincinnati, who had decreed the omission of the customary bible-reading and singing of hymns as a part of the daily class-room work. Stallo argued for the complete separation of Church and State as derived from the American Constitution and consistent with the spirit of progress. The Court of Cincinnati did not dare to judge in his favor in the face of rampant fanaticism, but the Supreme Court of Ohio four years later approved the action of the School Board. Stallo was one of the early Republicans, standing for Frémont in 1856, and four years later the most

[1] This is undoubtedly the work that Henry Adams refers to in his autobiographical work "The Education of Henry Adams," pp. 377, 449, 452: "A volume by Judge Stallo, which had been treated by the schools with a conspiracy of silence, such as inevitably meets every revolutionary work that upsets the stock and machinery of instruction." In another place Adams says of a later philosophical work: "Little more than an enlargement of Stallo's book already twenty years old."

ardent backer of Lincoln's policies. On the 17th of April, 1861, he made his famous speech in Turner Hall of Cincinnati, for the raising of a German regiment. It was recruited in 24 hours, named the 9th Ohio, but it was long popularly called the *Stallo-Turner-Regiment*. It was one of the very first in action. Stallo took part in the political reform movement of 1873 in Ohio, and in the following presidential election threw his influence in the scale for Tilden. This independent reform movement under Democratic leadership did not bear fruit until Grover Cleveland won the presidency, who showed his recognition of the long and tried services of Stallo by appointing him to represent the United States as Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome. Stallo had never sought office, his friends had pushed him into this single reward. His scholarship and talents distinguished him in the diplomatic circles. After the close of his term he lived in Florence, Italy, until his death in 1900, ending as he had begun, as a student of science and philosophy. Cf. H. A. Rattermann, *Johann Bernhard Stallo, Deutsch-Amerikanischer Philosoph, Jurist und Staatsmann.* Denkrede, gehalten d. 6. Nov. 1901, Cincinnati. Bd. XII. Gesammelte Werke von H. A. Rattermann. 54 pp.

KUDLICH. Dr. Hans Kudlich, one of the great emancipators in history, who carried through the Austrian Parliament the measures that set millions of peasants of Austria free from their serfdom, found a refuge in the United States in 1854, after being compelled to leave his native land. Kudlich was born in Lohenstein, Austrian Silesia, in 1823, studied law at the University of Vienna and took part in the students' movement revolting against the tyranny of Metternich. He was severely wounded in the revolutionary struggle, but when still not 25 years of age was a delegate to the first Parliament. His brilliant career is described in his *Memoirs and Reviews* (Vienna, 1873). After General Windischgrätz recaptured Vienna and Kudlich in vain attempted to relieve the city, he was indicted for high treason, condemned to death, but escaped to Germany, where he met one of his confederates, Oswald Ottendorfer. There Kudlich joined the revolutionary forces of Baden, but was compelled to flee to Switzerland with the remnant of Sigel's

army. There he studied medicine, but after 4 years was compelled to leave Switzerland through Austrian influence, and settled in Hoboken, New Jersey, practising medicine. He was an outspoken abolitionist before the Civil War, but never accepted a political office. He continued his medical practice and during the last years of his long life lived in retirement. He died in Hoboken in 1917, aged 94 years. Two sons of Dr. Kudlich became physicians, a third, H. C. Kudlich, following the earlier bent of his father, has been for many years an eminent jurist of New York City.

Sander. Dr. Enno Sander also a revolutionist of '48 (for a time war-minister of the revolution in Baden) and a physician, was the Nestor of the Germans in St. Louis for a generation, until his death in 1912, when he almost reached his 90th year. After his release from prison in 1853 he came to St. Louis and put pharmacy in St. Louis on a scientific basis. He founded the American Pharmaceutical Society in 1858 which is to-day a nation-wide organization. He founded the St. Louis College of Pharmacy in 1863, and for many years directed its affairs. We owe Prof. Heller the brief record: *Aus dem Tagebuch eines Achtundvierzigers* (Dr. Enno Sander). St. Louis, Mo. Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrg. 1913. Pp. 309–340.

To the physicians of the '48 period belongs another leader and friend of men, Dr. Ernst Schmidt, surgeon general of the 16th army corps in the early part of the Civil War. He was pardoned for his offenses in the revolution and started his career as Privatdozent at the University of Würzburg, but he came to Chicago in 1857, then held a professorship at the Humboldt Medical Institute in St. Louis until he became surgeon of the 3rd Missouri volunteers. Subsequently he settled in Chicago, and was chief surgeon of Alexian Bros. Hospital and Michael Reese Hospital. He was interested in politics, at one time candidate for mayor of Chicago, always public spirited, a democratic friend of the working classes, the leader of the Germans of Chicago until his death in 1900. (See *Chicago u. sein Deutschtum*, pp. 116–119.)

He had four sons, three of whom followed him in medicine, viz.: Frederick Schmidt druggist, Dr. Louis Ernst

and Dr. Otto L. Schmidt surgeons. The latter and his wife, daughter of Conrad Seipp, followed the lead of Ernst Schmidt also in all German humanitarian and cultural ventures in Chicago. The fourth son, Richard E. Schmidt, architect, built the Alexian Bros. Hospital, and the Montgomery Ward Building, the tower of which at the time it was built was one of the tallest in Chicago. (See II, 318, and Who's Who, 1926–27.)

Brentano. Born in Mannheim, trained in jurisprudence, Lorenz Brentano was several times elected to the post of burgomaster of Mannheim, but not confirmed by the government. He joined the radical party and became a member of the Chamber of Deputies in 1845. He was the eloquent defender of Hecker and Sander at the assizes and was elected a member of the Frankfurt Parliament. In 1849 he was placed at the head of the Revolutionary Government of South Germany, as "Dictator of Baden." He fled to Switzerland and came to America in 1850. He first edited an anti-slavery paper "Der Leuchtturm," in Pottsville, Pa., then bought a farm in Kalamazoo, Michigan. In 1859 he removed to Chicago, practised law, then joined the editorial staff of the *Illinois Staatszeitung*, of which he soon became editor and part owner (buying a half share from George Schneider) with A. C. Hesing. He made the *Illinois Staatszeitung* the leading German Republican newspaper of the Northwest. In 1862 he was elected to the Illinois State Legislature, in 1868 presidential elector on the Grant-Colfax ticket, and for five years president of the Chicago Board of Education. After the general amnesty, he revisited his native land and was United States Consul at Dresden 1872–76. After his return he was elected, in 1876, to the 45th Congress of the United States, serving until 1879. He supported Grover Cleveland and after retirement engaged in investigations aiming to compare and contrast the American and European codes and methods of criminal procedure. He suffered a stroke of paralysis some time before his death in Chicago in 1891.

His son, Theodore Brentano, distinguished jurist of Chicago (see Who's Who), Judge of Superior Court, Cook Co., Ill., 1890–1921, subsequently first Minister Plenipo-

tentiary to Hungary (1922–1927), answered an inquiry of the author as follows: "In reply to your specific inquiry, as to his (Lorenz Brentano's) connection with the illustrious Frankfurt family of that name, to wit, the banker Peter Anton Brentano, the son-in-law of Sophie von Laroche, and his children, Clemens and Bettina, I have to state that my father's father was a first cousin of Peter Anton and hence my father Lorenz was a second cousin of Clemens and Bettina. On my recent visit I was shown some highly interesting original letters of Bettina, Goethe, Beethoven and others, by descendants of the family in Germany." (Letter. July 15, 1927.)

SEEGER. In the Diplomatic and Consular Service of the United States many worthy men have served quietly and efficiently; two examples may suffice. Eugene Seeger, born in Southern Germany, 1853; started his career as a newspaper man, was one of the founders of the "Freie Presse," Chicago; chief editor and manager of the "California Democrat," San Francisco, "New Jersey Freie Zeitung," Newark. He was politically an ardent republican; Consul general at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1897–1906. (See Who's Who, 1910–11.)

MARKBREIT. Leopold Markbreit, born in Vienna 1842. At Cincinnati he was for a short time law partner of Rutherford B. Hayes, until both enlisted in the war. He was Captain, 28th Ohio, until captured, when confined in Libby and Salisbury prisons (under great privations) in subterranean dungeons as one of four special hostages. He was appointed by President Grant United States Minister to Bolivia, 1869–73; on a South American business mission, 1873–74. He was president and manager "Cincinnati Volksblatt" from 1875, 1882–86 United States Treasurer at Cincinnati. (See Who's Who, 1906–07.)

BLANKENBURG. Rudolph Blankenburg in his war on bosses and corruption in the city of Philadelphia won a national reputation. He was born in Lippe-Detmold, Germany, in 1843, and came to the United States in 1865. After being connected with the firm of Horstman and Sons (silks) in Philadelphia for ten years, he started his own independent firm R. Blankenburg & Co. (importers of silk-

goods) in 1875, which he managed personally until 1909. He was active in reform politics, civic improvements, and in international welfare work since 1877. He was elected county commissioner by nearly 50,000 majority in the great reform movement of 1905, which defeated the Republican ring. His greatest political victory and one of the most brilliant in the history of municipal reform contests in the United States took place in 1911. A contemporary newspaper heralded the news as follows:

"In one of the most bitterly fought elections in the history of Philadelphia, Rudolph Blankenburg, popularly known as 'The War Horse of Reform,' yesterday defeated Geo. H. Earle, Jr., the Republican candidate for mayor, by the small plurality of 4,334. The fight made by Blankenburg was remarkable. Facing a normal Republican majority of between 75,000 and 100,000, a candidate backed by United States Senator Penrose and State Senator J. P. McNichol, the organization leader of the city, this strong advocate of civil righteousness battled his way to victory against odds which would have deterred a less determined candidate."

Blankenburg was mayor of Philadelphia from 1912–16. He was a contributor to magazines and newspapers and was also invited to speak in many states on political and reform subjects. He died in April 1918.

Kern. John Worth Kern, born in Indiana 1849 (died 1917), Democratic nominee for Vice-President of the United States in 1908, United States Senator from Indiana 1911–17, wrote to the author in regard to his descent:

"My grandfather, Jacob Kern, was born in Frederick Co., Virginia, in 1777. His father, Adam Kern, came from Germany to this country about 1750 or perhaps a little earlier and laid out the little village of Kernstown near Winchester, Va., where two important battles of the Civil War were fought."

Wisconsin. Wisconsin has furnished its quota of congressmen, alas not enough considering the large German population of the state: "Paul Husting was the only man of German strain to represent Wisconsin in the United States Senate. His father was a German, his mother of

French and Indian stock. Congressmen Bouck, Bragg, Winans, and Woodward were partly of German descent. The following were of German birth or parentage: Barwig, Berger, Brickner, Deuster, Esch, Guenther, Kopp, Kuestermann, Lampert, Otjen, Sauerhering, Schafer, Schneider, Henry Smith, Voigt, and Weisse." (See J. H. A. Lacher, *The German Element in Wisconsin*, p. 40.)

WAGNER. The Germans of New York feel pride in the election of Robert Ferdinand Wagner to the United States Senate, the first senator of German birth since Carl Schurz, and the second German to achieve this rare distinction for a person of foreign birth. Wagner was born in Prussia and came to this country at an early age. He was a member of the New York State Assembly 1905–08, subsequently of the state senate. A member of the Democratic party he was known for his integrity and sound judgment. He was Justice of the Supreme Court of New York (1st district) for a term to expire 1932, but resigned this position when a candidate for the United States Senate. See *The Progressive*, May 1, 1927, p. 324, etc.

180. To the New York jurists of prominence belong also Judge FREDERICK WILLIAM KRUSE, born in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 1852. He came to America with his parents while very young; was admitted to the bar in 1877, practised law at Olean, was member of New York Assembly 1884–87; sole commissioner to investigate census frauds 1890, member of committee to prepare charter 1895; justice of Supreme Court of New York 1900–1922, etc. (See Who's Who, 1926–27.)

THEODORE SUTRO, whose brilliant career has just been terminated by his death, was born in Aachen, Prussia, 1845. He began practising law in New York City in 1874; in 1887 he saved the interests of the Sutro Tunnel Co. in Nevada, and organized its successor the Comstock Tunnel Co., the affairs of which he managed until 1894. He was Commissioner of Taxes, New York, 1895–98; active as a leader in the movement for purchase by New York State of the farm and homestead of General Nicholas Herkimer, and in many other movements in the interests of Germans in this country. His brilliant defense of the German-Ameri-

can Alliance during the war period, though unsuccessful, was a noble and praiseworthy act. For a time he was president and editor of the *Deutsches Journal* of New York, and he was a collector of paintings. (See Who's Who, 1926–27.)

The disputed ancestry of Judge PETER S. GROSSCUP is cleared up by the following letter, written to the author in 1911: "On my father's side I am descended from Holland, my great-great-grandfather having come over some time about the middle of the eighteenth century, or a little earlier. With this exception my ancestry is entirely German, my great-grandfather's name being Rotharmel (one of the Rotharmels of Reading, Pa.), my grandmother being a Shearer of Cumberland County, Pa., and my mother a Bauermeister, of Cumberland County also. My mother's mother was a Moler, of the same locality, her grandfather, my great-grandfather, having emigrated from Germany."

187. *The Socialist Labor Party and Social Democratic Party.* An interesting study of the literary background of socialism in America is found in:

Socialism in German American Literature, by William Frederic Kammann. Americana Germanica Press, no. 24. Philadelphia, 1917. 124 pp.

197. Socialist Party. VICTOR BERGER remains the most successful socialist leader at the polls. He was the first socialist ever elected to Congress (1911–13), again elected in November 1918, but excluded from membership November 10, 1919 by a vote of 309 to 1, on the ground of disloyalty to the United States and giving aid and comfort to the enemy in time of war — having previously been indicted in various places, and sentenced to prison for 20 years by Judge Landis of the Federal Court of Chicago; reëlected to Congress November 1919 with an increased majority, but again refused admission; once more reëlected with a much increased majority and finally seated without a dissenting vote, December 3, 1923 — the Supreme Court of the United States having in 1921 reversed the Landis decision and the Government in 1922 having withdrawn all other cases against him. He was reëlected to the 69th Congress, 1925–27. (See Who's Who, 1926–27.) Regarding the success of his party at the polls, Mr. Berger said in a speech in the House, April 27,

1926: "I was the first Socialist elected in the 62nd Congress in 1910, and it seems to be written in the stars that at least in the beginning not more than one Socialist shall sit in this House. Whenever the electors of the fifth district of Wisconsin made the mistake of not returning me, then some constituency in New York rectified it by electing a Socialist from there, but we never get further than electing one and a half at the same time. All I can do is to function as an interpreter — to show to the people, most of whom know nothing about socialism or socialist theory, what the Socialists would do if they had the power to do it. Socialism has become the greatest power in Europe to-day, and to no small extent also the main bulwark against the threatening despotism of either communism or fascism. Socialism is the basic idea of the Labor Party of England . . . the strongest party in France and the largest single party in Germany."

Berger is also an interpreter of post-war conditions in Germany and Europe and a courageous speaker of the truth in regard to them in the House.

198. NATIONALBUND. The activities of the *National German-American Alliance* were reported in the *Americana Germanica*, and its successor *The German American Annals*, both edited by Marion D. Learned (who followed Oswald Seidensticker as Professor of German at the University of Pennsylvania in 1895). A very creditable publication of the N. G. A. Alliance, thought of as a "Festschrift" to the "225th Anniversary Celebration of the Founding of Germantown, October 6, 1908," but slightly delayed in publication was *Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika*, Philadelphia 1909. 4to. 974 pp. A large number of special contributions by persons well prepared to write them, give this publication rank far above the usual offerings. These special articles are frequently referred to in this *Appendix*.

The German-American Alliance was dissolved during the late war, in spite of the able defense of its founder and president Dr. C. J. Hexamer, Theodore Sutro, eminent lawyer in New York City, and others. The charter of the association was taken away during the wave of super-patriotism that swept over the country at that time. The last president, after the death of Dr. Hexamer, was Rev. Georg von Bosse.

The article entitled *Der Deutsch-Amerikanische National Bund der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika*, printed in *Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika*, pp. 781–813, presents a good picture of the organization at the height of its prosperity.

200. The Steuben Society of America. The German element in the United States has frequently been criticized for a lack of participation in public affairs. As a racial stock the Germans have not come from one country alone, not solely from the boundaries of what is known as the German Empire, where since 1870 at least, there has been maintained a uniformly high standard of educational requirements throughout all sections of the people, but Germans just as good have come from the provinces of Austria, the German cantons of Switzerland, from the Baltic and the Black Sea provinces of Russia, from Hungary, Bohemia and other Slavic countries, and in fact from every continent of the globe. They have been of varied faiths, Protestants of many denominations, Catholics, Jews, Freethinkers, Sectarians of every kind, emphasizing that strong trait of individualism which has been at the same time the virtue and the fault of the German race.

They had lived under most varied forms of government, monarchies, absolute or liberal, oligarchies, republics and dictatorships, and their experiences abroad had generally not been very fortunate. Hence a critical attitude on coming to this country, or a disposition to shun all activity in political affairs as long as the government did not interfere with their own business pursuits, whether agricultural, industrial or intellectual, in all of which the Germans have been eminently successful.

At various periods of its history the German element in the United States has suffered the penalty of its dislike of engaging in political activity. Thus, during the Know-Nothing or nativistic movement about the middle of the nineteenth century. But then there was a Carl Schurz, Gustav Koerner, Bernhard Stallo, to speak for it or to wield mighty pens in influential newspapers. At no time did the German element in this country feel more painfully the want of political leadership than in the period of the

great war beginning with 1914. There was a lack of sufficient representation in both houses of Congress, the newspapers of the country were with the exception of the German language press entirely in the hands of the Allies' friends. To be sure there were men and women of true courage, not lacking in ability, whose voices rang aloud, but they were always in the minority and were readily shouted down. There was no national figure to advocate their cause, they had no spokesman, no great leader.

The realization of this humiliating position caused the German element throughout the land to feel more keenly than ever the necessity for better participation in public affairs. This thought was in the minds of the small group of men, who in May 1919, in the city of New York, founded the Steuben Society of America. They first met socially and casually, then more frequently and purposefully, until they decided to definitely organize in order to arouse citizens of German descent to a greater sense of their civic and political duties and rights.

It is interesting to note that the name for the Society was suggested to one of the founders by a friend in the United States Senate, with whom he had discussed the propriety and need of such an organization. This Senator, not of German blood, whose liberal views never forsook him when estimating the comparative merits of racial stocks not his own, pointed to the name of Steuben, the great German drill-master of the American forces during the Revolutionary War, who made soldiers out of the raw patriot militia — Steuben, the zealous and loyal citizen thereafter — Steuben, at once an ideal and a reality — what a name to conjure with! And particularly the educational method used by General Steuben, that of training selected men in the arts of war, of training leaders, who in turn would train other leaders, so that soon the whole army might live under the influence of superior training. This example could be emulated by a civic organization whose object it would be to find those willing and fit to serve, who might benefit by instruction, carry it forward, and train leaders. And thus the suggestion was gratefully and enthusiastically accepted by the founders, and the Steuben Society of America was born.

The Society was created to be, and remains to-day, an organization independent of political parties. It does not intend to dictate to its members how to vote, but endeavors to instruct them to vote intelligently and in the paths of public service.

The Steuben Society of America is a voluntary membership organization formed to stimulate among American citizens an active interest in their Government. It is national in scope and consists of Units in cities all over the country. The organization desires to unite men and women who have interests in common, so that they may obtain a better understanding of their civic duties and rights, and to assist them in taking an active part in political affairs.

The members of the Steuben Society are American citizens of Germanic origin who wish to promote civic betterment in the United States by doing their share and taking their proper part as loyal citizens in the political and social life of the country. In this endeavor it is the aim of the Steuben Society

1. To foster a patriotic American spirit among all citizens.

2. To guard the Nation's political liberty by maintaining an honest equality of citizenship regardless of birth, origin or religion of any citizen or class of citizens.

3. To uphold the Constitution of the United States.

4. To maintain the traditions of the Nation, to keep alive the memory of the achievements of the pioneers of this country, and to enlighten the public on the important part played by the Germanic element in the making of America.

5. To guide our citizens through the intricacies of public policies, to warn them against political intrigues and to oppose alien influenced government.

The Steuben Society recognizes that ours is a nation of immigrants from all parts of Europe, who have built out of Nature's rich resources, in forest and mines, on plains and prairies, under privation and hardship, a mighty Republic, whose industrial and agricultural wealth stands unequalled in the world to-day.

In acknowledging the contributions of all racial elements, the Steuben Society considers it a duty to instill a patriotic

STEUBEN MONUMENT IN WASHINGTON, D. C.
ERECTED BY THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

Note: For Steuben's baptismal name in full and correct date of birth as established by recent research, see Appendix p. 628.

fervor in every citizen. It will denounce and endeavor to prevent any attempt to discredit, malign or abuse any loyal element of the American people, and will zealously guard the liberties which our fathers fought for and achieved.

Duty, Justice, Charity and Tolerance are not only cornerstones of the structure of the Steuben Society of America, but are fundamental to the existence of the American Republic itself, and upon this foundation the Society is satisfied to have its edifice rest forever.

STEUBEN SOCIETY OF AMERICA,
405 Lexington Avenue,
New York City.

The following letter is one which may inspire every member of the S. S. A. to emulation:

Washington's Appreciation of General Steuben, in the letter to him, dated Annapolis, December 23, 1783:

My dear Baron: Altho' I have taken frequent opportunities both in public and in private, of acknowledging your great zeal, attention and abilities in performing the duties of your office, yet I wish to make use of this last moment of my public life to signify in the strongest terms my entire approbation of your conduct, and to express my sense of the obligations the public is under to you for your faithful and meritorious services.

I beg you will be convinced, my dear Sir, that I should rejoice if it could ever be in my power to serve you more essentially than by expressions of regard and affection. But in the meantime, I am persuaded you will not be displeased with this farewell token of my sincere friendship and esteem for you.

This is the last letter I shall ever write while I continue in the service of my country. The hour of my resignation is fixed at twelve this day, after which I shall become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac, where I shall be glad to embrace you, and testify the great esteem and consideration, with which I am, my dear Baron,

Your most obedient and affectionate servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

General Steuben modestly replied in January, 1784.

My dear General:

The letter of December 23d which I have the honor of receiving from Your Excellency, is the most honorable testimony which my

services could have received. My first wish was to approve myself to Your Excellency, and in having obtained it, my happiness is complete.

The Confidence Your Excellency was pleased to place in my integrity and ability gained me that of the army and of the United States. Your approbation will secure it.

A stranger to the language and customs of the Country, I had nothing to offer in my favor but a little experience and great good will to serve the United States. If my endeavors have succeeded I owe it to your Excellency's protection, and it is a sufficient reward for me to know that I have been useful in Your Excellency's Operations which always tended to the good of Your country.

After having studied the principles of the military art under Frederick, and put them in practice under Washington, after having deposited my sword under the same trophies of Victory with yours, and finally after having received this last public testimony of your esteem, there remains nothing for me to desire.

Accept my sincere thanks, my dear General, for the unequivocal proofs of your friendship which I have received since I had first the honor to receive your orders; and believe that I join my prayers to those of America for the preservation of your life, and for the increase of your felicity. With every sentiment of respect, I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's Obedient

STEUBEN

CHAPTER V (EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCES)

211. The Emerson here mentioned as a student of Göttingen before 1850 was not the poet and philosopher Ralph Waldo, but William Emerson, an older brother. The entry in regard to him reads: 1824: William Emerson, "minister zu Boston, Amerika. Theologie stud." William Emerson, the oldest son, bore the name of his father and in accordance with family tradition prepared himself for the ministry, but while abroad he imbibed liberal ideas that induced him to change to the profession of the law after his return home. While in Göttingen he was associated with G. H. Calvert of Maryland, who is recorded as a student of philosophy.

A few years ago the University of Göttingen published a small pamphlet giving a partial list of former American

students. The early ones who are honored with a marble memorial tablet showing the rooms where they lived, are: Benjamin Smith Barton 1789, George Ticknor and Edward Everett 1815–16, George Bancroft 1818–20, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow 1829, John Lathrop Motley 1832, Basil L. Gildersleeve 1851, Albert Harkness 1854, J. Pierpont Morgan 1856–57.

For a complete list see: *The American Students of the University of Göttingen.* By Daniel B. Shumway. G. A. Annals, N. S. vol. 8 (1910), nos. 5–6, pp. 171–254.

Shumway gives as the first American recorded as a student at Göttingen one by the name of *White*, in the year 1782, studying mathematics. He seems to be unknown to fame, and no initials are given in the record.

234f. Educators.

Roehrig. The best biographical sketch that has appeared on Professor Roehrig, is that of Viktor Wilker, Berea, Ohio: *Friedrich Louis Röhrig, Ein berühmter deutsch-amerikanischer Orientalist und Philolog. Der Christliche Apologete.* Cincinnati, O. d. 28. Oktober, 1908, pp. 12–13; 4. November, 1908, pp. 10–11.

Walter Rauschenbusch (b. Rochester 1861, d. 1918), was professor of New Testament and Church History 1897–1918 at the Rochester Theological Seminary. His book, *Social Principles of Jesus*, 1916, made him widely known beyond his denomination. See Who's Who, 1918–1919, and the *Rauschenbusch Number* of the Rochester Theological Seminary Bulletin, 69th year, no. 3, November 1918.

Filibert Roth, forestry expert, born in Württemberg 1858, came to the United States in 1871. He was assistant professor to Professor B. E. Fernow, founder of the first forestry school at Cornell University 1898–1901; then Chief Division Forest Reserves, U. S. Dept. Interior; Professor of Forestry, University of Michigan (founding a new department) 1903–23. He was the author of books on forest valuation, regulation, on timber physics, etc.

Albert John Ochsner, of German descent (b. Baraboo, Wis. 1858, d. Chicago 1925). He received his medical training in Chicago, Berlin and Vienna; was professor of clinical surgery, University of Illinois in Chicago, 1900–25; dis-

tinguished as a surgeon and author of: *Handbook of Appendicitis: Surgery of Thyroid and Parathyroid Glands: Clinical Surgery*, etc.

235. From among the living a brief list is here added, merely to illustrate the point that the German element continues to be well represented among university professors.

Franz Boas, foremost anthropologist in the United States, was born in Minden, Westphalia, in 1858. After his scientific training in Germany, extensive travels and academic experience, has been professor of anthropology, Columbia University since 1899. Publications on: the *Anthropology of North America; The Growth of Children; Changes in Form of Body of Descendants of Immigrants; The Mind of Primitive Man; Kultur und Rasse* (1913). Prof. Boas was the founder and president of the *Emergency Society for German and Austrian Science and Art*, 1920–27, which made it possible for many of the best of the scientific German journals to survive the postwar depression and inflation, and also supplied many German university libraries with sorely needed books and journals.

At Johns Hopkins University three newly founded departments were placed in charge of professors of German extraction: The department of Education since 1908 under Prof. E. F. Buchner, born in Illinois 1868 (Editor JHU Studies in Education, etc.); the department of Art as Applied to Medicine under Prof. Max Broedel (b. Leipzig 1870), and of Ophthalmology under Dr. William Holland Wilmer. Prof. Wilmer was born in Virginia 1863, studied in America and Europe, was professor of ophthalmology in Georgetown University 1906–25, at the same time surgeon at Episcopal Eye, Ear, and Throat Hospital, Washington, 1895–1925. He has been Director of the Wilmer Ophthal. Inst. Johns Hopkins Hospital since 1925.

A new department of the History and Criticism of Art was established in 1925 at the University of Wisconsin, to which Professor Oscar Hagen, Professor of Kunstgeschichte in the University of Göttingen was called. Prof. Hagen, born at Wiesbaden, 1888, author of *Matthias Grünewald, Deutsches Sehen, Art Epochs and Their Leaders*, etc., while at Göttingen was also the originator of the Händel Fest-

spiele, and revived several of the Händel operas of the early 18th century (Rodelinde, Othone, Cæsar, Xerxes). Prof. Hagen was Carl Schurz Professor at Wisconsin, 1924–25, previous to the establishment of the new department.

Otto Kinkeldey, born in New York City 1878, pupil of McDowell, studied at the University of Berlin, 1902–1906; he was called, November 1909, to the Königl. Akademisches Institut für Kirchenmusik of the University of Breslau, Germany, became lecturer on musicology in the faculty of philosophy, and Professor of Musicology, University of Breslau 1910–14. Subsequently he was chief of the music division, New York Public Library, 1915–23; Professor of Music, Cornell University, 1923–27. He is one of the two leading authorities on musicology in the United States.

Professor Ferdinand Schevill (b. Cincinnati, 1868), professor of modern history, University of Chicago, since 1909. Author of *A History of Europe 1500–1925; The Making of Modern Germany; Carl Bitter, a Biography*, etc., and his brother Rudolph Schevill, professor of Spanish (b. Cincinnati 1874), Professor of Spanish, University of California since 1910. Coeditor of new edition of *Cervantes*, and *Life of Cervantes, Dramatic Art of Lope de Vega*, etc. (Another brother is a portrait painter, living in Cincinnati.)

Richard C. F. Schiedt (b. Weissenfels, Prussia, 1859). Professor of biology and geology, Franklin and Marshall College, 1887–1918. Author of *Principles of Zoölogy, Plant Morphology*, etc. (Who's Who, 1926–27.)

George Lawrence Scherger (b. Indiana 1874), Professor of History, Armour Institute of Technology, Chicago, since 1903. Author of: *The Evolution of Modern Liberty*, 1904.

William John Hinke (b. Giershofen, Rhine Province, Germany, 1871), Professor Semitic Languages and Religions since 1909, in the Auburn Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y. Works: *Bibliography of Reformed Church; Life and Letters of John Philip Boehm; History of Goshenhoppen Reformed Church; the Latin Works of Zwingli;* etc.

Ernst Gottlieb Sihler, b. Indiana 1853. First Ph.D. in Greek at the Johns Hopkins University under Gildersleeve, 1878. Professor of Latin, New York University

1892–1923, since then emeritus. Author of numerous monographs on classical philology and history, e. g. *From Augustus to Augustine, Testimonium Animae* (The spiritual elements of classical civilization), etc. Instrumental in securing the Hübner classical library for New York University.

Herbert H. Whetzel, b. Indiana, 1877 (of the same family though a different branch as the Wetzels of Wheeling, who produced the Indian fighter Lewis Wetzel) Professor of Plant Pathology, Cornell University since 1909. Author of *Manual of Fruit Diseases*, etc. Organizer of the World's Botanical Congress at Ithaca, summer 1926.

Edwin Walter Kemmerer, b. Scranton, Pa. 1875. Economist, financial expert, Professor of Economics and Finance since 1912 at Princeton University. Financial adviser to government of Mexico 1917, Guatemala 1919, U.S. Trade Commissioner in South America, etc. Author of numerous works on finance and banking.

John Henry Harms, b. Savannah, Ga. 1876 (father b. in Germany), graduate of Lutheran Seminary, Gettysburg, president of Newberry College 1908–18. Since then pastor at the Church of the Holy Communion in Philadelphia. Newberry College in South Carolina was established by German Lutherans in 1856.

236. The subject of the Harvard and Columbia *Exchange Professorships* with the University of Berlin, their origin, aims and operation, have been described in detail in the German edition of this book: *Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten, Band I: In seiner Bedeutung für die amerikanische Kultur, pp. 212–221.* The war abruptly closed the progress of the exchange of professors, and since a revival of the exchanges in the original forms will hardly take place, the account of the original negotiations and progressive steps have not been inserted here.

The exchanges in operation up to 1914 were as follows:

I. *The Harvard-Berlin Exchange Professorship*, begun in 1905. See Pres. Charles Wm. Eliot's review of the history of this institution in German edition, pp. 213–217.

II. *The Roosevelt-Kaiser Wilhelm Professorship* at Columbia and Berlin Universities, begun in 1906. See

Dean John W. Burgess' account of the history of this professorship, *op. cit.* 217–219.

III. *Germanistische Gesellschaft* of New York City, begun in 1902. This was not always an exchange, but an institution that invited prominent scholars and men-of-letters for series of lectures extending over the whole country. See *op. cit.* pp. 219–220. Also: *The Activities of the Germanistic Society of America*, 1904–1910, New York, 1910, and the pamphlet: *The Deutsches Haus of Columbia University in the City of New York*, 1911–1912. *The German House*, in which the guests coming from Germany lived and were entertained, situated near the Columbia University campus, was made possible by the donation of $30,000 by Edward D. Adams to Columbia University. At the beginning it was placed in charge of Professor Rudolf Tombo, Jr., a most efficient manager, who also made the house a museum of works of art, books, handwritings, photographs, and curios of famous Germans past and present.

IV. *Lehreraustausch zwischen Preussen und den Vereinigten Staaten*, begun in 1907. This was an exchange of young secondary school teachers (or Gymnasiallehrer and college instructors) in which the Prussian government and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching were the negotiators and supporters. See *op. cit.* pp. 220–221.

All of these institutions died as a result of the war in 1914, when it was impossible for the exchange to continue, since the British government, in control of the seas, would not allow German representatives to come to the United States, and the American government did not insist on it. It is a debatable question, whether the exchange professorships as they were organized did as much service as was hoped for them. They were an exhibit of some of the most famous professors of both lands taken out of their proper surroundings. Younger men are more impressionable or capable of receiving favorable impressions from the country to which they are sent. Thus the *International Scholarships* now awarded by the Rockefeller Foundation, through which

a large number also of younger German scholars have been selected to pursue definite work in their own specialty in this country, have had excellent results in the comparatively short period of their operation.

The Institute of International Education, of which Professor Stephen P. Duggan is president, located in New York City, at present aids foreign, including German scholars, to arrange lecture tours in the United States, and performs many services in the interests of international education.

The AMERIKA-INSTITUT in Berlin, founded by the German Government in 1910–1911 (the organizer and first director was Professor Hugo Münsterberg), located in the Staatsbibliothek, is a bureau of information for both German and American scholars, with the purpose of facilitating their researches and making materials accessible. The AMERIKA-INSTITUT contains a very good library of books relating to America, mostly in the English language.

THE CARL SCHURZ PROFESSORSHIP.

"The Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation is the outcome of a desire on the part of many citizens of Wisconsin to do honor to a man who was once a citizen of this commonwealth and later became a conspicuous figure in the nation. While a citizen of Wisconsin, Carl Schurz served for a time as a Regent, in which capacity he displayed great zeal for the welfare of the University. It was therefore with keen pleasure that, on the occasion of his last visit to the State, in 1905, the University authorities conferred upon him its highest academic honors, and it is with equal pleasure that they now welcome the establishment of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, the first object of which is the founding of a chair in the University, to be filled from year to year by distinguished professors from the universities of Germany. This, it is hoped, will be a most fitting way of worthily perpetuating the name and memory of this great German-American, as it is surely a step in the promotion of international culture which would have met his unqualified approval."

In these words the University of Wisconsin announced the Carl Schurz Memorial Exercises in March 1911, when addresses were made by Professor Max Friedländer of the

University of Berlin and Professor Ernst Daenell of the University of Kiel, and part of the endowment of $60,000 was given over to the Regents by General F. C. Winkler of Milwaukee, in behalf of the Memorial Association composed mainly of German citizens of Wisconsin. In the following year, the winter semester 1912–1913, Professor Eugen Kühnemann of the University of Breslau was inaugurated as the first Carl Schurz Professor. In practice appointments were made every two years continuously. After an interruption caused by the war, Professor Arnold Sommerfeld (physics-mathematics) of the University of Munich was called in 1922–23, followed by Professor Oscar Hagen (Kunstgeschichte) of the University of Göttingen in 1924–25, and Professor Hans Driesch (philosophy) of the University of Leipzig in 1926–27.

241. The *Deutsch-Englische Akademie* has since wisely adapted its curriculum to the American school system of the state of Wisconsin and has become a preparatory or high school fitting its students for entrance to American colleges, under the name *The Milwaukee University School.* It has been for many years under the efficient directorship of Max Griebsch, of German birth and training, who has also edited the *Pädagogische Monatshefte* and their successor the *Jahrbuch* (assisted by Prof. E. C. Roedder, of the University of Wisconsin).

The *Lehrerseminar* has become affiliated with the University of Wisconsin in Madison, and the *Turnlehrerseminar* has for many years changed its location to Indianapolis (see Normal College).

A schoolman of long and exemplary service was Leo Stern (born in Silesia), superintendent of German schools in Milwaukee. He died in September 1920 on his return to his native land as he was about to set foot on German soil, for which he longed after a period of persecution during the war period. A touching tribute to his memory appeared by the pen of Prof. Eugen Kühnemann in the *Schlesische Zeitung*, Breslau, Sonntag d. 3. Oktober, 1920.

A German school in Mexico similar to those here described, is the Gymnasium-School of the Germans in the city of Mexico. They founded it for the better education of

their own children, but other Europeans and even natives send their children there also. Cf. *Bericht über das 32. Schuljahr (1925) der Schule der deutschen Kolonie (Colegio Aleman) zu Mexiko.* Herausgeber: Direktor Dr. Traugott Böhme. Mexiko, Juni 1926.

Chapter VI (Music and the Fine Arts)

A. MUSIC

252f. The best work that has appeared on the German influence on the development of music in the United States, is the brief chapter by O. G. Sonneck: *Deutscher Einfluss auf das Musikleben Amerikas*, in "Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika," pp. 355–367. The author speaks with the authority of the specialist and sketches the whole subject from its beginnings in the eighteenth century to our own time.

Oscar George Theodore Sonneck (b. 1873 in Jersey City) is of German parentage and received his training in music and musicology in Germany (see Who's Who). He was Chief of the Music Division in the Library of Congress 1902–1917, and by sifting the copyright accumulations and by skillful purchases (as the Schatz collection) made the Washington music library one of the largest and most valuable in the world. Since 1917 he has been with the musical publishers G. Schirmer of New York (vice-president), and since 1915 the editor of the *Musical Quarterly*, the leading critical and scholarly musical journal of America.

In his Report (1909) on the historical evolution of the national songs *The Star Spangled Banner* (revised 1914), *Hail Columbia*, *America* and *Yankee Doodle*, Sonneck comes to the following conclusion in regard to the origin of the tune to *Hail Columbia*, which was the most popular American national anthem before the *Star Spangled Banner* became known (see pages 43–72): There are two rival contestants for the honor of having composed the music to *Hail Columbia*, and both of them are Germans. One is *Philip Roth*, first mentioned in the papers of Philadelphia in 1771 as "master of the band belonging to His Majesty's Royal Regiment of North British Fusiliers." He disappears for

many years but then can be traced as music teacher in Philadelphia from 1785–1805. He was well known for his eccentricities as well as his excellence as a teacher of music, but he seems not to have been a composer. There is better and more evidence in favor of *Philip Phile* (also spelt: Fyles, Phyles, Pfylo, Phyle, undoubtedly derived from the German *Pfeil*), who was known as a brilliant violinist and a composer. He is first mentioned on Philadelphia concert programs in 1784 as a violinist. In this or the following year he became the leader of the orchestra of the Old American Company, and after an itinerant career he settled down at Philadelphia in 1789 and died there in 1793. His son, also a musician, stated that his father was the composer of the *President's March*, composed by him in 1789 in honor of President Washington, which was a different composition from that known as Washington's March. The latter was composed by Francis Hopkinson, the father of Joseph Hopkinson, who wrote the words of the song *Hail Columbia.* George Washington Parke Custis, adopted son of the first president, assigns the composership to Philip Phile (Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington, ed. by Lossing 1860, p. 368): "Upon the President's entering the stage box with his family the orchestra would strike up *The President's March* (now *Hail Columbia*) composed by a German named Feyles, in '89, in contradistinction to the march of the Revolution, called Washington's March."

Feyles or Phile was titled Professor Phile and was very well known at this time, concerts were advertised under his leadership, and his removal to Philadelphia and his offering instruction in music were heralded in the newspapers. "It really seems as if Phile was the fashionable violin virtuoso of the day, constantly 'on the road' between New York and Philadelphia." (See Sonneck p. 60). He repeats a "Violin Concerto by Phile" given before the recently founded "Musical Society of New York" at the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, in order to cover the expenses resulting from the purchase of an organ by the Society (that was Tannenberg's organ). We know that Phile also gave concerts in the fashionable Philadelphia Gray's Gardens in the sum-

mer, and that harmony music by Mr. Phile was advertised. The missing link in the chain of proof in favor of Phile was found in a printed copy of *The President's March*, naming Phile as the composer as early as 1793, showing that at this early date Roth was not thought of as the composer. Sonneck found this loose sheet among a lot of miscellaneous musical publications purchased by the Library of Congress at the sale of the Pennypacker Library. This, in the opinion of Sonneck, "removes all reasonable doubt from the tradition that the music of *Hail Columbia* was composed by Philip Phile" (*Op. cit.* p. 69).

253. Music in the Eighteenth Century. The indispensable work of reference is: O. G. Sonneck: *Bibliography of Early Secular American Music.* Washington, D. C., 1905. Many German names will be found among early musicians and musical leaders. See the Index.

Cf. also: R. R. Drummond: *Early Music in Philadelphia, with special reference to German Music.* G. A. Annals, N. S. vol. 6, no. 3 (1908), pp. 157–179. Also: R. R. Drummond: *Alexander Reinagle, and his Connection with the Musical Life of Philadelphia.* G. A. Annals, N. S. vol. 5, no. 5 (1907), pp. 294–306.

Music, 1800–1850. Otto Kinkeldey: *Beginnings of Beethoven in America.* The Musical Quarterly, vol. XIII, no. 2. April 1927, pp. 217–248.

The same author has given an account of the musical library contained in the New York Public Library, the second in importance after that of the Library of Congress. Cf. The Library Journal. Music Number. August 1915, pp. 589–591: *The New York Public Library and its Music Division*, by Otto Kinkeldey. The nucleus of the New York musical library is the collection made by H. F. Albrecht (see also Charles Albrecht, piano-manufacturer, II, 114) on his travels, 1845–1858, in Europe and America, and acquired by Joseph William Drexel, the New York banker (son of the Tyrolese German Francis M. Drexel who came to America in 1817, at first portrait painter, then banker. See the Drexels, II, 437).

For an unduly optimistic view of the musical attainments of this period, see:

H. A. Rattermann: *Anfänge und Entwicklung der Musik und des Gesanges in den Vereinigten Staaten während der ersten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.* Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Illinois, Jahrgang 1912, pp. 327–380.

284. John Frederick Wolle after remaining at the University of California six years as Professor of Music 1905–1911, returned to the east and reëstablished the Bach Festivals at Bethlehem in 1911. With better financial backing than before they are now given annually.

See *The Bethlehem Bach Choir*, by Raymond Walters, Houghton Mifflin Co. 1918, 290 pp. Also articles in New International Encyclopaedia, Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, American Supplement (under Wolle, and Bethlehem B. Ch.).

280–284. Grand Opera. About 1910–11 attempts were made to establish grand opera on a permanent basis in other cities, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago. With the exception of Chicago all attempts failed. Andreas Dippel, previously associated with the management of the Metropolitan Opera Company, was called to Chicago at that time to establish German opera in that city, and the high standard maintained and the success achieved gave the first impulse toward a permanent foundation. Since its beginnings the Chicago Opera passed through changing fortunes, large deficits and sacrifices at times, and has been under various managements, but it has maintained its existence. H. E. Krehbiel's *More Chapters of Opera* (continuation of *Chapters of Opera*, 1908), is descriptive of opera in New York 1908–1918 (Publ. by Holt & Co. 1919).

291. Musical Critics.

An early musical critic was H. Theodore Hach, a German musician who came to Boston shortly before 1839. From January to April 1842 he edited in Boston *The Musical Magazine or Repository of Musical Science, Literature and Intelligence.* His associate T. B. Hayward withdrew after the first year. "For the first time in American musical journalism, Hach gives us a regular, continuous, *professional*, musical criticism, just and fearless, but, on the whole,

kindly." (From Otto Kinkeldey's article quoted above in The Musical Quarterly, vol. XIII, no. 2, p. 231.)

To the musical critics *Henry T. Finck* (father born in Württemberg; see Who's Who, 1926–27), and *Henry E. Krehbiel* (Who's Who, 1922–23; died 1923), there might be added the names *James Gibbons Huneker* (1860–1921; see Who's Who, 1920–21), and *Edward Ziegler* (ass't gen. mgr. Metropolitan Opera House 1920–. See Who's Who, 1926–27). The scintillating *Huneker* in his autobiographical work "Steeplejack" (pp. 20–21) says: "There are various strains in our blood in the paternal line: Hungarian, English, and, no doubt, sturdy *Pennsylvania Dutch;* and Irish blood we derive from the distaff side."

Music publishers. The music publishers in this country have very largely been Germans. As early as 1800 *Hutter* of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was the American agent of the most famous of all music publishers, the Leipzig firm Breitkopf und Härtel. *George Ackermann* was a printer and engraver of music in New York City early in the nineteenth century. The leading firm in the United States, *G. Schirmer Co.*, was founded by Gustav Schirmer, born in Königsee, Saxony, 1829. He came to New York in 1837, and with B. Beer in 1861 took over the business of Kerksieg and Breusing. From 1866 on Gustav Schirmer was alone, and at his death in 1893 the firm was incorporated and managed by two sons Rudolph E. (1859–1919), and Gustave (1864–1907). *C. Fischer* of New York and *A. P. Schmidt* of Boston have also, as Schirmer, contributed enormously to popularizing or at least making accessible the world's best music in the United States, and also to the introduction of American composers in Germany. McDowell's works, however, were published in Leipzig. The Boston firm was founded by Arthur P. Schmidt, born in Altona near Hamburg, in 1846. He established himself as a music publisher in 1876 and later opened branches in Leipzig and New York.

B. PAINTING

299. Carl Marr. In enumerating the works of this great artist the portrait of his teacher Peter Engelmann should not be forgotten. It decorates the hall of the Deutsch-

Englische Akademie in Milwaukee (now University School) where Carl Marr received Engelmann's instruction.

Gari Melchers, born in Detroit in 1860, studied at Düsseldorf and Paris, and for some years was professor at the Grossherzogliche Hochschule für Bildende Kunst in Weimar, Germany. He has since then lived mostly in the United States. His paintings are to be seen in the best galleries of Europe and America, e.g. "The Family" (Nat. Gallery, Berlin), "Maternity" (Luxembourg, Paris), "The Ship Builder" (Dresden), "Girl in the Church" (Munich Pinakothek), "Man in Mantle" (Nat. Gallery, Rome), "Sailor and his Sweetheart" (Pittsburgh, Carnegie Inst.), "War and Peace" (Mural painting in Library of Congress), Portrait of "Chas. Hutchinson" (Art Inst. Chicago), of "Pres. Roosevelt" (Smithsonian, Freer Coll. Washington), "The Communion" (Goldwin Smith Hall, Cornell University), "The Skaters" (Pa. Acad. Fine Arts, Phila.). No American artist of German extraction has received wider recognition than Gari Melchers.

Charles Schreyvogel, born 1861 in New York City, of German parentage, was cut off at the prime of life (1912) after he had created wonderful pictures of the life on the Western plains and in the haunts of the Indians. "My Bunkie" (an heroic rescue of a comrade by a Western horseman) was his first great success, followed by the "Battle about the Palisade Fort," equally thrilling, and the spirited "Dispatch Bearer," and "Breaking through the Circle." The excellence of his drawing showed the teaching of Carl Marr, the brilliant coloring that of the new Munich school, while his subjects were drawn from life and actual observation.

305–306. The Germanic Museum.

The Germanic Museum in its temporary quarters was visited by some 70,000 persons between the years 1903–1906, and the need of a permanent building was severely felt. Professor Francke's dream of a fitting home for this unique collection was destined to be realized. Mr. Adolphus Busch and his wife increased their donations to the sum of $250,000, which with smaller gifts, among them that of Charles Frohman of $10,000 (in connection with a stadium performance of Schiller's Jungfrau von Orleans, with Maude

Adams in the title rôle), and the gift of $50,000 by Hugo Reisinger, son-in-law of Mr. Busch, bequeathed by will as an addition to the endowment fund, the necessary funds were available for a worthy museum structure. The distinguished German architect Professor Bestelmeyer, then of Dresden, was invited to draw the plans. Both within and without, the building, a notable example of the Munich school of architecture, was planned to present the characteristic features of the Romanesque, Gothic, and Renaissance periods, permitting the installation of every object within its own historical and stylistic setting. There are four principal exhibition rooms: the Romanesque Hall, the Gothic Transept and Chapel, and the Renaissance Hall. Ground was broken in the summer of 1914, and although the war caused considerable delay, the building could be opened to the public in the spring of 1921. During the first year 50,000 visitors entered the new Germanic Museum, a structure spacious, yet not ostentatious, an object of rare charm and beauty in a fitting environment on Museum Street. The Handbook prepared by the curator and founder, Professor Francke (sixth revised edition, 1927), gives a complete description of the sculptural and other works of art contained in the Museum.

The following account of the beginnings of the Germanic Museum was written by Charles Wm. Eliot, retired president of Harvard University, in 1910, in answer to a request of the author:[1]

"The conception of the *Germanic Museum* was formed in the mind of Professor Kuno Francke, who before his first appointment in Harvard University in 1884 had been a contributor to the great work entitled 'Monumenta Germaniæ Historica.' Not long after Dr. Francke's appointment in 1896 to a full Professorship of German Literature, he brought together under the name of the Harvard Germanic Museum Association a moderate number of gentlemen, interested in German literature and history, who agreed that they would promote the creation of such a museum at Har-

[1] The letter contained also an account of the beginnings of the Harvard-Berlin Exchange Professorship, omitted here, but printed in the German edition: *Das Deutschtum in den V. St. in seiner Bedeutung f. d. amerikan. Kultur*, p. 213f.

vard University; and with their aid he succeeded in raising a small amount of money for the purchase of specimens of German art.

"The first expression of interest in this subject on the part of any German authority was made in March, 1899 by Dr. von Holleben, then German Ambassador at Washington, at a private meeting [1] in Cambridge, in which he expressed sympathy with the Museum undertaking in the presence of several members of the German Department and of the Committee appointed by the Harvard Board of Overseers to visit that Department.

"Early in 1900 Professor Francke, at that time Chairman of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, engaged in a correspondence with Professor Hermann Grimm of Berlin University, suggesting that efforts be made by him to induce the Prussian Government to give to the embryo Germanic Museum at Harvard certain plaster casts of mediæval German sculptures contained in Prussian museums. Professor Grimm embraced this idea, and interested Count von Bülow, the Imperial Chancellor, in the subject. As a consequence, Professor Francke received at the beginning of 1901 through the German Embassy at Washington an invitation from the German Government to make formal application for such a gift. In 1902 a great gift from the German Emperor of casts brought together and transported to Cambridge under the direction of Dr. Richard Schöne, Director General of the Prussian Museums, reached Cambridge, and was set up in accordance with the complete directions he provided. Prince Henry of Prussia brought the illustrated catalogue of the Emperor's gift to Cambridge in March, 1902, and made formal presentation to the University of this unique collection on the sixth of that month. Dr. Althoff, Government Commissioner of the Prussian Universities, and Dr. Julius Lessing, Director of the Royal Museum of Arts and Crafts at Berlin, had become strongly interested in the undertaking. In this year, 1902, Professor Kuno Francke was appointed Curator of the Germanic Museum.

[1] This meeting took place at the house of Prof. Münsterberg, at whose invitation Dr. von Holleben came to Cambridge.

"At the formal opening of the Germanic Museum, November, 1903, the University received an address from a committee of twenty-five eminent German citizens — government officials, artists, scholars, and business men — presenting to the Museum a large collection of galvano-plastic reproductions of German metal work from the twelfth to the eighteenth century, together with an admirable illustrated catalogue of these reproductions. At the same time was announced a gift from Professor Archibald C. Coolidge to the Harvard University Library of ten thousand books, to be called the Hohenzollern Collection. From this time forward, in every year additions from many different sources, German, Swiss, and American, have been made to the collections of the Germanic Museum, partly through money gifts, and partly objects of art.

"Professor Francke, having frequently visited Germany since the Museum began to be organized, has taken every opportunity while there to interest German scholars and officials in the undertaking, and so to increase the collections. On one of these visits in the spring of 1902 Dr. Francke had an opportunity of describing the aims and methods of the Harvard Germanic Museum to a meeting of officials connected with the Prussian Museums and of several of the most eminent Professors of Berlin University. He expressed the hope that in the course of time the Museum would possess endowments which would make it possible for the University to invite German scholars to give courses of lectures at the Museum on German art, literature, and philosophy. Dr. Althoff of the Cultusministerium, who came to this meeting, expressed himself to the effect that the proposed lectureships would be more important than the Museum itself in strengthening the intellectual bonds between the two countries. Later in the same spring Professor Francke had several conferences with Dr. Althoff on a plan for an exchange of Professors between Harvard University and the University of Berlin." (This resulted in the Harvard-Berlin Exchange Professorship, 1905–14, see above.)

C. SCULPTURE

306. Two of the most gifted American sculptors ever rising to

greater distinction, men of German birth, were taken away from us suddenly at the height of their power and achievement, Karl Bitter, and Albert Jaegers.

Karl Bitter (1867–1915), killed by a speeding automobile as he came out of the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City, cannot be replaced as a constructive influence in the development of American sculpture (see II, pp. 308–11). A short biography has appeared. *Karl Bitter; a Biography*, by Ferdinand Schevill, issued under the auspices of the National Sculpture Society. Chicago, Ill. Chicago University Press, 1917.

One of the last works of Karl Bitter was the bronze portrait statue of Andrew D. White, which adorns the Cornell University campus. As the evening shadows fall over the large quadrangle in front of Goldwin Smith Hall, the figure clad in academic gown and seated in a chair, seems to come to life and converse, with that wisdom and humanity which groups of privileged hearers were accustomed to adore in the patron-saint of Cornell during his last years. The spiritual element, the scholar and thinker stand out wonderfully in this statue, in spite of the painstaking accuracy in the portrayal of personal features. Karl Bitter considered all the work he had done as but a preparation for higher artistic attainment yet before him. Referring to his exposition statuary which has been justly admired for its dash and power, he said modestly: "I certainly don't deserve the space or credit given me. I was a mere boy when I did the 'stunts' spoken of. Thanks for noting what we tried to do." There never was an artist more generous in his estimate of the achievements of others, he was severer with himself, his visage was turned forward and upward.

Albert Jaegers (1868–1925). Born in Elberfeld, Germany, he came to America with his parents, and in Cincinnati started his art career as a wood carver with his father. He studied sculpture in Cincinnati, New York and abroad.

Among his most important works is the monumental statue of General Steuben in Washington, D. C., commissioned by the United States Government. In the competition for this monument Mr. Jaegers' design was chosen and recommended for execution by Augustus St. Gaudens, who was

enthusiastic in his admiration of this work. He wrote of it to a friend, as quoted in his *Reminiscences:* "It really taught me a lesson in my own work. I certainly wish I could have done that figure, in its dignity, directness, and simplicity." Inherent dignity, nobility, and simplicity are the key-note of all his work, even the smallest sketch. It was the majestic statue of "Arkansas" for the colonnade of states at the St. Louis World's Fair which first won the admiration of St. Gaudens, and upon which he mentioned Jaegers' name among four others "in whose hands the future of American sculpture chiefly lay."

In an article on public monuments in the "Monumental News," Mr. Lorado Taft wrote of the Steuben monument, "In its characterization of the subject, so ably translated into sculpture, in its commanding monumental mass; in its beautifully architectural and decorative side groups; in its every detail, it is a triumph of commemorative art."

A replica of this statue was presented to Germany by the Sixty-second Congress of the United States, in grateful recognition of the support rendered the struggling colonies by Frederick the Great. When Professor Hildebrand of Munich saw the statue, he declared that the "invigorating freshness and power of the statue had given him a rare keen pleasure."

Another important commission awarded to Albert Jaegers in competition was the Pastorius monument for Germantown, Pa. With characteristic indifference to personal advantage or any other consideration but the beauty of the work, he insisted upon executing this glorious monument entirely in Tennessee marble, every façade of which is exquisitely sculptured and carved. The full relief front panel represents Pastorius and his mate entering upon the shores of their chosen country with courage and resolution, bringing with them the Spirit of Music and Joy, so characteristic of these pioneers. The low relief side panels represent: "The Volunteer," in memory of the hundreds of thousands of men of German blood who fought in the American Wars, and the first written "Protest against Slavery," by the German Quakers of Germantown. On the rear panel "Science and Art" arise on the foundation of "Labor." The

crowning figure represents "Light-bearing Civilization," to which the German element have contributed their full measure.

He also executed the "Germany" for the façade of the United States Custom House in New York City. During the war he was requested to change this statue into a "Belgium." This he refused to do, declaring that the significance of the statue could not be changed. His offer to replace the "Germany" with a statue truly representative of "Belgium" was not accepted, and his statue was "camouflaged and relabelled" by other hands.

Other works by Albert Jaegers are the figure of "Ancient Art" on the façade of the Fine Arts Building in St. Louis, the memorial angels for the Krueger mausoleum in Newark, N. J., numerous groups and statues for the St. Louis, Buffalo, and San Francisco expositions, busts of Lincoln, Joseph Cannon, Richard Bartholdt, and many other public and private monuments, medallions, and tablets.

He was engaged upon a war memorial, an equestrian statue, "America upholding the Flag" which he considered his greatest work, when he died suddenly at his home in Suffern, N. Y., in July, 1925.

A younger brother, Augustine Jaegers (b. Bremen 1878), is also a sculptor of prominence in this country (see Who's Who, 1926–27).

308. The Rhinehart Scholarship has continued to be of service in aiding brilliant young men. Hans Schuler, of German parentage, graduating from the Rhinehart School of Sculpture in Baltimore (1898), won the $4000 scholarship which enabled him to complete his studies abroad. He has created tomb figures of great beauty and originality. Some of his best works are: "Ariadne" (Walter's Art Gallery), "Memory," "Life is but the Turning of a Leaf," etc., portrait busts of Dr. Osler, Pinkney White, and many others. (See Who's Who, 1926–27.)

315. German Monuments.

Spread over the country where the German element is strongly represented in the population, mainly in cities, there are a large number of monuments commemorative of Germans who have figured in the history of the country, or

monuments of German poets or heroes, that remind the German of the ideals of his native land. Many of these are works of art that may be appreciated by all elements of the population. Such is the

Steuben Monument in Washington, described above (under Jaegers). The unveiling in 1910 was a notable occasion in which the President of the United States (Taft) took part and a concourse of 10,000 people did honor to the drill-master of the American Revolution. The sculptor Albert Jaegers also designed the

Pastorius Monument commemorating the first German settlement at Germantown in 1683 with its founder Franz Daniel Pastorius (description above under Jaegers). Similarly a work of great artistic merit is the

Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument in Indianapolis (1893), by Bruno Schmitz, of Berlin. Dayton, O., is proud of its monument designed by the sculptor Rudolf Schwarz in honor of the Germans who took part in the Civil War, and set up in the Memorial Building. The

Carl Schurz Monument, Morningside Drive and 116th St., New York City, was unveiled in May 1913, amid a most impressive ceremony in which the élite of the land were represented. This portrait statue — the majestic figure of the soldier and statesman stands erect in serious posture upon a lofty pedestal in the middle of an encircling marble base — is by the master hand of Karl Bitter and shows him at the height of his art. A replica of this monument was erected in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, in 1914.

St. Louis dedicated its *Friedrich Ludwig Jahn Monument* in 1913, New York City has its *Franz Sigel Denkmal*, Pittsburgh its *Conrad Weiser*, Philadelphia its *Mühlenberg Memorial*, etc. Among very numerous statues of German poets and intellectual heroes, there are two replicas of the *Goethe-Schiller* monument in Weimar by Rietschel, one in Cleveland, and one in San Francisco (Golden Gate Park), the artistic *Heinrich Heine Monument* designed by Ernst Herter and refused by Düsseldorf, found a final resting-place, inconspicuous and harmless in New York City. The parks of Chicago are decorated with a *Schiller*, a *Humboldt*, a *Fritz Reuter Monument* and a *Beethoven bust*. Most to be appreci-

ated is the *Goethe Monument* in Lincoln Park, Chicago. The Germans of Chicago presented this monument to the city after taking considerable pains to get a design both beautiful and unconventional. The competition was won by the German sculptor Hermann Hahn, who departed from the usual pattern of the portrait statue, and created an ideal figure of a youth with a falcon on his knee symbolical of the flights of genius. It is the young Goethe not the sage who lives in this work.

D. GRAPHIC ARTS

324. Among early engravers should be mentioned Stephen Alonzo Schoff, born in Vermont 1818, and descended from Jacob Schoff (see Appendix note to I, 250). After studies at home and in Paris, he was employed in Washington on bank note work and engraving by the Government. But he subsequently also tried himself on works of art. His first engraving was "Caius Marius on the Ruins of Carthage" (1843); then followed "William Penn," owned by the Pennsylvania Historical Society; folio portrait of "Ralph Waldo Emerson," after a drawing of Rowse; "The Bathers" after Wm. M. Hunt, and "Moonlight Marine," after Hess.

Chapter VII

A. THEATRE

332. The proof of the good influence of Conried's German theatre is found in the establishment in 1909 (opened Nov. 6) of the *New Theatre* in New York. This theatre, the home of the literary drama in America, adopted the principle of high dramatic art independent of commercial success, it opposed the system of stars, long runs, and tours. In his account (*The New Theatre. New York, 1909.* Privately printed. Pp. 18–19) of this theatre, the director, Winthrop Ames, after speaking of the attempts at various places, among them at Chicago, of establishing a New Theatre, pays the following tribute to Conried: "There was already in New York a valuable object-lesson. The German-speaking population supports a German theatre of the type familiar in all the cities of the Fatherland. Here Shake-

speare, Schiller, and Goethe are played turn about with the latest problem play, light opera, and farce; and much of the stage management and acting is superlatively good. For a decade and more a number of New York dramatic critics used the German theatre to club a sense of the situation into the heads of the public. The German theatre became a familiar delight to intelligent playgoers. The director, Heinrich Conried, became widely known as the most artistic manager in the country. When the Metropolitan Opera was in need of a director, Herr Conried, though neither a musician nor a musical impressario, was chosen. He had always warmly advocated the possibilities of an English theatre on similar lines. It is probable that when he accepted his operatic post he regarded it partly as a means toward the founding of The New Theatre. Certainly it was he who induced the gentlemen who for years have given New York its opera to embark in a similar enterprise in behalf of the drama. Mr. Conried was not destined to become its first director. His, however, is the credit of setting the enterprise on foot." No more convincing proof of the influence of the best traditions of the German stage upon the American theatre of the future can be furnished than this candid statement of the able director of the New Theatre.

The short life of the New Theatre is a melancholy fact in the history of the American stage. A magnificent New Theatre building had been constructed regardless of cost, but after two seasons was found to be too large for the purposes of the drama. The enormous deficits incurred discouraged the financial backers of the undertaking. But worse than that was the lack of coöperation on the part of the theatre-going public. In spite of the most artistic performances of plays of the very first rank, classic and modern, in spite of most memorable work on the part of players and director, the theatre was not filled night after night. The public was really not yet educated up to what was being offered there. Though the splendid undertaking failed in the first decade of the nineteenth century, a later decade may take it up again, and the spirit of the New Theatre, as inculcated by Winthrop Ames, survived in the

numerous stock companies which arose and the so-called Little Theatres in New York and throughout the country. It was the spirit of the *Meininger* that had come to America through Conried.

332. The Irving Place Theatre was subsequently under the management of the able and noted actor Rudolf Christians, assisted by Heinrich Marlow, who struggled heroically to keep up the best traditions of the theatre under ever increasing difficulties until the war closed this time-honored seat of German culture. Rudolf Christians and his equally talented daughter became film stars, the father died suddenly at Hollywood while his daughter remains very prominent among German screen actresses. During this period in New York the celebrated German actor Emanuel Reicher performed both on the German and English stages with equal and remarkable success, one of the rare instances of such versatility.

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Milwaukee, Detroit, St. Louis, St. Paul, Denver, San Francisco.

334. To the names of the theatrical managers, Charles and Daniel Frohman, should be added that of Florenz Ziegfeld, Jr., son of Florenz Ziegfeld, founder of the Chicago Musical College in 1867. F. Ziegfeld, Sen. (born in Oldenburg, Germany, in 1841), was a graduate of the Leipzig Conservatory and had a most thorough musical education, which he applied in a position of vast influence in his music school in Chicago that grew from 69 students at the beginning, to 3000 in 1900. He was also an impressario, engaging the musical talent for the Boston Jubilee in 1872 (see II, 286), and chairman of the board of judges, musical exhibit, World's Fair, 1893. F. Ziegfeld, Jr. produced Ziegfeld's Follies annually since 1907, and a large number of musical comedies and spectacular dramas. (See Who's Who, 1926–27.)

338. Two of the leading actors on the American stage in the nineteenth century had a German strain in their blood. Edwin Forrest (1806–1872), born in Philadelphia, was of Scottish and German descent. He dominated the American stage in Shakespearian and serious rôles for a generation and was equally famous in England. (See Encycl. Britannica, 11th ed. vol. x, p. 672. Also Lawrence Barrett's *Edwin Forrest*, Boston, 1881.)

Mary Anderson (de Navarro) was a reigning queen of grace and beauty in serious drama from her début as "Juliet" in 1875 to her retirement from the stage in 1889. She was born in Sacramento, Cal., her mother of German descent, her father English. (See "A Few Memories," and also Who's Who, 1924–25.)

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attempt to portray Gerstäcker's life in America from his works, a method imitated several times since.)

The Life and Works of Friedrich Armand Strubberg. By Preston A. Barba. A. G. Mon. Ser. no. 16. (Reprinted from G. A. Annals.)

Baldwin Möllhausen, the German Cooper. By Preston A. Barba. A. G. Mon. Ser. no. 17. (Reprinted from G. A. Annals.)

Robert Reitzel. By Adolf E. Zucker. A. G. Mon. Ser. no. 25 (Reprinted from G. A. Annals) 1917. The Detroit Robert Reitzel Club in 1913 published in three handsome leather-bound volumes (of 500 pages each) the writings, talks and memoirs of this brilliant essayist, critic and journalist, the most gifted of all German-American prose-writers, under the title: *Des Armen Teufels Gesammelte Schriften.* There also exists a *Reitzel-Album* (a collection of portraits and drawings of Reitzel), and *Mein Buch*, or *Das Reitzel-Buch* published in Detroit, Michigan, 1900 (Copyright, Anna Reitzel), a delightfully autobiographical and reflective work. Largely due to the inaccessibility of his works, Reitzel is not generally valued at his real worth.

Talvj. The Life and Works of Therese Robinson (Talvj). By Irma E. Voigt. Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1913, pp. 7–148. (A very timely, scholarly and sympathetic study.)

Brachvogel. An edition of his poems (the prose works are scattered and quite inaccessible) was published shortly before his death: Udo Brachvogel, *Gedichte*, New York 1921. They are a choice selection of his best work of all periods. The poet's children presented his manuscripts, letters and papers to the New York Public Library, an example worthy of imitation. See Bulletin of the New York Public Library, May 1927, vol. 31, no. 5. *Gift of Udo Brachvogel's Papers*, pp. 373–376. The large correspondence of B. with distinguished contemporaries, during his career as editor, are a valuable part of the collection.

Among humorists should be named Adolf Philipp, writer of farces, who has given pleasure to New York and Brooklyn audiences for decades, beginning with *Der Corner-Grocer* (dating back to about 1893), and coming

down to his recent *Also das ist New York*. In the novel a conspicuous success on both sides of the Atlantic was Gillhoff's *Jürn Jakob Swehn, der Amerikafahrer*, Dom Verlag, Berlin, 1917. (There is an illustrated edition: Zeichnungen v. Prof. Linde-Walther.) In dialect writing the author of the observations of *Lee Greenspoon* (Yiddish), appearing in the New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, excels in humor and satire.

346f. Scholars.

Follen. *Karl Follen.* A Biographical Study. By G. W. Spindler. Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1916, pp. 7–234. *Zum Gedächtnis Karl Follen* — Von Prof. Dr. Herman Haupt; and *Die Gründung einer deutsch-amerikanischen Universität.* Eine Deukschrift. Von Karl Follen. *Op. cit.* Jahrgang 1922–23, pp. 7–76.

H. Rattermann. Gesammelte Ausgewählte Werke in x Bänden. Cincinnati 1908.

Aus H. A. Rattermanns Leben. Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1918–19, pp. 88–134.

Wesselhoeft. Cf. *Über die Schriften des Jenaer Burschenschafters und amerikanischen Arztes Robert Wesselhoeft.* Von Starr Willard Cutting. M. Singers Jahrbuch, 1918 (Chicago). By the same author, in *Philological Quarterly* (Univ. of Iowa), January, 1922.

Friedrich List. Renewed interest has been shown in this great economist, as shown by the foundation of a *Friedrich List Gesellschaft* in Germany, which purposes to issue the complete works and a biography of the author. The editing of the works that pertain to America has been given to Professor William Notz, of Georgetown University, Dean of the School of Foreign Service, Washington, D.C., and author of *Friedrich List in America*, 1925.

Until superseded the fundamental works remain: *Friedrich Lists Gesammelte Schriften* by Ludwig Haeusser; and *Friedrich List* by Karl Jentsch. See also *Friedrich List*, Whom American History Forgot. By Harry Rickel. The Concord Society, Historical Bulletin, no. 4 (1926), and *Friedrich List in Amerika* von Ferdinand Thun (mit einem Bildnis). Deutsch-amerikanische Monatsschrift

(Hrsg. Otto Lohr) 1. Jahrgang, Heft 3, Dez. 1916, pp. 146–151.

Stuckenberg. J. H. W. Stuckenberg was born in Hanover, Germany, in 1835, and emigrated early in life. He graduated from Wittenberg College, Ohio, and studied theology at the universities of Göttingen, Berlin, and Tübingen. He was ordained Lutheran minister in 1860, held pastoral charges in Iowa and Pennsylvania, and was chaplain of the 45th Pennsylvania Volunteers 1862–63. He was Professor of Theology at Wittenberg College 1873–1880, and subsequently pastor of the American Chapel in Berlin, Germany. Stuckenberg was a thinker on theology and sociology, whose books had a profound influence in their time. His *Introduction to the Study of Philosophy* (1888) was for many years the most favored text-book on this subject in American colleges, his *History of the Augsburg Confession*, *Life of Kant*, *Christian Sociology* are books of high rank. His *Sociology, the Science of Human Society* (2 vols. 1903) and *Introduction to Sociology* (text-book) are described in a very appreciative article by Harry Elmer Barnes: *The Social and Political Theories of J. H. W. Stuckenberg.* A representative sociological contribution to politics. Lutheran Quarterly, October 1921.

A memorial volume has been prepared with the coöperation of the widow, Mary G. Stuckenberg, "my efficient helper" as she is called in the dedication of Stuckenberg's *Tendencies in German Thought.*

Schaff. Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff (b. in Switzerland 1819), first president of the newly organized American Society of Church History, president also of the American Bible revision committee, was the author of *History of the Christian Church* (6 vols. 1858–88), and of important exegetical works in German and English. Cf. *Life of Philip Schaff* (1897), by his son Rev. David Schley Schaff, Prof. of Church History, Western Theological Sem., coeditor of Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, 4 vols. 1883. (See Who's Who, 1926–27.)

Fernow, Berthold. Born in Prussian Poland in 1837, served as private in the 4th Missouri cavalry, lieutenant

in United States Infantry colored troops, 1863, and topographical engineer, coast division department of the South in 1864. Became New York state librarian, keeper of the historical records at Albany, N.Y., was the editor of volumes 12, 13 and 14 of the *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, a contributor to the "Narrative and Critical History of America," and the author of a number of contributions to colonial history.

Hoffman. Among the books of profound influence by German scholars was: *The Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro.* American Economic Association Publications, vol. XI, 1–3, 1896. By Frederick Ludwig Hoffman, born in Varel, North Germany, 1865. He is an eminent statistician and all of his works are of scientific merit, and authoritative, as also: *Mortality from Consumption in Dusty Trades; Mortality from Cancer throughout the World; National Health Insurance and the Friendly Societies*, etc. He was a charter member of the Nat. Tuberculosis Ass'n; director Am. Public Health Ass'n, etc. (See Who's Who, 1926–27.)

Nehrling. In another field Henry Nehrling, ornithologist (b. in Wisconsin, 1853, of German parentage), wrote a book on American birds which for a long time was without a rival. It was written both in German. *Die nord-amerikanische Vogelwelt* (1891), and in English: *Our Native Birds of Song and Beauty* (2 vols., illustrated in colors, Milwaukee, 1893, 1896). Nehrling is also a cultivator of rare species of flowers (cf. *Die Amaryllis*, 1908), and a contributor to scientific journals in horticulture and ornithology. (See Who's Who, 1926–27.) His son inherited the love of flowers: A. H. Nehrling, Professor of Floriculture, Cornell University.

347. Bibliographers.

Eminent American bibliographers have been Hermann E. Ludwig, born in Dresden in 1809, and Frederick Leypoldt, born in Stuttgart in 1835. The former came to the United States in 1844, and before 1856, the year of his death, published catalogues of European libraries, a literature of American local history, and a literature of American aboriginal linguistics; also an original article: *A History of Aborigines*

in Mexico. Frederick Leypoldt started his career in America in 1854 as a bookseller. In 1866 with Henry Holt he established the publishing firm of Leypoldt and Holt. Under the anagram F. Pylodet this firm published a number of Leypoldt's foreign language text-books. Leypoldt withdrew in 1868 to devote himself to bibliographical work. His monthly "Literary Bulletin" became in 1870 the "Trade Circular," absorbed G. W. Child's Publishers' Circular and became the "Publishers' Weekly" in 1873. His "American Catalog" occupied him four years, 1876–1880. His "Publishers' Uniform Trade List Annual" was begun in 1873, the "Literary News" in 1875, the "Library Journal" in 1876, and the "Index Medicus" in 1880. All these publications are the standards in their particular sphere, and have had a most favorable influence on the publishers' trade in the United States. F. Leypoldt was one of the founders of the American Book Trade Union in 1875, and of the American Library Association in 1876.

352f. American Authors of German Descent.

There was a strain of German blood in the "Hoosier Poet," *James Whitcomb Riley.* His father, Captain Reuben A. Riley, was half Irish and half Pennsylvania Dutch — the father of Capt. Riley came from Cork, the mother was full blooded Pennsylvania-German, her family name being Schleich. The poet's mother, Elizabeth Marine, was American of French descent, and her people came from North Carolina. Riley heard the Pennsylvania German dialect from his grandmother (father's mother). He did not use it in his poems but his fondness for popular speech (his Hoosier dialect), may have been derived from this source. His affection for the old home and its associations "Old Swimmin' Hole," "Rhymes of Childhood," "Home Folks," "Neighborly Poems," etc., his fondness of the simple village life and its people, remind one very much of similar themes of the poet Harbaugh and other Pennsylvania German poets.

In the modern "Sturm und Drang," which has shaken up American literature of the last decade — and every true friend of American letters can but rejoice at this virile rejuvenation — there are especially two writers in the very front rank of the movement who are of German parentage,

H. L. Mencken, and *Theodore Dreiser*. European critics have heretofore missed one necessary element in American literature, without which they frankly declared no nation could claim to have produced a great literature. That missing link in the chain of very respectable literary accomplishment was satire, satire not of the pleasing, self-complacent variety, but that of the virile sting, the honest self-criticism, the attack upon false idolatries, the banishment of bunk, the slashing to the root to save the tree. The satirist has come. He has appeared in several forms at once, in the drama, in fiction, and last but not least in his most recognizable shape as a literary and social critic, in the personality of Henry L. Mencken, the editor of *The American Mercury*.

Henry Louis Mencken is proud of his German ancestry, which comes through both parents who were born in Baltimore. The Menckens were a family of distinction in Germany. (See the chapter "The Menckenii in Europe" in: Isaac Goldberg's *The Man Mencken*. New York, 1925.) The author of *A Book of Prefaces* answered an inquiry concerning his racial stock as follows: "I hope you mention the fact that I think of myself as a good German, and that though I have been accused of many grave crimes and misdemeanors, no one has so far accused me of not being sufficiently pro-German during the late war and after."

To accuse Mr. Mencken of a lack of patriotism would be equally unfair. His book *The American Language* thrills with the spirit of Americanism and independence. The American people at large are still so unaware of the advantages of satire, so impatient with native critics (foreign critics may be disregarded), that men of the type of the writer of the Six Series of *Prejudices*, *The American Credo*, *Heliogabalus*, etc., etc. are appreciated more abroad than at home. The same has long been true of Poe and Walt Whitman.

Theodore Dreiser forms the crest of the wave of American Naturalism in the department of prose fiction. His earliest novel *Sister Carrie* (1900) was in advance of the movement, but already represented a sincere though crude attempt to get at the reality of American life. The author's power de-

veloped to its highest pitch in the second decade of the 20th century, in *Jennie Gerhardt* (1911), *The Financier* (1912), *The Titan* (1914), *The Genius* (1915), *Twelve Men* (1919). He became the center of controversy, some of his works were forbidden by censorship, he was maligned and persecuted, but he weathered the storms. There is no more virile and powerful writer of naturalistic prose fiction to-day in American literature and beyond, than Theodore Dreiser, and after a long silence he again proved his power in *An American Tragedy*, which is said to have made even a more profound impression in England than in America. In regard to his parentage, Theodore Dreiser replied in a letter as follows: "My father, Paul Dreiser, was born in Mayen, Germany, a small walled city on the Moselle, 15 miles from Koblenz and not far from the French border. In 1842 he went to Paris and from there in 1844 emigrated to America, settling eventually in Terre Haute, Indiana, where I was born. My mother, Sarah Schauab — (a corruption of Schaub or Shouf I think, since I have relatives so named) was born in Dayton, Ohio. She was third generation Pennsylvania Dutch or Mennonite. Her grandfather and grandmother were out of Germany, I believe, or so she believed. My father was a Catholic. I have many relatives in Mayen, Koblenz, Düsseldorf, and other places in that region."

A poet and prose writer of talent and power is *Herman George Scheffauer*, born in San Francisco of German parentage in 1878. "Looms of Life" (1907), "Of Both Worlds" (1903) are series of poems, "Sons of Baldur" (1908), "The Masque of the Elements" (1911), "The New Shylock" (1913) are plays. For many years he has lived in Berlin, and has written much in German. "Das Land Gottes" (God's Country) is a virile satire on America. Hannover 1923.

Interesting works on this same general subject are: *Ernest Bruncken's* "Die amerikanische Volksseele." Gotha, 1911 (Perthes), and *Albert Gehring's* "Racial Contrasts. Distinguishing Traits of the Græco-Latins and Teutons." Putnam's, N. Y., 1908.

Fearless journalists and authors of important books are *Frederick F. Schrader* (b. in Hamburg, 1857), editor of the *Progressive* (author of "1683–1920," and "The Germans in

the Making of America"), and *George Abel Schreiner*, war- and news-correspondent, author of "The Craft Sinister," "The Iron Ration," etc. *Ludwig Lewisohn*, who has portrayed his own life and soul in "Upstream," was born in Berlin in 1882. As a critic of the modern drama, and of modern German literature, as well as a translator of modern German literature he has no superior, as a novelist and social critic he has reached a high level.

357–360. Literary Interrelations.

Price, L. M. English-German Literary Influences. Bibliography and Survey. Publ. by the University of California, Berkeley, Cal., 1919–1920. This is the authoritative comprehensive bibliographical work on the influence of English and American upon German literature.

Longfellow, Margaret Fuller, Emerson, Whitman.

Münzner, F.: "Die Quellen zu Longfellow's Golden Legend." Programm, Dresden, 1898.

Worden, J. P.: "Uber Longfellow's Beziehungen zur deutschen Literatur." Diss. Halle 1900.

Kratz, F.: "Das deutsche Element in den Werken H. W. Longfellows." Programm, Wasserburg a/S, 1901.

Campbell, T. M.: "Longfellows Wechselbeziehungen zu der deutschen Literatur." Diss. Leipzig, 1907.

Applemann, Maria: "H. W. Longfellows Beziehungen zu Ferdinand Freiligrath." Münster i/W, 1915.

Braun, F. A.: "Margaret Fuller and Goethe." New York (Holt) 1911.

Francke, Kuno: "Emerson and German Personality." Internat. Quarterly, VIII (1903), pp. 92–117.

Bertling, K. O.: "Studien zur Philosophie Emersons." Diss. Breslau 1911.

Thorstenberg, E.: "The Walt Whitman Cult in Germany." Sewanee Review, Jan. 1911.

Goethe.

Mackall, L. L.: "Goethe's Correspondence with Americans." Goethe Jahrbuch XXV (1904), supplements Horatio White's article on *Goethe in America* in Goethe Jahrbuch XV.

Wadepuhl, W.: "Goethe und Amerika." Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1923.

Speck, William A. The GOETHE LIBRARY at Yale University, New Haven, Conn., known as the SPECK collection. This library, brought together by William A. Speck, the curator, has been steadily growing from the original beginnings owned by Mr. Speck and presented by him to Yale University, until it has now no rivals on this side of the Atlantic and very few on the other. A recent addition was the Ehrhardt collection. Cf. Collections of Yale University. No. 3. *The William A. Speck Collection of Goethiana.* By C. F. Schreiber. xii pp.

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366f. For the 18th century the authoritative works are:

Seidensticker, O.: "The First Century of Printing in America 1728–1830." Philadelphia 1893.

Miller, Daniel: "Early German American Newspapers." Lancaster, Pa. 1911.

Knauss, J. O.: "Social Conditions among the Pennsylvania Germans in the 18th century as revealed in the German Newspapers published in America. Lancaster, Pa., 1922. For the Nineteenth Century, etc.:

Die deutsche Presse in Amerika. In Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika. Philadelphia 1909, pp. 473–561.

Deutsch-amerikanische Journalisten. Op. cit. pp. 562–594.

H. A. Rattermann: "Der deutsch-amerikanische Journalismus und seine Verbreitung von 1800 bis zur Einwanderung der sogenannten 'Dreissiger.'" Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1912, pp. 283–305.

375. Owners and Editors of American Newspapers.

PAUL CARUS, editor of the *Open Court* and the philosophical-religious paper *The Monist*, Chicago, died in 1919. A worthy tribute to his memory with an outline of his philosophy is found in Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. by Professor Julius Goebel, Jahrgang 1918–1919, pp. 356–365. See also Who's Who, 1918–19.

JOSEPH PULITZER (1847–1911), properly belongs to the category of men with a strain of German blood, who figured prominently both in the German and English language press of the United States. Born in Hungary,

his father of Magyar-Jewish, his mother of Austro-German stock, he arrived in Boston 1864 with a soul yearning for adventure and opportunity. He joined the New York Lincoln Cavalry. After his discharge in 1865 he found employment as a reporter on the *Westliche Post* in St. Louis. In the German environment of St. Louis he rose rapidly in politics and in journalism. From part ownership of the *Westliche Post*, he made several profitable newspaper deals and thereby laid the foundations of his fortune. In 1883 he bought the New York World and became a central figure in aggressive journalism, establishing a one-cent paper, holding his independence of parties, supporting Cleveland for the presidency, yet turning against him in the financial crisis of 1893 and winning on the popular loan issue. He took the side of the strikers in the Homestead steel workers' prolonged struggle, he backed the Republican administration of McKinley in his advocacy of the war with Spain. This independent position of a newspaper was something new, and also the sensational methods of winning popular attention, in which his great rival the Hearst papers surpassed him. He built one of the first skyscrapers in New York City, at a time when this was considered a great risk. His being stricken with blindness (about 1889) and being reduced to the condition of an invalid did not crush his enormous energy, nor keep him from directing the policy of his great newspaper until his death. Pulitzer's endowment of the Columbia College School of Journalism (1903) was a progressive stride in vocational education and shows how seriously he viewed the profession of journalism. (Cf. Don C. Seitz, *Joseph Pulitzer, His Life and Letters*. Alleyne Ireland, *Joseph Pulitzer, Reminiscences by a Secretary*. Udo Brachvogel, *Die Pulitzer Legende*, and *Aus Pulitzers Jugendjahren*, in Rundschau zweier Welten, Dec. 1911, Jan. 1912.)

Oswald Garrison Villard, editor and owner of the outstanding liberal and independent weekly *The Nation*, was born in Wiesbaden, Germany, 1872. His father was the brilliant war-correspondent, member of the New York Reform Club, and financier Henry Villard (see I,

504; II, 139, 373, 432), his mother's father the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, the New England radical, whose fearless knockout-punch made history.

Three RIDDER brothers (sons of Herman Ridder, 1851–1915; see II, 366) have inherited the burden and service of steering the affairs of the German language press in New York City. Bernard is president, Joseph vice-president, and Victor secretary of the *Staats-Herold Corporation* (the merger of the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* and *New Yorker Herold*). They have also contributed largely to the technical development of the newspaper industry.

CHAPTER VIII (SOCIAL AND MORAL INFLUENCES)

389f. The Turnerbund. The best short account in English is: *A Brief History of the North American Gymnastic Union.* By Henry Metzner, translated from the German by Theo. Stempfel, Jr. In commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the opening of the first gymnastic field in Germany by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn. Publ. by the Nat. Executive Com. of the North American Gymnastic Union, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1911.

The Normal College of the North American Gymnastic Union, founded for the training of teachers of indoor gymnastics is located in Indianapolis, close by the "Deutsches Haus," the centre of the social life of the Germans of Indianapolis. Cf. "Commencement Address at the Normal College of the N. A. Gymnastic Union, at Indianapolis, June 22, 1912." Publ. in *Mind and Body* (a monthly journal devoted to physical education, edited by Wm. A. Stecher, Germantown, Pa.). Vol. 19, no. 215 (January 1913), pp. 358–365. (This address emphasizes the importance of the Turnerbund in introducing physical training into the public schools, not merely into colleges.)

See also the annual reports: *Jahresberichte des Vororts des Nordamerikanischen Turnerbundes.* Indianapolis, Ind.

398f. Germans in Medicine.

The following monographs have appeared:

Dr. John C. Hemmeter: *Deutscher Einfluss auf die Ent-*

wickelung der amerikanischen Medizin und Chirurgie. Buch der Deutschen in Amerika. Philadelphia 1909, S. 323–340. Hierzu 45 Biographien deutscher Förderer der medizinischen Wissenschaft.

Dr. Louis F. Frank: *The Medical History of Milwaukee.* Illustrated with Portraits, Photographs and Original Charts. Germania Publishing Co. Milwaukee, Wis. 1915. (Dedicated to the medical profession of Milwaukee, and not confined to physicians of German extraction.) Dr. Frank was also the author of a genealogical work: *Die Familie Frank-Kerler*, and of sketches in early Milwaukee history. He was also a gifted musician, long the president of the Milwaukee Musikverein, and a collector of rare books.

Dr. James Morris Ball: *Dr. Adam Hammer, Surgeon and Apostle of Higher Medical Education.* Reprint from the Journal Missouri State Medical Association, vol. VI, no. 3. St. Louis: Medical Press Co. 1909.

Dr. Adam Hammer, born in Baden, in 1818, was a noble figure in the struggle for higher education in medicine. He received his training in the natural sciences and in medicine at Heidelberg, served as army surgeon in Switzerland and in the South German revolution, and came to St. Louis with Hecker, his personal friend. Dr. Hammer saw at once the evil of medical quackery which was preying upon American society, and became convinced that the cure lay in a reform of medical education. In 1855 the legislature of Missouri chartered the St. Louis College of Medical and Natural Sciences, which was to carry out Dr. Hammer's ideas. The reforms consisted in high requirements for matriculation, increase of the period of study from two terms to double the number, and advancing courses of instruction. Shocking as it may seem at the present day, truth was, that in those days, all subjects were given at the medical colleges in one term, the identical lectures were repeated the next term, and attendance for two terms insured the award of the diploma. The new college lasted only a year, but Dr. Hammer in 1859 succeeded in bringing together an able body of German professors and founding the "Humboldt Institut." German was the language of instruction until 1866, when the name also was changed to the Humboldt

Medical College. Lectures were suspended during the early years of the Civil War, 1861–1863, when Dr. Hammer, an ardent Federal, who had lent a helping hand (see vol. I, p. 531) in the rescue of the St. Louis Arsenal by the German Turners, at once enlisted at the first call for three months' service, and then became a brigade surgeon serving until the end of the war. Dr. Hammer was one of the great surgeons of his day, and he inspired by his example the able graduates, fifty-two in all, who during the eight years received their diplomas at the institutions founded by him. In 1869 the Humboldt Medical College discontinued, a part of the faculty under the leadership of Dr. Bauer, professor of surgery, also a refugee of the period of 1848, founded the first St. Louis College of Physicians and Surgeons. Another original member of the Humboldt Institut faculty, Dr. Ernst Schmidt, became one of Chicago's leading surgeons. (Cf. *Appendix*, p. 661.)

Religious Influences

409f. Sectarians.

Mennonite Churches of North America. By H. Krehbiel. Berne, Indiana. Mennonite Book Concern, Herold Book Publ. Co. 1911.

The *Schwenkfeldians* are preparing an elaborate history of their sect, the first volume of which is ready.

415f. *Lutherans.* In 1918 the United Lutheran Church was formed by the union of the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod in the South. These three synods reach back to colonial days, to the work, directly or indirectly of Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg. Their doctrinal differences they regarded as too small to keep them apart longer. In 1924 the entire Lutheran Church in the United States and Canada had 2,622,554 communicant members. The largest of the 20 ecclesiastical bodies is now the *United Lutheran Church* with 856,000, the next the *Missouri Synod* with 655,000 members. The latter joined with the Joint Wisconsin Synod and several smaller bodies in the *Synodical Conference* numbers over 800,000 members. The Augustana Synod is Swedish (217,000), the Norwegian Synod somewhat larger (299,000).

A. R. Wentz. *The Lutheran Church in American History*, Philadelphia, 1923. *The Lutheran World Almanac*, New York, 1921–23 (1926).

417f. Reformed Church. *A Manual of the Reformed Church in America (formerly Reformed Protestant Dutch Church) by Edward Tangore Corwin.* New York, 1902.

422. Baptists. *The Dunkers: A Sociological Interpretation*, by John L. Gillin. New York 1906. Diss. with full bibliography. The spelling "Dunkards" is being suppressed. Dunkers, or Tunkers, are the only forms now acceptable.

Unitas Fratrum (Moravians). *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, edited by Adelaide L. Fries, archivist, vols. 1–3. Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission. Raleigh 1920–1925. (Quoted above.)

424. German Catholics. The founder of the "Paulist Fathers" was Isaac Thomas Hecker (1819–1888). He was born in New York City, of German parentage, a member of the Hecker family prominent in the milling industry (see II, 67). He was not interested in his elder brother's bakery on Rutgers St., but early steeped himself in philosophical studies (Kant's *Critiques*), and took part in social movements aiming at the betterment of the working-man. As a young man he joined the Brook Farm community and remained some six months. Shortly after leaving he was baptized into the Roman Catholic Church, and five years later, in 1849, was ordained a priest, and worked until 1857 as a Redemptorist missionary. With his lofty mystical piety he combined a wide-awake sense for practical needs, and his activity in the church was in the direction of modernization and social service. Arousing opposition, Pius IX in 1858 permitted him and the four other American Redemptorists to found the separate religious community of the Paulists. Hecker trained and governed the Paulists until his death in 1888. He was also the director of the Catholic Publication Society, and the founder and editor of the *Catholic World* (1865–1888). His biography, written in English by the Paulist Father Elliott (New York 1891) was translated into French in 1897 and became the book of the hour during the existing controversy between the conservatives and more liberals. (See Encyclop. Brit. 11th ed. v. 13, pp. 194–195.)

425. Unitarians. *Unitarianism in America.* A history of its origin and development. By George Willis Cooke. Boston 1902.

429. Jews. Several brief monographs have appeared, by no means exhausting this important subject, on the part played by German Jews in the United States:

The German-Jewish Migration to America. By Max J. Kohler. From the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, no. 9, 1901.

Die deutschen Juden in Amerika. Von Felix Gerson. Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika, Philadelphia, 1909, pp. 261–272.

German-American Jews. By Herman Eliasof. Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1914, pp. 317–391.

German-American Philanthropists

429f. The most memorable gift with a distinctly German cultural purpose was that of *Adolph Busch*, amounting to $250,000, supplemented by that of *Hugo Reisinger* of $50,000 (for endowment) to Harvard University, making possible the building of the new beautiful home of the Germanic Museum (see *Appendix*, note to II, pp. 305–306). Adolph Busch also furnished large sums toward the endowment of the medical department of Washington University, St. Louis.

Princeton University was the residuary legatee of the great fortune of *Henry Clay Frick* (1849–1919; see II, 97, 98, 100), a legacy reported to exceed $6,000,000.

Cornell University in 1912 received from *Jacob H. Schiff* (1847–1919; b. Frankfurt a/M) a fund of $100,000 for the "Promotion of Studies in German Culture," subsequently changed to "Studies in Humane Civilization." Jacob H. Schiff was also the donor of a Semitic Museum to Harvard, and a Semitic Library to New York University.

August Heckscher (b. in Hamburg, 1848), gave Cornell University an endowment of $500,000, the interest of which is to be used for the aid of research work. *The Heckscher Research Fund* has been very effective in stimulating scientific investigations.

George C. Boldt (see II, 75; d. 1916) while trustee of

Cornell University, organized a campaign for the building of dormitories, and himself furnished the means for the erection of *Boldt Memorial Hall*. *Ludwig Vogelstein* (b. in Germany) established the *Goethe Prize* at Cornell, awarded annually for the best student's essay on the works of Goethe. *Schoellkopf Athletic Field* was presented by the Schoellkopf family and friends to Cornell University in honor of *Henry Schoellkopf* (see II, 396).

Yale University has been the recipient of the *William A. Speck* Collection of Goetheana (see above, *Appendix*, p. 706.

Franklin and Marshall College (Lancaster, Pa.) received from *Benjamin F. Fackenthal* (see Who's Who, 1926–27) the endowment for a chair in biology and geology. The *Daniel Baugh Institute of Anatomy* (1912) of the Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia was named after the donor, a trustee of the university.

Bryn Mawr College received one of the largest gifts ever bequeathed by an American woman to an educational institution, when Carola Woerishoffer, granddaughter of Anna Ottendorfer (see II, 448–49), in 1911 made her alma mater the heir to $750,000, the bulk of her fortune in order to save her college from the financial stringency under which it had been suffering for some years.

440. A leader in charity organization in his generation was *Rudolph Blankenburg* (see above, *Appendix*, note to II, pp. 156–177). One of seven Philadelphians in the charity organization movement in 1877, he was one of the organizers of the Citizens' Permanent Relief Committee in 1878. As its representative he visited in 1892 the famine regions of Russia, distributing a ship's cargo of flour, etc., and large funds in cash. As County Commissioner he gave three years' salary ($15,000) to police, firemen's and teachers' pension funds.

447. Viewing the charitable organizations of the Germans in periods of the past, there should not fail of mention the *Deutsche Gesellschaften* established in the cities along the Atlantic Coast in defense and aid of German immigrants. The "*Deutsche Gesellschaft von Pennsylvanien*," the oldest of these societies, was established in Philadelphia in 1764,

and succeeded in putting laws through the state legislature preventing overcrowding of immigrant ships or separating immigrants from their baggage, also punishing sea-captains for extortions and cruelties, providing for immigrants a voice in American courts, preventing the evils of the redemptionist system and finally causing its abolition. There followed the *Deutsche Gesellschaft der Stadt New York* founded in 1784 with a long line of eminent workers including Baron Steuben. Similar organizations were established in the sea-ports: Charleston (1766), Baltimore (1783), and New Orleans (1847). Most of them continued to a late day, relieving want and sickness, securing justice and employment, preventing pauperism, and thereby raising the dignity and esteem of the German immigration. An instance of late nineteenth century philanthropic work on the part of one of these societies, was the campaign carried on by the *German Society (Deutsche Gesellschaft) of Maryland* against the evils of the oyster-dredging system in Chesapeake Bay. For some time captains of oyster-boats had been drawing their help from the immigrant ports unobserved and subjecting them to cruelties passing belief. The immigrants unacquainted with the language were just as in the eighteenth century led into signing contracts which they did not understand, giving themselves up to a life of slavery and the hardest kind of labor for a whole winter. If they rebelled, they were treated as mutineers, beaten and frequently cast into the icy waters. If their strength failed them they were set ashore without pay in the dead of winter, or if they lasted through the season they were just as often cheated and set ashore in some lonely part of the Bay whence they would have to seek their way as best they could to the nearest human habitation. Reports of cruelties had often come to Baltimore, but not until some tangible cases occurred could anything be done. In the winter of 1884 the case of three Germans who had been lured into the service with good promises brought the necessary evidence. One of them whose strength had given out, was beaten and tortured to death on an oyster-boat in the sight of his countrymen. The latter escaped at the first opportunity and reported the matter to the German consul in Baltimore. The case was

immediately taken up by the *Deutsche Gesellschaft von Maryland* and brought into court. Conspicuous in this service was the attorney Heinrich C. Tieck who at great personal risk on board of the state police boat tracked the offenders to their hiding places in the winding rivers of the Chesapeake, and attorney Louis P. Hennighausen for many years president of the society who fought the case in the Maryland courts. The inhuman captain in this case was sentenced to 18 years in the penitentiary and many others were speedily brought to justice, but not until after a fierce and persistent struggle carried on through several years were the dangers for immigrants, German as well as those of other nationalities, removed by the enactment of stern laws governing the conduct of the oyster-boat captains.

German Americans gained some necessary experience in charity organization in the post-war efforts to aid the suffering population in Germany and Austria. *The Central Relief Committee* in New York coöperating with the German Red Cross, facilitated the transfer of large quantities of food and money to their destination in the stricken countries. Yet more even was done locally and individually in the way of *Liebesgaben*. German Americans also aided by subscriptions the wonderfully organized work of the Quakers to supply food for the starving or underfed population of the industrial, mining and other districts of Central Europe. The most notable case was that of Henry Heide (born in Westfalen 1846), German confectioner of New York, who led the subscriptions to the Quakers' Relief Fund with the sum of $75,000. This is paralleled by Adolph Busch's $100,000 for the relief of the earthquake and fire sufferers in San Francisco (1906). Among well organized beneficial undertakings there deserves especial mention the *Emergency Society for German and Austrian Science and Art*, which in the desperate years of 1920–26 furnished books, journals and money to a long list of German and Austrian universities and libraries, and kept alive many valuable German scientific publications. A great amount of good was done with limited means. The organizer was Franz Boas of Columbia, the secretary: F. W. J. Heuser of the same university. Well carried out also was the Women's Quarter Collection scheme,

under the leadership of Mrs. Rudolf Cronau. But these organizations are mentioned only as examples, not to exalt one instance above another. This period is not within the limits of the present volume.

German-American Women

448f. Following the example of Anna Ottendorfer, her daughter Anna Woerishoffer (née Uhl), gave $100,000 to the Children's Hospital in New York, and liberally also to other charities.

Her daughter in turn became a martyr to the cause of social service, Carola Woerishoffer, who at the age of twenty-six had in the words of the President of the Borough of Manhattan, "taught us at the City Hall that there were things that we had long neglected, and led us to do things that will last for many years and will continue to grow and expand." The inspiration for social work Carola Woerishoffer received at Bryn Mawr College, and after graduation she gave her especial attention to the "Greenwich House," located in the heart of the slum district. To get at facts for the Consumers' League she worked as a laundress through four hot summer months in 1909; she investigated suspicious employment offices, involving her hiring herself out as an immigrant servant girl; she examined labor camps on long and lonely roads, employed by the State Labor Department. She was very proud of this position and the $1200 salary that she earned thereby she regarded as her only rightful property. She wished to stand on her own feet, and not reap the advantages that her social position gave her. Her great wealth she regarded as something to be kept for a great service. That opportunity came with her sudden death in September 1911, due to an automobile accident. She was driving home from one of the labor camps, when on a bad and wet road the wheels skidded and threw the car over a high embankment. By her will she left her fortune of $750,000 to her beloved alma mater, Bryn Mawr College. While a student she did "good work," but it was her personality that counted. "Her mind was open to every intellectual wind that blew." She was vigorous physically and mentally, the best swimmer that the college had ever had.

An instance illustrates her courage. There was a dispute about the service-ability of the old life-nets in case of fire. She got her friends to hold the nets for a test, ran to the top of the dormitory and from the narrow ledge of the highest window, she jumped. The net fortunately held. To pleadings and entreaties when engaged in hazardous or unpleasant duties, she would reply: "Someone has to do it, so what is the difference?" She regarded herself as a soldier of the cross in the war for humanity. Cf. *Carola Woerishoffer. Her Life and Work.* Published by the Class of 1907 of Bryn Mawr College, 1912.

454. *Madame Schumann-Heink* is an American citizen, beloved by all elements of the population as perhaps no great singer in America before or after. At the age of sixty-four she reappeared on the stage of the Metropolitan Opera Company, February 25, 1926, in "Das Rheingold." During the late war she had a son on the German side and several in the American forces, as woeful an experience as that of Francis Lieber, who had a son fighting on the Confederate and others on the Union side.

Famous opera singers of German birth are: Madame Gadski (*Johanna W. Tauscher-Gadski*), born at Anclam, Prussia, 1872. She sang leading Wagner rôles (Brünnhilde, Isolde, Eva, Elsa, etc.) at the Metropolitan until 1917. *Frieda Hempel*, born in Leipzig 1885, operatic soprano (Metropolitan Opera, N.Y.), sang leading rôles in Italian opera, also in Huguenots, Rosenkavalier (Marschallin), etc. with a voice unsurpassed. *Marion Talley*, born in Nevada, Mo. 1906, the precocious, promising opera singer (coloratura) is reported to have a strain of German blood through her father. Marion Talley made her début at the Metropolitan Opera House at the age of nineteen.

455–56. To the list of teachers should be added: Mrs. Hermann Collitz, Ph. D. (*Klara Hechtenberg*), born in the Rhine province, Germany, lecturer in Germanic philology at Oxford University, 1901–1904, author of monographs and text books. (See Who's Who, 1926–27.) *Lilian L. Stroebe*, Ph.D., Professor of German at Vassar College, joint author (with Dr. Marion P. Whitney) of "Gesch. d. d. Literatur," and other text-books. *Anita Schade*, teacher, reader and reciter

in Washington, D.C., founder of "Der deutsche Literarische Verein von Washington," which celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in May 1927.

456. Authors:

Talvj. Cf.: *The Life and Works of Therese Robinson (Talvj)*. By Irma E. Voigt. Jahrbuch D. A. Hist. Ges. Ill. Jahrgang 1913, pp. 7–148.

Margaretha Müller, author of "Carla Wenckebach, Pioneer," has written a pleasing novel entitled "Elsbeth. A story of German Home Life." New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1914. Dedicated to "My classmates at Wellesley 1909, and their children."

Edna Fern, pseudonym for Mrs. Fernande Richter (wife of the St. Louis physician Dr. George Richter), was born in Rössing near Hannover, and is the author of lyrical poems of a marked original tone in German, and several volumes of "Märchen und Erzählungen."

Margareta Münsterberg, daughter of Professor Hugo Münsterberg (1863–1916), has revealed brilliant literary gifts in her novels: *Anna Borden's Career* (Appleton & Co. 1913) and *Red Poppies* (Appleton 1915); she selected and translated: *A Harvest of German Verse*. Her latest work is: *Hugo Münsterberg. His Life and Works*. N. Y. 1922.

Elsie Singmaster, b. in Pennsylvania 1879 (daughter of John Alden Singmaster, 1852–1926, president of Lutheran Theological Seminary 1906–26, and editor of the Lutheran Quarterly), has a definite place in the history of American literature. She is unsurpassed in the portrayal of the Pennsylvania German folk. A warm emotional glow, seriousness, humor and pathos are mingled in her stories, the titles of some of which are: *When Sarah Saved the Day* (1909), *Gettysburg-Stories of the Red Harvest and Aftermath* (1913), *Katy Gaumer* (1914), *Emmeline* (1916), *The Long Journey* (1917), *Basil Everman* (1920), *John Baring's House* (1920), *Ellen Levis* (1921), *Bennett Malin* (1922), *The Hidden Road* (1923), *A Boy at Gettysburg* (1924), *Bred in the Bone* (1925), etc.

Helen Keller, deaf and blind since the age of 19 months, with the aid of her wonderful teacher, Anne Mansfield Sullivan (Mrs. John A. Macy), rose to high scholarship

(A.B. Radcliffe, 1904) and to distinguished authorship. Her book, very much read also in the German translation, *The Story of My Life* (New York 1903) records (pp. 3–4); "The family on my father's side is descended from Caspar Keller, a native of Switzerland, who settled in Maryland. One of my Swiss ancestors was the first teacher of the deaf in Zürich and wrote a book on the subject of their education, — rather a singular coincidence."

GIESLER-ANNEKE. The first woman suffragist of German blood in the United States, associated with Susan B. Anthony; also mounted adjutant of her husband in the Baden revolution. Cf. Mathilde Franziska Giesler-Anneke: "*Memoiren einer Frau aus dem badisch-pfälzischen Feldzug*," *and A Sketch of her Career.* By A. B. Faust. G. A. Annals, N. S. vol. 16, nos. 3–4. (1918), pp. 73–140.

463. Equally heroic was the performance of GERTRUDE EDERLE, the first woman to succeed in swimming the English Channel. Both parents of "Trudie" as she is affectionately called in New York, the city of her birth, are German, her father who learned his trade of butcher abroad, was born in Würtemberg, and his mother in Königsberg, East Prussia. Gertrude Ederle is proud of her German origin, and immediately after accomplishing the great athletic feat, she visited her German grandmother in Bissingen, Würtemberg, who at the age of 77 still manages most efficiently "das Gasthaus zum Lamm." The reception given in Stuttgart to the "Schwabenmädle aus Amerika" was only surpassed by that accorded the home-coming champion by the Metropolitan city. New York had already witnessed a swimming feat of Gertrude Ederle, when "the seventeen year old aquatic marvel of the Women's Swimming Association" (who had shattered the world's record for 150 yards free style), swam from the Battery to Sandy Hook in New York Bay, breaking the men's record for the 21 mile swim, in 7 hours, 11 minutes, 30 seconds. No woman had ever completed this long trip. She tried to swim across the English Channel in 1925 but failed. She succeeded on her second attempt, the following year August 6th, 1926, then 19 years of age, lowering the record of the swim. Her time was 14 hours and 31 minutes. Since then the channel has

been conquered by one other woman, Mrs. Clemenson Corson (Mlle. Gade), who took an hour longer (15: 32), by the German Ernst Vierkoetter who surpassed the previous records, doing it in 12: 42, and finally the Frenchman George Michel in 11: 05 hours, the shortest time since Capt. Webb, the Englishman, began the contest in 1875, in 21:45 hours.

465. HANFSTAENGEL. Illustrative of the migrations of a German-American family of international distinction is that of Mrs. KATHARINA HANFSTAENGEL, born in New York, Nov. 8, 1859. She was the daughter of the German artist Wilhelm Heine and Miss Sedgwick, daughter of Roderic Sedgwick, lawyer in New York (brother of General Sedgwick of Civil War fame). Her father Wilhelm Heine (son of Ferdinand Heine, Kgl. Hofschauspieler u. Kostümier am Kgl. Hoftheater, Dresden) was one of four revolutionists (Rich. Wagner, Gerstäcker, Heine, and the architect Semler) who fled together from Saxony. Wilhelm Heine came to America in 1849–50, with a commission to work out some problem for Humboldt's Cosmos. For this purpose he lived in Central America for two years, and then settled in New York as a landscape painter. In 1854 he was with the Perry expedition to Japan doing the work of illustrator, and after his return prepared the illustrative section of Perry's work. In 1856 he married Miss Sedgwick who died in 1859 at the birth of her daughter Katharina. Returning to Germany he was invited to accompany an expedition to the Orient as artist, and while there heard the news of the outbreak of the Civil War. Posthaste he returned by way of the Pacific and the overland route by stage coach. He had entered the Union army and was attached to General Dix's staff, took part in the battle of Gettysburg, where he suffered a wound that resulted later in mental illness and death. He had the honor to escort Lincoln's body. In 1865 he was appointed Secretary of the U.S. Embassy in Paris.

The daughter of Heine spent the first fourteen years of her life in the United States, then lived in Dresden where she attended school until 1876 when her father died. There she grew up amid a circle of friends, musical and artistic, among them Richard Wagner and his early following. There she met Edgar Hanfstaengel of Munich, the son of

the famous engraver Franz Hanfstaengel, who first engraved the paintings of the Dresden art gallery, and founded the famous Munich art establishment. The latter was developed by Edgar Hanfstaengel and the sons of Edgar and Katharina Heine Hanfstaengel. One of them founded a branch in New York City, another died in Paris in 1914, while his mother who was nursing him was taken away to be interned. Kathariña Hanfstaengel was finally released on the ground of her American birth, and had a wide experience subsequently in prison camps, experiences which she related with natural unadorned eloquence to American audiences later.

Constantly we find evidences of such interrelations in family histories, e.g. in the poet *Detlev v. Liliencron's* biographical sketch: "The cradle of my mother, Adeline Sylvestra, whose family name was v. Harten, rocked in Philadelphia. There my grandfather served as an American general. Though younger by half in number of years, he was one of the last of the more intimate friends of the great Washington."

German Traits

465–475. The author has frequently been asked: "Can you say in a few words what the German Element has contributed to the make-up of the American People?" His answer was: Their contribution can be summed up in four words: Blood, Brawn, Brain and Buoyancy. This does not mean that the German stock has furnished all that there is of these essentials in the American people, but that the Germans have contributed enormously to these fundamentals of the life of a great people.

Blood: This does not refer mainly to the blood spilt by the German stock on American battlefields from the border warfare of colonial times to the present time, but to that even more essential contribution of living men and women of sound bodies and vigorous mental capacities, that make up the living, working, growing masses of the American people. The author's estimate of the principal national stocks that compose the American people, based on the census of 1910 (see Table in Appendix, note to II, pp. 12–18), was as follows: English (incl. Scotch and Welsh) 30 per

cent; German (incl. Dutch) 26 per cent; Irish (incl. Catholic and Protestant) 18 per cent; Scandinavian 5 per cent. By virtue of their early arrival, their being established for centuries, these four formative elements have made the blood of the white population predominantly North-European, to the extent of almost 80 per cent, in spite of the great influx of South and East-European stocks during the period 1890–1914. The South- and East-Europeans always showed a large percentage of return-migration. With restriction of immigration, alas far too severe, the population of the United States will probably remain in its complexion as it was in 1910. The old national stocks are thoroughly mixed, so that the typical American traces his ancestry back to several national stocks. Their traditions have become American, just as their allegiance and interests. They have all, including the German, exhibited traits recognized as typically American, as a result of historical and economic conditions, the pressure of frontier habits, the quest for land and opportunity, the equality or common level of educational advantages, the democratic environment and government.

Brawn and physique was furnished by the millions of German farmers who came in ever greater numbers beginning with the end of the seventeenth and running on to the last decades of the nineteenth century. Brain was contributed by the numbers of well-trained professionals before American schools had arisen, by engineers, physicians, technicians, teachers. Many chapters in this book have been devoted to these subjects.

Buoyancy means all that belongs to the joy of living, the "Lebenskunst," as the German frequently calls it, and in which the German true type has frequently and is still running counter to the Puritanic element. The mad rush of activity needs relief in relaxation, contemplation, child-like or natural pleasure-taking and the seeking of the beautiful in life. In only one of these phases can the German influence, though it has been present in all, claim a partial success, namely in the department of music.

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